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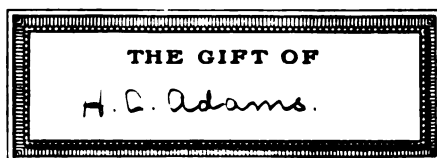
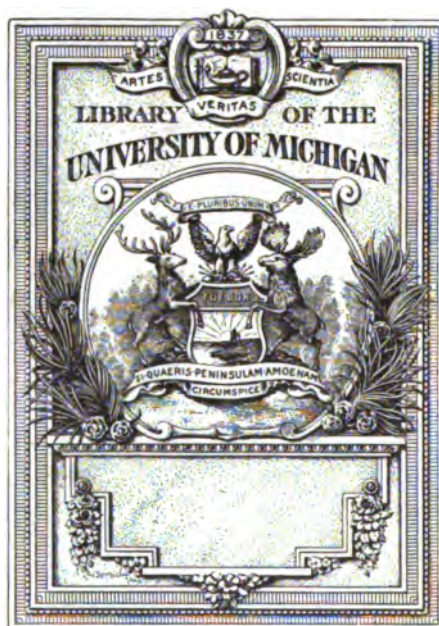
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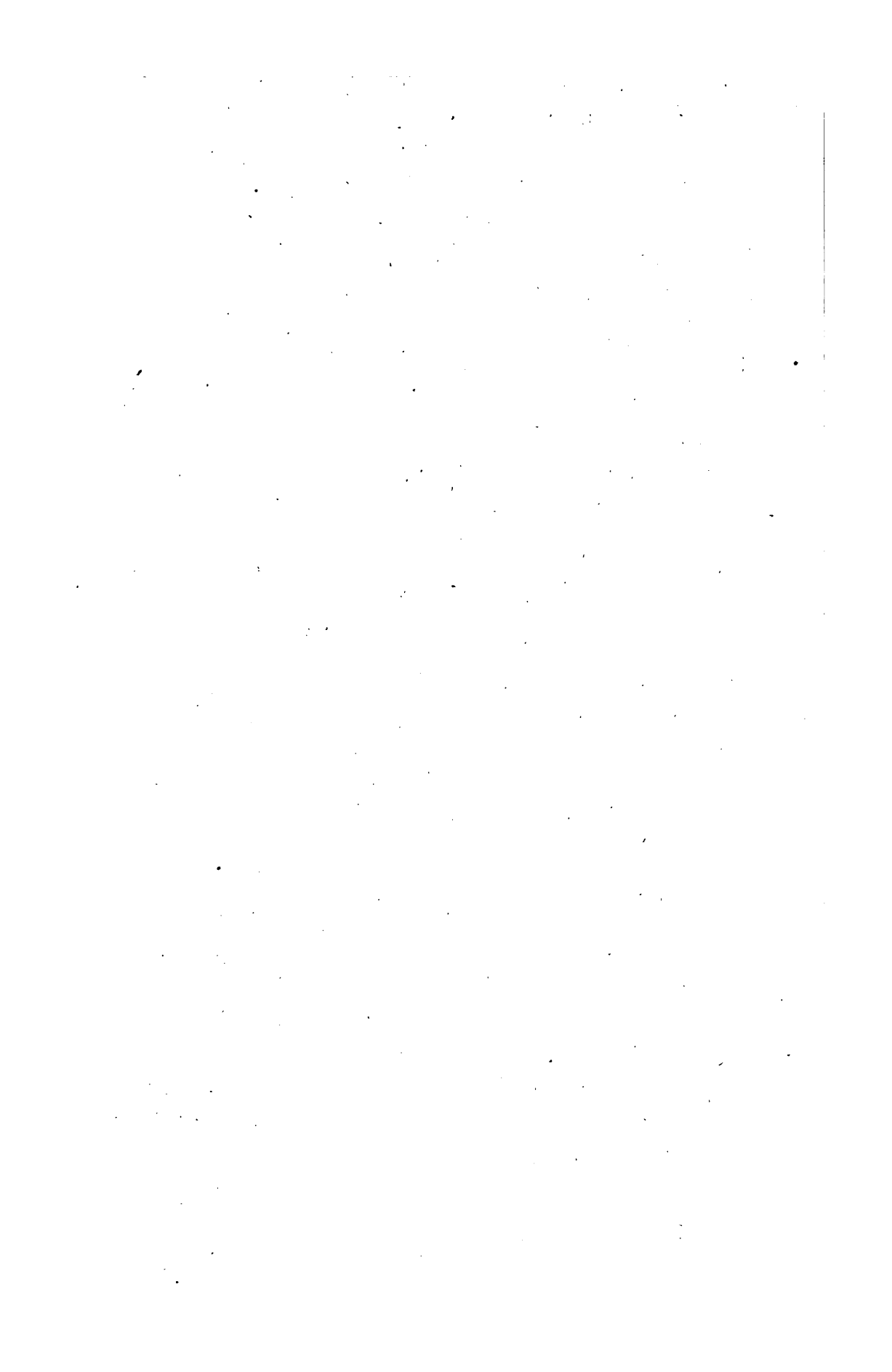
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THE MILLENNIUM
OF
HUNGARY
AND ITS PEOPLE.



ISSUED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE ROYAL HUNGARIAN MINISTER OF COMMERCE,
AS PRESIDENT OF THE MILLENNIAL NATIONAL EXHIBITION COMMISSION.

EDITED

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BUDAPEST.

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1897.

the same way, the β values are not significantly different from zero.

Table 1 shows the results of the regression analysis. The R^2 values are relatively low, indicating that the model explains only a small portion of the variance in the dependent variable.

The results suggest that the model is not a good fit for the data, and the independent variables are not significant predictors of the dependent variable.

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Preface.

The Hungarian nation appears before the civilized world in all the halo of its Millennium. It is the object of this work to display as it were in an epitome in characteristic traits and leading features all that Hungary has done in the course of centuries, teeming with storms and troubles; what rôle it has played among European nations; and with what intellectual and material civilization it is equipped and now enters its second thousand years — in one word its past and its present. The book also gives a picture of the political genius of the nation and how it is expressed in the organization of the state in its constitutional institutions and public life. It affords us a glimpse into the many sided and fertile activity of society in literature, art, education, agriculture, trade and commerce, and it points everywhere to the critical moments of that long and toilsome path by which the nation has struggled from the past into the present. The work does not concern itself with details but limits itself to a general view. To Hungarians it offers a summary of the results of the development of a thousand years, so as to foster in them a pious memory of the past and to awaken and promote their enthusiasm for the great national ideals of the present and the future. To foreigners whose interests lead them into our midst this work will facilitate the know-

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ledge of the doings of our nation for a thousand years and the great rôle in politics and civilization which they play in the present, and by this knowledge it will succeed in drawing closer the bonds of sympathy and goodwill between Hungary and foreign countries.

Agreeably to this double intention this work does not only appear in the official language of Hungary, namely the Hungarian, nor only in that of the Border countries, the Croatian, but also in German, French, and English. Moreover in order to circulate it as widely as possible, this work will not only appear in a separate edition, but will also form the introductory part of the catalogue of the Millennial National Exhibition. His Excellency the royal Hungarian Minister of Commerce, Sir Ernest Daniel, as president of the Millennial Exhibition Commission has evinced his high patriotic feelings in promoting the publication of this work. He himself has determined its aims, he has selected eminent specialists for the treatment of its separate sections; and his noble interest, his unwearied zeal have contributed immeasurably to the fact that those numerous difficulties could be overcome which hindered the accomplishment of this elaborate task.

It is owing to the kindness and confidence of his Excellency the Minister that I have received the honourable task of editing the work so planned, and of offering to the cultivated public a book worthy of the great occasion along with the co-operation of the twenty-four colleagues selected by his Excellency, whose names are given in the table of contents. This brilliant list of writers emboldens me to hope that our joint work will be commensurate with its noble aims.

Budapest, 15th April 1896.

Dr. Joseph de Jekelfalussy.

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¹⁾ The collection of data referring to the nineteenth century is due to the kindness of Dr. *Gustavus Töry*, Divisional Councillor in the Ministry of Justice.

THE MILLENNIUM
OF
HUNGARY
AND ITS PEOPLE.

General sketch of Hungarian Geography.

Hungary lies about the middle of the southern half of Europe in a basin which would seem to be expressly formed for it about the middle of the course of the Danube. Its form resembles a semi-circle of which the curve is towards the north, while its basis is nearly a right line and looks southward. The larger part of its territory lies between the 45° and 49° north latitudes, its farthest points however, in the south, touch $44^{\circ} 30'$, and on the north $49^{\circ} 38'$. The western and eastern boundaries lie however much farther from one another, for while the most western point, Fiume, lies $32^{\circ} 4'$, its most eastern point, the south-eastern bend of the Transylvanian Carpathians, lies under $44^{\circ} 16'$ latitude east, (reckoned from Ferro), and thus the sun rises there almost 49 minutes before it rises at Fiume.

Taken altogether Hungary is a continental country; only on its extreme western boundary does a small portion of it touch on the sea, the Adriatic, the so called gulf of Quarnero; on every other side it is surrounded by other countries; on the west, north and north-east by the Hereditary Provinces of Austria which form with it one monarchy, on the south-east and south Roumania and Servia, on the south-west the Occupied Provinces from which it is separated almost everywhere by clearly developed natural boundaries: grand

ranges of mountains and smaller or larger rivers, the mighty range of the Carpathians especially, form such a boundary line, the like of which is not to be found elsewhere. It begins at the point where the Danube enters the country, and thence runs round in an immense curve to the point where that same river leaves the country, in such a manner that the waterdivide of its main ridge almost everywhere coincides with the political boundary of the land, only broken in one or two points by the streams that flow from it.

This territory thus especially rounded off by nature as a separate independent whole, offered itself as it were from the very earliest times for the formation thereon of a state that would be easy to organize and govern within and to defend from without. Many people made an attempt to found such a state especially during the historical period. Complete and enduring success, however, none of them succeeded in attaining with the single exception of the present masters of the country, the Hungarian nation.

Our country, as a state, at present consists of three component parts, namely: the mother country bearing especially the name of *Hungary*, then *Fiume and its territory* which is represented in the Hungarian parliament, but administered by a special governor, and further *Croatia-Slavonia (Regnum socium)* which enjoys autonomy as regards its internal affairs. The full extent of the whole state is of 322'310 square km., of which 42'531 square km. fall to Croatia-Slavonia.

The surface of the territory of the Kingdom is partly hilly and partly plain, with such a happy distribution that, the principal mountain masses are ranged along the frontier, while the plains occupy the central portion of the country.

The mountainous districts of Hungary belong to two mountain systems, the system of the *Carpathians* and that of the *Alps*, which are separated from each other by the valley of the Danube. Only in two points do they come quite close to each other, namely at Dévény and Pozsony, and afterwards by Visegrád and Vác, everywhere else they are widely separated.

A) *The Carpathians* start from the gate of the Danube at Dévény where they front the extreme branch of the Alps on the other side of the river and then in an immense curve they sweep round one half of the country, running first in a north-easterly, then in an easterly, and then again in a south-easterly direction, until they reach the south-eastern corner of the county of Háromszék, when they make a sudden bend in a south-westerly direction, which they continue until they reach the so called Iron Gates on the Lower Danube.

Of this mighty range of mountains the three principal sections are the *north-western* the *north-eastern*, and *south-eastern highlands*.

I. *The north-western highlands* form that large hilly district which stretches northward from the bed of the Danube and eastward as far as the line of the Ondava and the Bodrog. This is what is called in ordinary speech *Upper Hungary*, here we find the largest and loftiest mountain masses of the Carpathians, where innumerable brooks and several good sized rivers take their rise, which in their further course, for the most part southward, form each its own delightful and fertile valley.

The hills here for the most part form individual blocks, yet there are still sufficiently developed ranges which run regularly through spaces between pairs of rivers partly towards the south-west, partly towards the south-east.

According to the valleys of these rivers the following principal mountain groups may be here marked off from one another: the *north-western boundary range* running along the right bank of the Vág, which begins at the banks of the Danube at a moderate elevation, but as it proceeds grows gradually higher and higher and breaks off at the transverse valley of the Miava. These mountains are the *Little Carpathians* which are improperly called the border range, as it is the river Morva, a good way further out, that forms the real frontier as far as Szakolcza, enclosing a considerable space of flat ground in front of the *Little Carpathians*. The

section of mountains beyond the Miava, the *Javor-hegy* (Javorina) is considerably higher. Its main ridge really marks out the border. Among its important elevations the most considerable is the wooded mountain mass known as the *Beszkid* which at its north-eastern end sinks into the Jablunka pass which is easily traversed. Beyond this point the border range suddenly rises where the *Babia Gura* 1720 meters high overhangs the river Árva.

To the east of this border range for the most part composed of sand-stone in the space between the rivers Vág and Nyitra we find the mountain of *Kis-Fáttra* which begins with low hills in the neighbourhood of Érsek-Ujvár, proceeds in a north-easterly direction and at its northern end attains a considerable height in the *Magura*; amongst its valleys the most beautiful is the valley of the Vág which is adorned with numerous picturesque ruins.

In a space between the *Nyitra* and the *Garam* is the mountain mass of the *Fáttra*. This too begins at a moderate elevation near the Danube; as it goes on, the chains of hills grow into mountains and send out offshoots in different directions forming a delightful country of hills and valleys. In the southern half of this group are to be specially noticed the trachyte hills of Ujbánya, Selmecz and Körmöczbánya whence gold and silver are extracted.

To the north of this group of mountains and again on the frontier of the country rises the lofty range of the *Magas-Táttra* (High Táttra) or *Middle Carpathians* in the midst of the rivers Árva, Vág, Poprád and Dunajecz. The actual Magas-Táttra is really a high mountain without any foot hills, it towers with sudden abruptness in the direction of the Vág and the Poprád, so that from suitable points of view the whole gigantic mountain may be seen at a single glance from its base to its sharp pointed top, its highest peaks, those of *Lomnicz* and *Jégvölgy* are more than 2620 m. high, and the peaks of *Gerlachfalu* 2663 m. which terminates in a column of stone, scarcely a meter thick. These peaks are all bare rocks and columns of stone, on

which in some places the snow remains even in summer. The valleys and slopes of the Magas-Tátra are encumbered with masses of rock. In the south-western and northern hollows of its principal ridge more than a hundred small mountain pools are to be found, these are the fairy-like *Tenger-szemek* (eyes of the sea) which attract so many visitors to this splendid mountain wilderness.

The western (Liptói Magura) and eastern (Szepesi Magura) branches of the Magas-Tátra are considerably lower and composed of sand-stone and lime-stone, whereas the chief strata in the Magas-Tátra are granite and gneiss.

South of the Magas-Tátra and almost parallel with it stretches the *Alacsony-Tátra* (Low Tátra) which in spite of its name is of such importance that its principal peak the *Gyömbér* is 2043 m. high; this range gets gradually lower as it runs from the west eastward. In its eastern half is the *Király-hegy* 1971 m. high, in which the Vág and the Garam on the one side, and on the other side the Hernád and Gölnicz, have their sources. The Alacsony-Tátra which is likewise composed of granite and gneiss is one of the chief seats of the iron works of our country.

Further south the wide interval between the Garam and the Ipoly is occupied by the much lower hill Osztrószki-Vepor forming an undulating elevated plateau; this mountainous district too begins at the Danube and stretches northward. Its greatest elevations are to be found along the course of the Garam. Mountaineers most often visit the Szittnya mountain 1011 m. high, beyond which stretches the mountain groups of the mining towns (Selmecz-, Baka-, Béla-, Breznó-, Libetbánya) with their mines of gold, silver, copper, lead and above all iron and extensive iron works.

From the Ipoly to the Sajó and the great Hungarian Plain the country is occupied by the *Mátravidék mountains* and their offshoots. The most noticeable groups are the Börzsöny mountains which stretch from the Danube along the course of the Ipoly; between the Danube and the Zagyva the *Cserhát*, with

pleasant scenery at Gödöllő, sinking down into the Great Plain: and between the river Zagyva and Eger the Mátra group properly so called of which the principal ridge runs in an easterly direction. Towards the Ipoly and Rima lime-stone hills branch out containing copper, gold, silver and coal. The Mátra itself is for the most part composed of trachyte, partly of basalt; on its mighty ridge the highest peak is *Kékes* 1009 m. high, from which a splendid view is obtained over the endless plain that begins at its feet.

The mountains of the Tátra, the Fáttra and Mátra are represented in our country's coat of arms by the three hills surmounted by a cross.

The group of the Mátra is closed towards the east and north-east by the beautiful *Bükk* mountains which reach as far as the Sajó and are notable for their paleozoic fossils, their vast forests of beech-trees and their mines of iron and coal.

The mountain groups stretching from the Sajó to the rivers Rima, Poprád and Tarcsa are lower on the south, here and there merely low hills, towards the north they are higher and steeper. A large portion of them are included under the name of the *Gömör-Szepesi érczhegység*, for they abound in copper, cobalt, and especially in rich iron mines. To the northern end of the *Érczhegység* is attached the Lőcse-Lubló group of low hills in the neighbourhood of the high Tátra. The lime-stone hills that run along the left bank of the Sajó abound in caverns. Especially celebrated are the large stalactite cave at Aggtelek named »Baradla« and the ice cave at Dobsina in whose neighbourhood extends the wild romantic vale of Sztraczena. The valley of the Hernád, in its higher part rough but in its lower part much softer, can also boast of considerable beauty of landscape; the valley is bordered by the low hills of *Szendrő Forró*.

To the east of the line of the Hernád and Tarcsa as far as the valley of the Ondava and to the banks of the Bodrog and Tisza we find the hills of *Eperjes-Tokaj*. The northern part of them branch out irregularly, but the southern stretch

in a regular chain down to Tokaj. This chain, composed of trachyte and basalt, is marked by several fine peaks in the forms of tents and cones. The northern part, of which the predominating member is the *Simonka mountain* 1094 m. high, is especially famous for the opal mines which are worked in the *Libánka mountains* (at Vörösvágás); while the southern portion called the *Hegyalja* which ends with the conical shaped hill close by Tokaj, is celebrated all over the world for its wine.

II. The second section of the mountain range of the Carpathians are the *north-eastern highlands* which curve round in a south-easterly direction from the valley of the Poprád, Topolya and Ondava and stretch to the valley of the Visó which empties itself into the Tisza, but their eastern appurtenances reach over to the left bank of the Tisza. This section is the narrowest portion of the whole Carpathian system, its elevations are considerably lower than that of the branches of the High Tátra, the whole is composed of two more or less parallel ranges: the *north-eastern boundary range* and the *Viharlát, Gutin trachyte mountain*. The former begins at the source of the Poprád and extends in such a direction that its chief ridge almost everywhere coincides with the boundary of the country. In the neighbourhood of the Poprád its peaks hardly exceed 1000 m., but as they extend further they gradually rise. Their greatest height is attained at the sources of the Tisza, where the mountain mass of *Pietros* rises to the height of 2022 m. and the neighbouring peaks of *Hoverla* 2058 m. The western portion extending as far as the pass of Vereczke (The road of the Hungarians.) is named from its vast forest *Erdős-Kárpátok*; the eastern and loftier continuation is known as the Alps of *Máramaros*. Both on their southern and northern sides are extraordinarily rich mines of salt and numerous salt springs. The north-eastern frontier range is traversed by several passes, amongst which those of *Szvidnik-Dukla*, of *Uzsok*, of *Vereczke*, of *Körösmező* and *Borsa*, have been made into fairly passable roads. The *Viharlát*-

Gutin south of the boundary range trends from the north-west to the south-east. It is not an unbroken chain but rather a series of groups of hill through which several streams break their way down to the Tisza. The largest hills are the *Viharlat* (1074 m.) which rises between the Latorcza and Ung and the *Gutin* (1700 m.) which towers over the left side of the upper Tisza. Other portions are the low groups of hills of *Ungvár*, *Beregszász* and *Nagyszöllős* and higher than the rest the *Avashegy* to the south of *Gutin*. On the west-side of the Havas notable gold and silver mines are worked at Nagy-, Felső- and Láposbánya.

III. The third and most extensive member of the Carpathian system are the *south-eastern highlands* or Transylvanian mountains the form of which resembles a quadrangle. On the border especially towards the east and south mighty frontier ranges rise whose bald tops stretch for the most part above the boundary of vegetation while the surface of the interior is an undulating and elevated plateau intersected in every direction by valleys. The whole is one grand natural fortress to which access from without is only found by a few passes; the mountains rising on the borders are customarily named after the points of the compass *northern, southern, eastern, western* border ranges.

The northern border range runs in an easterly direction from *Gutin* to the *Borgó* pass; the western portions are the lower, the higher eastern portions are called the *Alps* of *Radna* in which *Pietrosz* (2341 m) and the *Űnökő* (2248 m) are the principal peaks. But in the western part too there is a respectable mountain mass known as the *Czibles* (1842 m) in whose south-western branches, in the mountain by *Lápos*, are to be found mines of gold and silver.

The eastern border range is a continuation of the main range of the north-eastern Carpathians; it stretches from the pass of *Borgó* to the pass of *Bodza*. It stretches sometimes in a single, sometimes in a double range, of which the outer range coinciding with the frontier of the country is the lowest.

Its principal component parts are the *Alps of Gyergyó* with the passes of *Tölgyes*, *Békás* and *Gyimes*. The lower is called the *Alps of Csík* with the wildly romantic pass of *Ojtoz*; from thence southward the picturesque range of the *Alps of Háromszék* to the pass of *Bodza*. Notable peaks are the *Csilyános* (1600 m) rising like a bastion at the south-eastern corner of the country; and to the north of this *Nemere* (2030) the place of origin of the stormy Nemere winds which occasionally rage and devastate the valley of the Fekete Úgy which opens just in front of it. In the lower portion of the Alps of Háromszék a great many gas springs bubble forth, the most remarkable of which is the so called »*Pokol Sár*«, a mud volcano of which the like cannot be found. It bursts forth in the middle of the village of Kovászna where its exceedingly cold and effervescing water filled with lava ashes is caught in an artificial basin.

The southern border range stretches in a south-easterly direction from the Bodza pass to the Iron Gates on the Danube and from thence, strictly along the Danube, to the Great Hungarian Plain. On the north it is bounded by the valley of the Olt and the Maros. Its western ends branch out into the form of a fan and sink into dwarf hills towards the plain of the Tisza.

This grand frontier mountain is the highest and most sternly majestic range in the whole Carpathian system, in which lofty and steep peaks of rock, deep and dark precipices, finely shaped conical and swelling hills alternate. Its principal component parts are the *Alps of Brassó* from the Bodza pass to the mountain known as *Királykő* (4240 m). The line of these Alps is broken by three used passes: the *Ósáncz*, the *Tömös*, and the *Töröcsvár*.

The most noteworthy is the *Tömös* pass through whose peculiarly romantic hollow the Budapest-Predeal railway passes into Roumania. Its highest peak is the *Bucsesd*, (2500 meter).

Further the *Alps of Fogaras* run as far as the pass of

Vöröstorony through whose winding opening in the narrow gorge of immense walls of rock, the river Olt forces its way down to the Wallachian plain. After the high Tátra these are the loftiest peaks in the Carpathians and amongst them the bald forehead of the *Negoj* rises to 2600 m. Beyond the pass of Vöröstorony follow the lower group of the *Resinár-hills* which with their western neighbours, the mountainous country of *Hunyad*, stretches to the rivers of Sztrigy and Zsil. Besides the Zsil rich beds of coals are worked. From this country the *Vulcan* pass opens into Roumania; it is of difficult passage.

About the middle course of the Sztrigy a beautiful valley opens: the *Hátszeg-Vidék* celebrated for its natural beauty and especially for the ruins of Sarmizegethusa the capital town of the Dacian King Decebalus and for the castle of Vajda Hunyad, the ancestral seat of the Hunyadis, recently successfully rebuilt. The finest mountain of the Hátszeg-Vidék Alps is the Retyezát (2470 m.). Near Vajda Hunyad there are splendid mines of iron-ore and iron works.

From thence the last member of the border range runs down by Orsova to the Danube. Amongst the beautiful valleys of this group of hills the most interesting is the valley of Mehadia containing the celebrated baths of Hercules. Beyond these *the mountains of the Bánság* spread themselves over the country between the Danube and Maros. A notable group of hills is the *Bánság Érczhegység* with mount Szemenik (1500 m) forming its centre, a seat of manufactory industry owing to its rich strata of iron and coal.

The western boundary range spreads from the right bank of the Maros to the lower course of the Szamos. It rather consists of rows of hills whose principal ridges run for the most part from east to west whilst rivers and brooks pour down between them into the Alföld or Great Hungarian Plain. This row of hills is divided into a southern and northern section by the Sebes-Körös. The most westerly portion of



the southern section is the group of hills called *Hegyes* and *Drócsa* between the Maros and the White Kőrös. From thence eastward the *Transylvanian Érczhegység* branches out in the space between the rivers Maros and Aranyos with rich mines of gold and iron.

Especially noticeable in this group of mountains is the *Detunata* composed of columns of basalt resembling a gigantic organ, also the gorge of *Torda* 30 kilometers long and running between steep rocks from 300 to 600 m. high and the so called *Transylvanian Hegyalja*. Higher up between the White Kőrös and the Swift Kőrös the *Bihar-Vlegyász* group of lime-stone hills branch out with peaks 1800—1850 m. high. The continuation of this group of hills which stretches towards Kolozsvár is known as the *Alps of Gyalu*; lower in height but divided into several branches. The northern section of the boundary range begins with the *Királyhágó* mountain rising above the romantic and narrow valley of the Swift Kőrös, beyond which are the lower hills of the *Réz* and *Meszes* melting into the rows of hills of the district of Kraszna and Szilágy, known as *Érmellék*, beyond which the higher mountains of *Bükk* closes the western boundary range.

The interior of the elevated table land surrounded by the boundary ranges which we have just sketched, is covered by a system of lower mountains and hills which are for the most part offshoots of the Hargita mountain. This *Hargita* is in the neighbourhood of the eastern boundary range and runs more or less parallel with it from the neighbourhood of the Borgo pass to the district of Kézdi-Vásárhely. The Hargita is separated from the eastern boundary range by the rivers Maros and Olt which rise near to one another but flow in opposite directions; the former watering in its upper course the beautiful valley of the Gyergyó, the latter the basin of the Csik. The northern portion of Hargita is composed of the mountains of *Görgény* 1400 to 1700 m. high; the middle portion is the Hargita properly so called with lofty ridges averaging 1700 m. high, with rich mines

of salt and an abundance of mineral springs; the southern lower portion is formed by the *Hermány mountains*, with conical and rounded hills amongst which is the *Büdös mountain* 1200 m. high and celebrated for the sulphurous caves and mineral springs. In its neighbourhood is the *Csomád mountain* on which in a height of 918 m, and surrounded by pine forests appears the beautiful »eye of the sea« known as *St. Anna's lake*.

From the Hargita towards the Olt stretch the low rows of hills known as the *Apáczs* and *Olt* hills; to the west and north-west the hills between the two *Küküllös*; and those again which are contained by the groups of hills along the course of the Maros and Szamos. Between the *Apáczs* hills and the Alps of Brassó lies the largest and finest plain in Transylvania known as the *Barcaság* along the course of the Olt and Fekete-Ügy.

A great portion of the country between the Maros and Szamos is occupied by the undulating country known as the *Mezőség*, in which there are neither trees nor stone but abundant little pools and marshes which are found in every direction in the hollows of the ground which nowhere shape themselves into valleys. The northern portion of the *Mezőség* as well as the middle course of the Maros abound in rich deposits of salt and in salt springs.

B. The offshoots of the mountain system of the *Alps* which break into the territory of the Hungarian kingdom are divided into three chief groups. Between the Danube and the Adriatic, between the Danube and the Drave the eastern offshoots of the *Noric Alps*, between the Drave and the Save the last branches of the *Carnic Alps* and lastly, between the Save and the Adriatic, the eastern continuation of the *Julian Alps*.

Between the Danube and the Drave we find for the most part hills of a moderate altitude: to the west the frontier hills in the counties of Sopron and Vas; between the Rába the Danube and the Balaton the Bakony-Vértes hills; between the Balaton the Danube and the Drave, the Pécs Siklós hills.

The frontier hills stretch from Austria and Styria into our country. They do not form a natural boundary as their ridges rise here within and there without the frontier line or indeed, lie across it, opening numerous valleys in the direction of Hungary, which so far from hindering on the contrary facilitate the communication with the neighbouring provinces. Their northernmost portion are the *Lajta hills* beginning on the right bank of the Danube, in front of the termination of the little Carpathians. The continuation of the Lajta hills towards the Fertő are the hills of Ruszt and southward the beautiful *Rozália hills* (820 m.) near Sopron. Below these there are only low hills until we come to the neighbourhood of Kőszegh, where the finely formed *Irottkő* (900 m.) is the highest peak. Below Szombathely again there follow hills that are not high but steep, while further to the east extends a picturesque undulating country.

The mountains *Bakony-Vértes*, stretching over the western and northern shores of the Balaton, may be regarded as an independent mountain system, as it is connected with the real offshoots of the Alps only by low hills. At but a small distance from the low hills at the south-western end of the *Bakony* there rise here and there, out of the elevated table land, very fine conical hills standing alone with for the most part a romantic ruined castle upon their not lofty tops. The wooded ridge of the Bakony rises gradually towards the north, but its loftiest points do not much exceed 600 m. From Bakony the low ground about Moor separates the much less extensive mountain of *Vértes*, which in its chief direction winds towards Tata. In the east the tergeminel group of Gerecse, Gete and Pilis follow on to the Vértes covering the bay of the Danube, where at Vác the river changes the direction of its course, and sloping down steeply to the river, especially at Visegrád. The easternmost of this group; the *Pilis*, sends down low but picturesque offshoots along the course of the Danube towards Budapest. Amongst the hills of Buda the steep Mount Gellért, sloping gradually to the

Danube, is of interesting form from amongst whose rocks hot springs burst forth.

Lower down beyond the broad plain known as the *Mező-föld* the hills of *Pécs-Siklós* branch out towards the south and form a range of moderate height, the chief elevated points are the *Zengőhegy* (681 m.) by Pécs-Várad and close to Pécs, the long backed *Mecsek* (592 m.) which abounds in rich supplies of coal.

The offshoots from the Alps found between the Drave and the Save are for the most part of moderate height. Their chief members are here: the *Matzel hills*, rising on the frontier between Croatia and Stiria and further to the east *Ivancsicza*, *Kalnik-Bilo* and *Papuk* mountains and then beyond a wide low ground between Eszék and Pétervárad-rises the *Vrdnik* or *Fruska-Gora*. The mountain of Ivancsicza has peaks surpassing a 1000 meters in height.

Between the Save, the Kulpa, the Adriatic and the Una extends the *Karst*, an exceedingly uneven table land which is marked by a very severe climate. It is bounded by the mountain ranges of *Velebit* and *Kapella-Plesivicza*. Between these two cornice-like ranges of hills, there are scattered about in every direction, broad, rocky and, for the most part, bald mounts and ridges, underneath which are smaller or larger trough or cauldronshaped clefts in the ground and trenches without any exit in the most tangled confusion. In most of them their barren ugliness is seldom relieved by a brook which now and then appears at the bottom of the hollows and again disappears. The whole of the *Karst* district has the appearance of the scattered ruins of an immense bombarded fortress. Here and there, especially on the cornice mountains, traces of wood are to be seen.

The plains. In the space between the two mountain-systems sketched above, i. e., the Alps and the Carpathians, stretch two level beds of unequal size; the *Little* and the *Great Hungarian Plain*.

The little Hungarian Plain or the basin of Pozsony lies

in the western part of the country upon both sides of the Danube somewhat in the shape of an ellipse, so that its longer axis falls between Vág-Ujhely and Körmend and its shorter axis between Pozsony and Párkány. Its extent is about 15.000 square kilometers; in smaller or larger parts, it belongs to ten counties, one of which: the county of Moson lies entirely within its bounds. The Danube cuts it almost exactly in half. The portion on the left bank is somewhat higher and here and there breaks into gentle undulations; the portion on the right bank lies lower and is almost wholly a perfectly flat plain, the hollowest portion of this plain is the so-called *Hanság* between the Fertő and the Rábca 363 □-kilometer, in extent covered with boggy meadows and beds of reeds, a considerable portion of which, however, has been rendered capable of cultivation by means of systematic draining. The middlemost portion of the plain is formed by the islands of the Danube of which the largest is *Csallóköz* a piece of land 90 kilometers long and 15 to 30 kilometers broad, which on account of its great fertility was formerly called the »golden garden«. In latter times this fertility has considerably diminished owing to the destruction of the forests and still more the regulation of the Danube, which has put a stop to the fertilizing overflows of the river, without however being able to prevent from time to time greater inundations from breaking in and covering the island with gravel and sand instead of the fertilizing slime, or turning some portions of the island into bog and marsh.

The soil of the Pozsony basin consisting for the most part of black clay and fat alluvial deposits, is almost everywhere exceedingly fertile.

From this beautiful plain, we come through the passes of the Danube at Vác, to the *great Hungarian Plain*, the most characteristic part of our country's territory. It occupies about 90.000 □-kilometers and stretches from the northern girdle of the Carpathians through the centre of the country down to the lower Danube. The lowbanked stream of the Tisza

traverses its largest portion, as it were a furrow drawn through the midst of it, but its western borders stretch well beyond the Danube, the bed of which, parallel with that of the Tisza, is by the same latitude, much higher than the latter.

The Great Hungarian Plain appearing as an unending and for the most part uniform flat surface is not so monotonous as some persons please to assert. Besides the sublimity of size it has also that variety that different portions of it have varying average altitude. Along the rivers, especially along the course of the Tisza, we find elevations of only 70—80 m. above the level of the sea, but further off the elevation is about 150—160 and in the neighbourhood of the mountains from 200—300 m., so that the average height of the whole plain may be set at 120 m. In several places, especially in the sandy region between the Tisza and the Danube, rows of mounds and sand dunes are frequent, such as form, for instance, an almost continuing line of dunes from Kecskemét to Halas. Equally undulating is the surface of the sandy *Nyírség* above Tokaj, as well as in the south the *Telecska* hills along the banks of the Francis-canal and further between the Temes and the Danube the sandy waste in the neighbourhood of Deliblát which has been lately brought under cultivation as vineyards. On the other hand in many places there are deep hollows which are wet and impregnated with natron. Such towards the north is the marsh of *Ecsed* by the side of the Kraszna and much lower down, along the course of the triple Körös, the *Sárrét* and quite in the south, on the banks of the Temes, the *marshes of Álibunár*. These districts are for the most part quite bald yet not entirely unused, as they grow reeds or rushes or furnish natron.

This natural variation is considerably increased by human industry which here and there has fostered fine wood and more often broad pastures and meadows full of luxuriant grass; the villages are for the most part surrounded by orchards and vineyards and everywhere immense tracts are brought

under the plough with, more or less isolated, and larger and smaller farmhouses gleaming amongst the fields, each one of them a centre of agricultural operations, as it were the outermost colonies of the villages which, (owing to historical causes) stand at great distances from one another, especially between the Tisza and the Danube but are the more large and populous. The ploughed fields stretching to infinity, are tranversed by state, county and communal roads, and their sides are fringed by rows of shady trees, such as mark off also the boundaries of the larger estates. Railways too are sufficiently numerous on the Alföld.

Herd of horned cattle, horses, sheep and swine are much more seldom apparent on the broad fields at the present day than they used to be; still however such interesting details are not wanting to the general picture of the great Hungarian plain only the present more regulated method of farming keeps them within narrower bounds.

Waters. Hungary is sufficiently rich also in water, both running water and standing water. Its rivers in general belong to the river system of the Danube; the only exceptions are the Poprád and the Dunajecz which have their sources in the High Tatra and flow into the Vistula.

The *Danube* enters the territory of our country from the basin of Vienna through the picturesque gorge of Dévény, whence it hurries in an easterly direction as far as Vác. There it makes a sudden turn towards the south, in which direction it continues as far as the confluence of the Dráva; there again it takes a sudden turn to the east and continues in a south-easterly direction beyond Orsova to the Iron Gates where it hastens with a violent current to the Wallachian plain. In this long journey the Danube touches upon very different kinds of country. It forces its way through hills into the little Hungarian plain and there receives on the left hand the rivers *Vág*, *Nyitra*, *Garam*, and *Ipoly*, and on the right *Lajta* and *Rába*, each of which has numerous tributaries of its own. Between Párkány and Esztergom it again flows

between hills until, between Vác and Visegrád, it enters the great Hungarian plain and there, slackening its current, it rolls its augmented waters majestically along as far as Bázias where it is very closely straitened by the lofty and steep rocks which upon either side are forming majestic borders of which the now regulated *pass of Kazán*, and the *Iron-Gate* lately cleared of the impediments to navigation, are the most interesting parts.

The Danube in its course downward from Vác to the confluence of the Drave, forms several islands of which the following are the most important: the inhabited island of *St.-Endre*, the *Margit island* part of the upper town of Budapest which has been transformed into a fairy-like garden and a splendid watering place; the island of *Csepel* which finds room for 10 communes below the capital; and in the neighbourhood of Mohács the island of *Margita* or *Mohács* and the island of *Nagy-Petres*. Further down there are banks of rock that rise above the surface, of which those that were dangerous to navigation are being destroyed by order of the Government.

On its course below Vác it is only on the right side that the Danube receives any tributary streams and these but unimportant ones until we come to the Drave which, as soon as it enters our country from Styria, forms with the Mura, coming from the same country and confluent with it at Légrad, the delightful *Mura-köz*. Below Eszék, the Drave falls into the Danube. A good distance further down between Zimony and Belgrade the Danube receives the waters of the *Sava* which has wandered its devious way through Croatia and Slavonia. Further on again from the left it receives the water of the *Tisza*. This great water which forms a separate small system of rivers, rises in our country and ends in the same. Before their confluence the two great rivers have already touched each other in as much as the navigable *Francis-Canal* which cuts across the country of Bács, forms a permanent connection between Bezdán and Bács-Földvár.

The Tisza (Theiss) rises in the north-eastern Carpathians being formed by the *White* and *Black Tisza*, on either side of the Ruszki mountain. After the confluence of these two mountain brooks the combined stream receives the *Visó*, the *Iza*, the *Taracz*, the *Talabor*, and the *Nagy-Ága*, and having thus grown to a mighty river flows out from amongst the mountains of Máramaros into the Great Hungarian Plain, on which it flows with extraordinary windings in a south-easterly direction as far as Szolnok and from thence southward. On reaching the Great Hungarian Plain its current becomes gradually slower and slower and when near its confluence with the Danube it becomes so sluggish that it fairly sticks in the Danube especially when the water is high and it not unfrequently happens that the water for a good distance seems rather to flow backwards than into the Danube. Of its numerous tributaries the most noticeable from the right side are the *Latorcza*, *Ung*, *Laborcz*, *Ondova*, and the *Toplyo*. The confluence of these rivers gives rise to the *Bodrog* which falls into the Tisza at Tokaj and together with the Tisza forms the extensive island of *Bodrogtöz*. Below the *Sajó* which unites with the *Hernád* and further the *Eger* and *Zagyva* are to be noticed from the same side. The tributaries on the left bank are the *Szamos*; originating from the little and the great Szaros, the *Kraszna* which flows through the Ecsed marsh; the triple *Körös* formed by the union of the *Swift* the *Black* and *White Körös*; the important *Maros* that receives into itself several tributaries and enters the Tisza at a point opposite to the town of Szeged and lastly just above Titel the regulated and canalized *Béga*.

The greater portion of the Tisza has been regulated, partly by building dams along its sides, partly by shortening its long course by more than a hundred cuttings. The regulation of the Tisza has recovered for agriculture a large amount of arable land, but has not been able to put an end to the dangers of inundation; indeed this system of regulation was the cause of the great destruction that befell Szeged in 1879.

Beyond the confluence of the Tisza, the *Temes*, the *Karas*, the *Néra*, and the *Cserna* fall into the Danube.

In the Hungarian coat of arms four silver polliers represent the Danube, the Tisza, the Drave and the Save.

Standing waters there are comparatively little in our country; of greater size there are only two: the *Balaton* and the *Fertő*, both on the right side of the Danube.

The Balaton extends between the counties of Veszprém, Somogy, and *Zala* from north-east in a long but comparatively narrow bed and with such beautiful environs as to form in point of scenery the pearl, not only of the trans-Danubian district, but of all Hungary. The surface of its waters is 690 square kilometers in extent and stands 130 m. above the level of the sea, its greatest length is about 66 and its greatest breadth more than 12 km. But the mountain peninsula of Tihany stretching in from the west into its upper portion, makes it so narrow, that in that place it is hardly wider than 600 m. On its north-western and northern banks extends the fringe of the Bakony system of hills sometimes sloping sometimes steep and rocky so that in parts these form the actual banks. On the eastern and southern side stretches an undulating plain bordering the bluish-green tinted lake with shores of fine sand. The lake is on an average from 7—11 m. deep, but in the neighbourhood of Tihany, celebrated for its abbey and its echo, there are parts which are 45—46 m. deep. From the neighbouring hills several small streams flow into the Balaton and besides these it is nourished by springs in its own bed, some of which are cold and others hot. The only exit of its waters is at the north-eastern corner, where the brooklike stream of the *Sió* flows from it and falls into the Danube. On its banks mineral springs of sour water burst out at Balaton-Füred, and at Keszthely there are hot springs. *Balaton-Füred* is one of Hungary's most beautiful and most distinguished watering places. Latterly at *Siófok*, near to the point where the Sajó leaves the lake, a pretty little bathing colony has been started, which imitates the seaside baths in

the waves and breakers of the »Hungarian sea«. The Balaton abounds in fish. Its waters in the great winter freeze all over and sometimes to such an extent that waggon's can cross over on the ice. This is, however, always dangerous, for the ice at times bursts with a noise like that of a cannon (»rianás«) and the opening thus arising swallows up everything on it without any chance of safety. In summer it is traversed by steam boats.

The *Fertő* extends between the counties of Moson and Sopron and is half the size of the Balaton. Its greatest length is 32 and its greatest breadth is 13 km. Its extent is 325 square km. Its surface, which stands 112 m. above the level of the sea, is beautiful but not permanent; sometimes, without any assignable cause, it increases and at another time it diminishes, so that for years together there is scarcely any water in it at all. In the belief that it had completely dried up, its bed had repeatedly been brought under cultivation, and here and there buildings had been erected on it; but all at once it began again to fill and everything was buried beneath the water. This happened for the last time 1878—1882. When it is full there are few places more than 3 m. deep. Its western side is bounded by a picturesque range of low hills.

The other lakes or pools are much smaller. Amongst these we may mention the lake of *Velence* to the north-east of the Balaton; and in the county of Komárom the so called »bottomless« pool of Tata, and between the Danube and the Tisza there are the pools of *Halas*, *Szeged* and *Palics* which are strongly impregnated with natron.

Besides the canals already mentioned, the Francis and Béga canal, there is in the county of Temes the *Versecz canal*, in the territory of Temes and Torontál the *Berzava canal*, beyond the Danube the *Rába*, *Sárvíz*, *Sió*, and *Kapos canals*, and beyond the Drave the *Vukovár-Samác* canal. Steamboats can only circulate on the Francis canal.

Mineral waters we have in great abundance, such as several kinds of *sour waters*, *chalybeate*, *ironvitriol*, *cookingsalt*,

glaubersalt, bittersalt, sulphureous, iodine- and neutral (both cold and hot) springs.

From the *Geological* point of view the chief components of our mountains are partly granite, upon which rest cristallized slate formations, partly a group of mesozoic formations followed by tertiary strata. Especially worthy of notice is the wide diffusion of the *Carpathian sand-stone*, still more of the *trachyte* which, as regards the mineral system, so characteristically distinguishes the Carpathians from the Alps, which in so many other points agree with them. The paleozoic formations seldom occur; so much the more frequent are the mesozoic strata, which form the border of mountains composed of granite and cristallized slate, or form the foundation of long ranges of mountains. In some places there are rows of hills of tertiary formation. The surface is generally covered with diluvium on which the lower strata in some places, especially on the tops of the hills, break through. Modern deposits are spread partly along the course and valleys of rivers, partly spread over smaller or larger extent of ground in the form of shifting sand. In some places lime-tuff occurs which seems to have been deposited by springs containing lime in solution. Both in the great and little Hungarian plain it is only on the borders that neogen strata make their appearance to any height, whereas in the interior they are only to be found as isolated islands. The central portion of the great Hungarian plain is for the most part covered with diluvial and alluvial deposits which are in some parts only a few meters deep, but in others of unknown thickness. To this belongs the vegetable mould of the Tiszahát and of the so called Bántág, whose fertility is so celebrated, but on the other hand also the shifting sand which occupies large tracks, especially between the Danube and the Tisza without, however, rendering them wholly incapable of cultivation. The deposits in the Alföld are for the most part of great value in agriculture and form a secure foundation for the prosperity of which the inhabitants of that vast territory may boast.

The climate of Hungary is in accordance with its geographical position; taken on the whole, it is a moderately continental climate. Three types may, however, be distinguished, that of the *mountain districts*, that of the *Alföld*, and on the extreme western border — at Fiume — more or less developed, that of the *sea-coast*.

The climate of the mountain district prevails most definitely in the northern and eastern range of the Carpathians, not however to an extreme extent, in as much as the height of the hills is on the whole but moderate. On the interior of the country these border mountains have a very favourable influence, as the uninterrupted range keeps out the cold winds of the north, whereas the warm winds of the south can find their way with scarcely any obstacle over the whole country.

The Alföld climate shows itself in the Little and Great Alföld, as well as along the lower course of the Mura the Drave and the Save, but still in such a way that its most characteristic peculiarities are especially perceived on the Great Alföld, where great differences, indeed extreme differences, manifest themselves both in the variation of temperature, and in the annual and monthly distribution of the downfalls.

The average mean temperature is almost everywhere higher, than is to be expected from the latitudes; although in the highest mountain districts it is on the other hand, lower than would be expected from its latitude.

The annual mean temperature in different parts of the country varies between 5·4 and 14·2 C., the lowest in January (between 4·4 and 5·4 C.), the highest in July (between 16·4 and 24·1 C.). According to the season of the year, in spring 5·8 and 12·7; in summer 15·7 and 23·1 in autumn; 6·8 and 14·9, in winter 4·7 and 6·2 C. On the whole the variation of the summer temperature is less than that of spring and autumn and the variation of the winter temperature is the greatest. On the whole the variation is greater in the Alföld, than in the mountain districts. Especially variable is the weather in spring,

most of all in May, when there is often rime and frosts which cause great damage to the crops and the fruit.

The summer, especially in the Alföld, is long and hot; the winter often very severe, and lasts much longer in the mountain districts. The spring in the Transylvanian valleys comes from 5—8 days later than in the Alföld, in the northern valleys of the Carpathians two or three weeks later than in the Alföld, where one may say they begin to plough and sow all at once over the whole plain.

The pressure of the air in the lowermost portions of the Alföld (Pancsova and surroundings) is 755—758 mm., in Budapest and surroundings it averages 456½ mm.

In the summer the *délibáb* or Fata Morgana is a very charming and every day phenomenon which on tranquil warm days rises about noon-tide and like a resplendent sea spreads over the heated plain as far as the eye can reach. This charming phenomenon sometimes appears until the middle of October.

The one of our seasons which has the most settled weather, is the autumn which, besides the month of September and October, sometimes extends over the first half of November, but mostly only in the southern half of the Alföld.

As regards the currents of air, in the summer the southern and still more the south-western winds prevail, moist and warm; in winter, on the other hand, it is chiefly the dry winds of the north-east which are seldom replaced by winds from the due-north or the due-east. The summer winds blow from the end of April to the end of September sometimes to the middle of October, the winter winds from October to April. At certain times and certain places of course winds also from other directions make their appearance. Storm and tempest are more frequent in the mountain districts, than on the plain. In the Tatra and in Transylvania there is an average of 22 days of storm, on the Alföld only 13 in the year.

In our country the downfall of rain is likewise very extreme; most whimsical in the Alföld, where in one year, on account of the drought, all vegetation is burnt up, pools and

marshes are dried, springs and rivers disappear; while in another year the district is laid bare by inundations. The downfalls are regularly much greater in the mountains than on the plains. The yearly downfall in the Carpathians is on an average 100—120, while on the Alföld it is 50—60 ctm. of which the largest quantity is for the most part 5—6 times more than the least. In the mountain districts, excluding the largest mountains, there are about 114 days of rain, but on the Alföld only about 101, and if we divide them according to the months, we shall find them so unfortunately distributed that, in the hottest months, there is the least rainfall so that, when the annual fall is 60 cm., the country often suffers from drought. It being a peculiarity of the Alföld that there the rain keeps on increasing from the beginning of spring until the opening of summer, after which it suddenly diminishes; so that the summer on the whole is inclined to drought. This is aggravated by the fact that the occasional summer rains, are rather heavy showers, of which the water partly runs quickly off, partly is soon evaporated by the great heat. In the mountain districts waterspouts are frequent. The downfall is the greatest in October and especially in November and the least in the months of January, February and September. The moisture of the air is on the Alföld 63⁰/o and in the highland 74⁰/o. In Transylvania they reckon an average of 44 days of snowfall, in the rest of the country 35. Permanent snow only occurs in single hollows of the Carpathians, even there there is but little of it. The most cloudy season is the spring.

Fiume has a very dry summer and a very rainy autumn and winter. Whenever the pressure of the atmosphere is low over the sea, and high over the dry land, very stormy north- and north-east (*bora*) winds prevail.

The extremes in the climate and downfall of Hungary have a very great effect both on the physical and mental life of the inhabitants as also on its fauna and flora. The living organization that cannot accommodate itself to these extremes necessarily perishes; such organizations, however, as have sufficient

power of resistance, not only survive but flourish and multiply. Thus, with all these extremes the country is a part of Europe distinguished by a healthy climate and soil. With regard to its fauna, Hungary is an entirely peculiar and one may say unexampled country in Europe, for not only is it the meeting place of the animals of the north, south, east and west parts of our quarter of the globe, but it is also a border beyond which certain animals do not spread, either this way or that. Thus the south Russian »blind or earth dog« (*Spalax typhlus*. Pall.) does not spread over the west of our country. Among south European animals the short or maimed lizard (*Ablepharus pannonicus* F.) which is properly speaking a native of Greece, goes no further northward beyond our country and it is worth noticing, that this interesting animal has been described and named from a specimen found in the Buda-hills. The Jackal (*Canis aureus*. L.) is only found in the south, in the jungles of reeds beside the rivers of the Great Plain. The brown vulture does not go any further north, nor yet does the Balkan bat (*Miniopterus Schreibersii*) which is not to be seen beyond Vienna. Of western animals there are some species of beetles that do not spread further east than our country, whereas of northern animals several species of divers do not migrate further south than the Great Hungarian Plain.

For the rest, more than 70 species of mammals, of birds more than 310 species, and of fish about 70 live in our country. In the immense forests the bear, the wolf, the fox, the badger, the wild cat and the lynx, further the roe, the red-deer, wild-swine, wild-goat, and the chamois are the most noticeable. Of hares there are enough everywhere; but the marmot, the martin, the ermine, several species of rodents, and others are sufficiently common. Of domestic mammals the beautiful white and long-horned cattle, the middle-sized, but active and enduring horse which has not lost its peculiar characteristics even under the influence of the government studs; the sheep, of which the native race, distinguished by

long and twisted horns and curled fleece has latterly considerably diminished, the goat, the swine of which the Alföld — the so called *Szalonta* — variety is of great value; of asses there are but few, and those but of mean quality; the mule only occurs as a rarity. The variety of dog called *Komondor*, so especially adapted for guarding sheep, is dying out; the greyhound too is becoming scarce.

Amongst birds may be mentioned the numerous species of vultures and eagles. The buzzard, the kite, hawk, falcon, sparrow-hawk, and the kestrel, the owls, crows, thrushes, wood-pecker, cuckoo, duck, diver, moor-hen, landrail, snipe, grouse, partridge, quail, cock of the woods and the numerous singing birds of the woods etc.

On the Alföld the most interesting birds are the white-egret heron, the crane, the great-bustard, the ibis, the stork, the wild-geese, the wild-duck, the swan, the pelican, the kingfisher, the pheasant, etc. Domestic fowls are reared in great quantities everywhere, especially cocks and hens, geese, ducks, turkeys. Amongst the fishes may be mentioned the *Fogas* of the Balaton, the carp, the tench, the crucian, white-fish, the perch, rough *domolykó* perch (*Aspro vulgaris*), the sand perch, the pike, the cat fish, the eel-pout, more than one kind of sturgeon, the trout, the *csik*. Owing to the regulation of the rivers and the increase of steam navigation, our former abundance of fish has greatly diminished; people are now taking to artificial fish culture and that with good success.

With regard to its flora Hungary is, as it were, the meeting place of the floras of the Black-sea, the Mediterranean, and the Baltic to which a few members of the Alpine flora have attached themselves. In our highland districts, especially in Transylvania, the flora is exclusively of a mountain character, while lower down especially on the Great Plain plants of the most various character are found mixed confusedly together. Four principal botanical territories may be distinguished in the country. 1. The Carpathian hill and mountain territory, which again divides into two independent sections,

those of the north-western and the eastern Carpathians respectively ; 2. The district of the low hills and of the mountains that stand alone. 3. The Alföld. 4. The shores of the Adriatic together with the hilly districts of Croatia and Slavonia.

The flora of the Alföld, especially that of the marshes, the natron beds and sand hills, is strikingly different from the forms found in the northern and eastern mountains. On the Alföld annuals prevail, there is little wood and on the treeless territory shrubs abound. The most ordinary trees are the oak, the poplar and the acacia. The most numerous are the fruit-trees, especially along the course of the Tisza and in the country between the Tisza and the Danube, where apples, pears, apricots, cherry, kentish cherry (*merisier*), and plum grow in many places in great quantities and of an excellent quality, especially those that are planted in the vineyards, which furnish not only wine but fresh grapes also, for exportation.

The forests for the most part cover the mountainous borders of the land, in a belt of the breadth from 30—150 kilometers. In these the most frequent trees are the two species of oaks, the beech, and the different kinds of pines ; more rarely occur the maple, hornbeam, the ash, the poplar, the linden tree, the elm, the beech, and the alder. Upon the whole the trees of fir and pine-kind occupy less ground than the deciduous trees. In the mountain districts the woods occupy 30% of the area, on the Alföld on the contrary only from 1—5%.

All the plants that are used in Central Europe for agricultural, manufacturing and commercial purposes and desire a warm summer, all grow in our country. The different kinds of corn grow in abundance, maize, rape, tobacco, flax, hemp, potatoes and leguminous vegetables as well as the various kinds of the best of the ennobled fruit, such as the almond, the spanish chestnut, the fig and even the olive are found. The production of wine is still of great importance in spite of the recent devastation, for the grape grows and ripens

well everywhere in our country, with the exception of the counties of Turócz, Árva, Liptó, Szepes, Sáros, and Mármaros and the more elevated portion of Transylvania and Croatia. Lastly to be mentioned are numerous medicinal plants, several of which are articles of export to foreign countries.

Hungary is also abundantly blessed with mineral treasures, but only in particular districts. On the Great Plain only salt-petre, natron and peat occur, in particular places; on the other hand, the mountains of the highlands conceal in their bosoms rich deposits of ore. They especially dig out in great abundance iron-ore in the north-western and south-eastern highlands. In all Europe the country which produces most gold is the mountains of Transylvania. Silver, copper, cobalt, nickel, quick-silver, zinc, tellurium, lead and magnets are found in varying quantities. In some places they wash gold-dust from the streams. A special product of our country, which has a world-wide reputation, is the noble opal which is found in the trachyte beds by Vörösvágás. Cooking-salt is found in immense abundance both in Transylvania and Mármaros, Rock-salt is, in some places, to be seen in the form of quite bare rocks. Black-coal is not found in many places but there is plenty of brown-coal. Useful stone, especially red marble, sand stone, trachyte and slate, are abundant. Lime is burnt in many places. Lately they have discovered petroleum and asphalt in certain layers of the Carpathian sand-stone, the mining and working of which has already developed to an important industry.



The History of Hungary.

The present territory of the Hungarian dominions, shaped in the form of a circle and only towards the south-west extending to the sea, is a united territory of a character eminently unique and strongly accented geographically. Its boundaries have been nearly everywhere assigned by Nature, but it has been moulded into a political whole not by Nature but by the political genius and civil abilities of the Hungarian people. Until the conquest of the land by the Hungarians only individual parts, borderlands of this territory, loom out of the darkness of history, to play a part in the annals of the human race. The bulk of the land was still covered with obscurity, while the remaining portions were basking in the sun of civilisation. The northern and eastern mountain district, the sandy, marshy plains of the basin of the Danube and the Tisza, despite their geographical connection, had no political union with the remaining portions of the country. The Hungarians have in the course of centuries achieved this union, and with their blood, with the force of their intellect they have preserved it now for a thousand years.

In the most ancient times the Celts of the West pushed forward also into this land and founded a certain civilisation. They cultivated the ground, carried on trade and commerce; and the amber from the land of the fabled North passed

through their territory, and, perhaps by their aid, to the South. Within the natural fortresses of the southern Carpathians the Thracians established themselves. But the Celts and Thracians alike were swallowed up by the Roman empire which in the course of two hundred years had conjured up here a bloom of culture and social life. A widespread network of towns, fortresses and roads, covered the conquered territory, to which however only the west and southern part of the land belonged. The woody districts of the Carpathians and the plains of the lowlands were at this time only sparsely peopled by poor barbarians, who had not raised themselves to any height of civilisation nor have signalised their names by any meritorious actions or creations in the history of the land in which they were born. The waves of the great barbarian inroads soon swept away conquerors and conquered alike, along with the whole of Roman life and culture. The legions withdrew to Italy, and on the Danube and the Black Sea rose the kingdom of the Huns which under King Attila struck all Europe with terror. The present kingdom of Hungary was the nucleus of this empire. Here the Nibelungs of German heroic legend fought their bloodthirsty fight, and here Attila died on his wedding night (453). With his death his empire fell in pieces. The Huns dispersed and were lost in the flood of nations. Only a small fragment of their race succeeded according to tradition, in finding a refuge in a corner of mountainous Transylvania.

The present kingdom of Hungary served as a great highway of nations through which the hordes of barbarians, destroying and ravaging, poured in. Gepidae, Ostrogoths and Lombards, one after another took a long rest here, but they created no civilisation, on the contrary they destroyed the little which had survived from the Roman period. The Germans were succeeded by an Asiatic nation, the Avars, who inhabited this land two and half centuries continuously until Charlemagne, the universal conqueror and king of the Franks, broke their power, and brought the western boundaries under Franco-

Bavarian hegemony. The largest part of modern Hungary with its forests, its impetuous streams, torrents and swamps, remained also at this time so to say without a ruler. Everywhere on the left and right banks of the Danube, in the deserts of the Danube and Tisza basin, in the valleys of the hill country, but particularly on the banks of the rivers there still lived a scattered population, remnants of the Avars, wandering hordes of Slaves, here and there a few Bulgarians. But none of these elements attained a high culture, none was able to raise itself above a loose clan organisation. Neither they nor those peoples who preceded them have left behind any town, any monument of civilisation or even of architecture; and only their skeletons, ornaments and arms extracted from the depths of the earth, the gloom of caves or their own graves, have over and above the scanty dates of chronicles, preserved the memory of their abode in this land.

This wilderness, this desolate, scantily populated territory was taken possession of by the Hungarians in the last decade of the ninth century. From the declivities of the Urals the waves of immigration had driven them hither. They were a people teeming with primitive strength, veteran horsemen, remarkable for their dexterity with the bow. They could preserve discipline, they were bold in attack and unwearied in pursuing the enemy until they had annihilated him. The Hungarians showed themselves as true types of light horsemen when they began their rôle on the stage of Europe.

In their wanderings they encamped first on the plains of the lower Dnieper and the Don («Lebedia») and fought in alliance with the Cazars. But the Bessenyös drove them from there to Etelköz, into the plain between the rivers Dnieper, Bug, Dniester, Pruth and Seret. Yet their stay here was not long, for the Bessenyös and the Bulgarians attacked them again, and that decided their fate. Under the leadership of Árpád, the son of the old Álmos, their individual tribes came into nearer connection and made ready to acquire a better home. They penetrated into modern Hungary, whither

they were perhaps invited by the residue of the Avars their kinsmen. From the north they penetrated over the Carpathians through the pass of Vereczke and the valley of Latorcza into the country between the Tisza and the Danube. We do not know the exact route of this march nor the year of it. Certain however it is that they had actually taken possession of their new home in the interval between the years 889—896. The occupation of the territory is not connected with any memory of bloody battles or long wars. The Hungarians did not meet with either permanent political or tribal organisations, nor yet with any compact population which would have barred their way. Where the Hungarian warriors appeared they soon reduced to subjection the unorganised inhabitants. Their conquests did not extend only to the former Roman territory of Pannonia, but from here and from the plains of the lowlands which provided luxuriant meadows for their horses, studs and herds of cattle, as from a sort of central point, their dominion extended itself ever more and more towards the natural boundaries of the modern territory. Certain it is that the conquerors had taken complete possession of modern Hungary in the first century of their conquest even up to the pathless deserted forest heights of the Carpathians, in which settlers only advanced very gradually in the next century, in order to wrest the land not by means of weapons from hostile nations but by their own labour from the churlishness of nature. Only on the river Vág in the north-western highlands, which were under the hegemony of Great Moravia a Slavic state then in formation, had the invaders to undertake bloody battles for the possession of the soil. Against the power of the Slaves the Hungarians were invited to co-operate by the Germans, and under the united attacks of Hungarians and Germans Great Moravia was annihilated, and the country of the Vág became the prize of the Hungarians.

It is only a matter of tradition, but at the same time it follows in the nature of events, that the political organisation of the newly acquired territory was already completed or at

least taken in hand under Árpád. The individual clans and families settled down in certain districts, their relation to one another and also to the subjected aborigines, required regulation. The leaders built castles which developed into central points not only for the defence of the land but also for its government, its administration and its economical life, and were a most effective means towards the establishment of the Hungarian hegemony. But the vigorous ambition and warlike spirit of the conquerors did not find satisfaction in the country itself for long. They sought occupation in foreign parts, and the chaotic condition of Europe at that time, the universal weakness of administration and of the powers connected with the defence of the land must have impelled them to sallies and inroads into foreign countries. Very soon those irruptions began with which they struck terror into the lands of the south and the west for half a century together. First in the year 899 they marched against Italy. Next their nimble horses carried them into the most distant lands from whence they were accustomed to return home laden with treasures and slaves. They brought back labourers in great numbers which they had need of for the scanty population of their new home.

The death of Árpád in the year 907 had no effect in diminishing the irruptions, nor had the defeat at Riade, which the German emperor Henry I inflicted on them in the year 933. The decisive reverse at Lechfeld near Augsburg (955) was the first thing that effected a revolution in their mode of thought. Their political instinct told them that Europe can bear no people in its midst who only live on robbery and by continuously preying on their neighbours. There had moreover a new generation arisen which paid attention to new European ideas; for the constant intercourse with foreign lands, though only in a spirit of war, the multitudinous importations and immigrations of foreign slaves, opened the door to western culture and the spirit of Christianity. The necessity came all the more into the foreground that

the Hungarian people should attach itself to European political life and provide itself with a government and constitution proportionate thereto. Árpád's, grandson, Géza, (972—997) applied himself consciously to achieve this end. He accepted Christianity and remained not only leader or chief of the race, but was the duke and real lord of the whole land. He exercised kingly power though without the title of king, he was a Christian, though he still offered sacrifices to the heathen gods. His reign is the transition from Asiatic relations to European political organisation, from heathenism to Christianity. He prepared the ground for the deep and revolutionary reforms which his son Stephen, with the visionary enthusiasm of a neophyte and with a political genius of a statesman penetrated with the culture of his time, carried consequently and consciously to completion.

When Stephen in the year 997 ascended the throne, he was fully conscious of his tasks, and worked for forty years with all his strength for the realisation of the same. He organised the new Fatherland of the Hungarians according to western patterns, and in this way gained for the Hungarian nation a place in the European family of nations. Of the Christian religion, which had existed in Hungary for centuries, and had many disciples and apostles there, he made a ruling religion. The new Hungarian State, wedged in as it was between the circle of eastern and western powers, was submitted equally to the influence of the Greek and the Roman Church, and both had disciples in the higher strata of Hungarian society as well as among the subjugated aborigines. When then Stephen made Christianity the dominant religion in his empire, he was obliged to choose between the Greek and the Latin church, between eastern and western civilisation. Stephen attached himself without delay to the west, and with apostolic zeal to Roman christianity. His political feeling, his insight as a statesman, the future of his kingdom led him towards the west, where at that time new culture and a renovated spiritual life had grown up, while

the Greek empire and the Greek civilisation were on the road to downfall. Stephen also took his wife from the west—the Princess Gisella a daughter of the Bavarian duke Henry II, and he asked his crown from the Roman pontiff. But his title of king he asked from nobody, he gained it from his own supreme power, and Pope Sylvester, for the crown which he had sent to the Hungarian king, aimed at no political influence and raised against the new Christian king and his state no legal demands. On the contrary he lent the king powers in ecclesiastical matters of so wide a range as scarcely any other ruler before or since has enjoyed. On the basis of the Pope's authorisation Stephen himself organised the Hungarian church. He divided his kingdom into church districts, deaneries and parishes; founded archbishoprics, bishoprics, and monasteries and arranged their territorial relations, their jurisdiction and benefices. For each of these new foundations of his he named the first dignitary and furnished ecclesiastical dignities and privileges. With apostolic zeal he exercised these prerogatives entrusted to his person, and at the end of his life the catholic church in king Stephen's monarchy rested on a solid organisation.

All this of course only took place after bloody fights. Heathenism did not die at once. Among the masses opposition arose, and chiefs of tribes who were dissatisfied with the new order of things appealed again and again to arms. Sometimes on the Trans-Danubian parts, sometimes in Transylvania or in the districts of Maros and Körös arose an uproar against Stephen's reforms, and the rising had to be quenched with blood and iron. All this checked only for the moment the activity of the king who, along with ecclesiastical reforms, gave effect to like thorough military, administrative, judicial and economical changes and completely transformed public and social life. To him belongs the institution of counties (*vármegye*), which at first served purely military purposes and the protection of the land, but in the course of centuries, adapting itself to the changed situations and needs of the time, became a

special national Hungarian institution and found its way everywhere where the Hungarian dominion had struck root. At first however it was especially a factor in the protection of the land and comprised those classes of the people who performed military services for the king, and in return for this received grants of land from public and castle-property for their support. In the county the king acquired that standing belligerent power with which he crushed intestine disturbances and could carry on his wars against external enemies. Stephen did not aim indeed at conquests, but he had several times to measure himself with foreign foes. He carried on wars with the Bessenyős and the Poles, his greatest war however being with the German emperor, Conrad I. In this victorious war he extended the bounds of his empire to the west even to the further side of the Leitha and Morava, as far as the Fischa.

Shortly after died the only son of the king, the heir of his throne, Prince Imre, whose education he had conducted with endless love and care. This blow crushed the king entirely, who was otherwise infirm, and the last days of his life passed away in sorrow. On the fifteenth of August 1038 he ended a life rich in enduring creations, in brilliance and renown, but also in sorrows. Deeply mourned by his nation he was laid to rest at Székesfehérvár.

His body became dust, but his wonder-working right hand has remained to our days, like the kingly Hungary which his political genius has created.

Among his immediate successors disputes as to succession and intestine quarrels checked the progress of the kingdom. The old and new ideas came into collision and neighbouring countries tried to turn these intestine quarrels to their own advantage. But Stephen's vital creations defied all tests. The repeated uprisings of heathendom were repressed; the attacks on the part of the German emperors directed against the independence of the kingdom were warded off, and a whole line of distinguished rulers, Béla I., Géza I., St. László I.

Koloman the Studious (Könyves Kálmán) — all eminent captains and politicians — carried on with great success the reformatory works of Stephen, so that, at the end of the eleventh century, Hungary, conspicuously grown in material and moral strength and in extent of dominion, took a commanding place among the independent states of Europe and could turn its attention ever more and more towards the East where it soon rose to a dignified position. From among the line of excellent kings at this period St. László stands conspicuously forth. Surrounded by the glory of myth he lives as the beau ideal of Hungarian heroism and courtesy in the fancy of the people. In the world-shaking conflict, between the imperial power and the papacy the interest of his country compelled him to support the papal throne. In fact however he mixed not in that contention, but directed his attention towards the south and increased there the possessions of his kingdom. That territory which at the present day has the name of Croatia, and the greatest part of which is the land between the Save and Drave, belonged originally to Hungary, and old Croatia lay beyond the Kulpa, but as a scantily populated borderland, exposed to numerous attacks, it was for a long time not properly organised. King László was the first to remedy this deficiency founding a bishopric in Agram (1091) and occupying one part of ancient Croatia. But it was only his successor, Könyves Kálmán, the most learned prince of his age, who carried his conquest right to the sea, who finally conquered medieval Croatia and also subjected the Dalmatian cities. Since that time Croatia has remained continuously an integral part of the Hungarian monarchy.

When in the middle of the twelfth century the Byzantine emperor Manuel revived the decaying vigour of Constantinople for a time and bestirred himself to gain a footing once more in the Balkan peninsula, he found Hungary there before him. The reviving might of Byzantium drove back the Hungarian influence for a time nay, even threatened the international independence of the Hungarian state. This danger however

ceased with the death of the emperor Manuel, and Hungary received just from Byzantium (where Manuel had caused him to be educated) its king Béla III. one of the most illustrious rulers of the monarchy, who used his Greek culture for the benefit of the material and intellectual interests of his people. His son Endre II. conquered Galicia, which remained however no permanent property of the crown. Nevertheless our kings since then bear the title of Kings of Galicia and Lodomeria. The epoch of the reign of Endre II. was in other respects a very troubled one. He took part in the fourth crusade, and having returned home lived in daily increasing variance with the nobles of his kingdom.

After long contentions, in the course of which the discontented party killed Queen Gertrude, Endre published in the year 1222 the renowned edict called the Golden Bull. This secured to the clergy and the aristocracy in opposition to the king the most extensive privileges, while it acquired for them a permanent influence over legislation and the commonwealth at large. At the time of Béla IV. (1241) the Mongols broke into the land and committed terrible ravages. The king in vain asked help of his neighbours. The Austrian duke, Frederic of Babenberg, not only refused him his support, but robbed the queen, who had fled to him for refuge, of her treasures, and occupied a part of the Hungarian dominions. After the Mongols had withdrawn after inflicting terrible miseries for a year, Béla began with inexhaustible patience the restoration of his empire, and on account of his success in this sphere of his activity was the second founder of the Hungarian kingdom. He was able very soon to lead a host against Frederic of Babenberg who lost his life in the war (1246). There were long contests over Frederic's rich heritage. The Hungarians supported the Emperor Rudolf of Habsburg against the Bohemian king Ottokar II., in the decisive battle of Marchfeld (1278) with a large force, and thus contributed their first tax of blood to the foundation of the universal empire of the Habsburgs.

With Endre III. the male line of the ruling dynasty of the Árpáds came to an end (1301), which had conquered Hungary, had organised it as a state, had raised it to be a considerable factor in international politics, and had made the Hungarian nation a participator in European civilisation. The national ruling family has achieved a great vocation in the history of the world and by the multitude of its great services has secured immortality to its memory.

After the extinction of the male line of the Árpáds the relations of the female line presented themselves from all quarters in order to take possession of the vacant throne. After long intestine disorders a scion of the Neapolitan family of Anjou, Charles Robert, a grandson of Maria, the daughter of Stephan V. (her husband was Charles, King of Sicily), who even during the life of Endre III. had secured the favour of a considerable party, ascended the throne and established during nearly the whole century the dominion of the Anjous in Hungary. Charles Robert was an excellent ruler; he introduced order into his new country, achieved wholesome reforms in the provinces of national defence, finance and economical life, and brought his nation into immediate connection with Italian culture. He secured two other crowns for his sons, the Polish for Prince Lajos, the heir of the Hungarian throne, the Neapolitan for Prince Endre by marriage.

When he died in 1342 his son Lajos was scarcely sixteen years old, but he seized with strong hands the reins of empire. Very soon the circumstances of the Neapolitan kingdom claimed his attention, where his brother's wife Johanna had caused her husband to be murdered. Lajos marched by land with a great army to Naples, captured the city and punished the murderers of his brother. In consequence of the opposition of the Pope he could not permanently hold the conquered kingdom of Naples, but the brilliant success of his campaign made his name honoured through the whole of Europe. For Hungarian nobles and the Hungarian army this campaign of

many years, had an important influence in point of culture. Under Lajos a remarkable change took place in the material situation of the governing class of nobles. On the nobility lay the charge of military service that is to say the duty of taking the field; and in order that the nobility might the more easily sustain this heavy obligation, the king sought to improve their material condition. For this purpose he introduced the tax of a ninth which the vassals were compelled to pay of their total fruit and wine crops to the lords of the manor. The nobility in return supported their king staunchly in his different foreign expeditions, particularly in the two campaigns against Venice, which ended in the complete humbling of the republic and the recapture of Dalmatia which the Venetians had occupied.

It was in the brilliant reign of Lajos that the Eastern question began to loom in the foreground in a new form and in a threatening manner not only for Hungary but for the whole of Europe. The Turks had settled in the Balkan peninsula and owing to the complete weakness of the Byzantine emperors made fresh conquests every day, till at last Adrianople became the residence of the Sultans. Advancing from thence to the Balkans, the new conqueror found Hungary in his way whose fiefs reached thither; for at this time all those small countries, which had grown up in the neighbourhood of the Balkans and the Danube, were under the protection and the influence of the Hungarian monarchy. Moldavia and Wallachia, Servia, Bosnia and Bulgaria, submitted themselves from time to time to the supremacy of the Hungarian king, even though their connection with the Hungarian crown was a loose one and at times was entirely severed. King Lajos, on this account, having in view the danger which was threatening him from the Ottomans, tried to strengthen this relationship as far as possible. He subjugated the Bulgarians and took possession of Bodon (Widdin) making it the direct property of Hungary. Since that time Hungary became the sentinel of western civilisation against the Turks, with whom it remained in continual

warfare for four and a half centuries. In view of this contests Lajos desired to strengthen his dominions by the extension of his family influence and by astute alliances which were to bring in their train important connections. He himself succeeded only in the year 1370 to the Polish crown, which increased his repute and his international position, for his dominion ranked now among the greatest states in medieval Europe; in fact, however, he gained no accession of power by the possession of this crown, owing to the lawlessness of the Polish nobles, and he achieved his successes in war solely by the resources of Hungary. Nevertheless he wished to keep the Polish throne for his family, and as he had no son, he destined his eldest daughter Maria, to be the heiress of his whole dominions. He betrothed Maria to the youngest son of the German emperor Sigismund; his other daughter Hedwig to William, Duke of Austria.

His reign of forty years is a period of prosperity and of glory, and Lajos is by a grateful posterity rightly named the Great. He protected labour, industry and commerce, favoured the development of municipal institutions, promoted education and art, founded a university in Pécs improved, in the spirit of advanced Italian culture and administration, the administration and defence of the country, decorated his residence with noble works of architecture. The Hungarian State of national kingdom reached its climax at this time. With Lajos's death, 1382, begins the period of decline. His daughter and heiress Maria could not maintain the Hungarian and Polish crowns, and the latter was handed over to her sister Hedwig, who had become the wife of Jagello, the duke of Lithuania. In Hungary Maria had to contend with the lawlessness and uprisings of the oligarchy; and even her husband King Zsigmond during his long reign could not sufficiently advance the interests of the commonwealth, although he tried to gain a new support for the kingly power in the towns, to whom he permitted entry into Parliament and whom he otherwise favoured.

During these long intestine disturbances the Turks continued their conquests in the Balkan. Servia, which could not be supported by Hungary with her full strength, fell into their power and they also became masters of the fortress of Bodon. In spite of some successes on the part of Hungary, Zsigmond saw well that, with his own unaided strength, he was not in a position to set a barrier to the power of the Turks. He turned himself therefore to Europe, to the united power of Christendom, and not in vain. At his call the flower of the western chivalry, about thirty thousand warriors in all, assembled in the spring of 1396 at Buda, whence this great international host increased with thirty thousand of Zsigmond's army, marched with confident hopes of victory to the south. At Nicopolis, however, this brilliant array, partly on account of their own temerity, were completely defeated. Zsigmond fled past Constantinople, but the Turkish hosts broke murdering and ravaging into Hungary. Owing to the lawlessness of the powerful nobles, the country could do little towards diverting the danger which threatened them from the east. On the other hand those great international questions, which occupied the people of the west, attracted the attention also of King Zsigmond in another direction. In order to take possession of Dalmatia he carried on a long but unsuccessful war with Venice, and as Roman emperor he was obliged to concern himself for years together with the entanglements of the western schism. The Council of Constance put an end to the schism, but the burning of John Huss fanned the fanaticism of the Hussites in Bohemia to a white heat, which passed over to upper Hungary and caused as great ravages as the Turks in the south.

Under Zsigmond's immediate successors the confusion at home and abroad increased more and more, and that it did not lead to a dreadful catastrophe is owing only to the merit of John Hunyadi, one of the most eminent commanders and one of the noblest figures in Hungary and in the century. In these troubled times it was his

genius alone which rescued Hungary. Rising from low estate, from the ordinary nobility, he elevated himself to the rank of a Governor, to one of the mightiest and richest magnates of the land, and served his country truly under four kings. His career begins in Zsigmond's time, but the heroic warrior attained his high position only in the foreign and domestic wars of later times. After the death of King Albert (1437—1439) he became a pillar of the throne of Wladislas I. He gained repeated and complete victories over the hordes of Turks which broke into the land, and in the second half of the year 1443 he led his victorious troops down as far as the Balkans. Hungary could now again take up the offensive against the Turks, and its appearance in the field was attended with brilliant success. Sultan Murad begged the king of Hungary for peace on such favourable terms as the latter, in spite of his victory, could never have hoped for. The King and Parliament accepted the offer, and Hungary and the Turks agreed to a peace of ten years under oath.

Some days after taking the sacred oath, Wladislas broke the peace and armed himself for another campaign. At the instigation of the Pope the Italian states attacked the Turks and their powerful fleet appeared in the Dardanelles. But in order to conduct the war with vigour and success they wanted a land army, and for this reason Cardinal Julian, the ambassador of the Pope, urged King Wladislaus to a new war. The Italian fleet however left the Hungarian army shamefully in the lurch, and the Hungarians pressing on to Varna suffered there a complete defeat on the tenth of November 1444. Wladislas fell in this battle, but John Hunyadi was able to escape, and his fiery genius averted the complete ruin of Hungary.

During the minority of King Wladislas V. he was chosen as Regent of the land, and strove with superhuman vigour to stop the domestic anarchy, the lawlessness of the nobles and the advance of the Turks. After the capture of Constantinople the Sultan again attacked Hungary, and

besieged Belgrade, the most important southern stronghold of the Hungarian state. At the news of this danger Wladislaus V. fled to Vienna, the magnates and the nobles preferred their own interests, and in the midst of this confusion Hungary seemed lost indeed. At this time also John Hunyadi rescued her. At his own expense he enrolled an army, in which large numbers enlisted at the inspiring words of the monk John Capistran. With his army Hunyadi penetrated to Belgrade and after some days annihilated the Turks who were besieging it. With this glorious victory he finished his noble life, for he fell a victim to the pestilence which raged in the camp, on the eleventh of August 1456. He left two sons behind him, but king Wladislaus V. acted with absurd cruelty towards them. He caused the elder Wladislaus to be executed, and the younger Mátyás he carried as prisoner along with him to Prague. Mátyás, a youth of eighteen years old, soon came back again; for after the sudden death of Wladislaus V. the nobility took up arms and placed him upon the vacant throne.

The reign of King Mátyás Hunyadi which lasted thirty-two years (1458—90) is the last and expiring effort of independent Hungary, is her second climax full of military and political success, and of healthy advance in all branches of material and intellectual culture. Mátyás with iron hand restored domestic peace, and established the power of his kingdom in the east and the west. He was obliged to carry on with the emperor Frederick III. a war many times renewed, with which monarch the lawless Hungarian potentates both ecclesiastical and secular had banded themselves. But Mátyás constantly triumphed, and ultimately captured Vienna, the residence of the emperor, together with some parts of all Lower Austria and of Styria and retained these till his death.

The Hussite disturbances involved him in a war with Bohemia which was long and burdensome, but ended with securing the title of King of Bohemia, and with the conquest of Moravia and of the dukedoms of Silesia and Lausitz. He

undertook no great campaign against the Turks, but his armies repeatedly defeated their invading bands, and under his rule the Turkish scare lost generally speaking the acute and threatening character which it had had under his immediate predecessors. He was himself an eminent military commander, and educated quite a school of excellent leaders. His pre-eminent military and strategic talent displayed itself in the creation of a standing army, the renowned Black Band. This distinguished and disciplined troop of infantry stood continually in close connection with the king both in peace and in war, and could in a few days make its appearance in any district of his immense empire where it was required.

The most powerful guarantee of the domestic peace of the state, of its external power and likewise of the security of the throne was this very military organisation arranged according to the spirit of the age, and by its means Mátyás made himself so independent of the selfishness and the narrowness of the aristocracy that he could become the king of the whole nation. In many respects he was like the illustrious Italian despots of his age. He endeavoured to base his dominion on the masses, on the lower nobility, and out of these strata of society he raised a new aristocracy. His generals, his learned prelates were for the most part new men, whom he as a reward for their services richly endowed with temporal goods. He highly esteemed labour and the working classes and protected the vassals against the caprice of the nobles. Equally memorable were his creations in the province of culture, and the Hungary of King Mátyás was one of the greatest European centres of classical learning and classical art. At his court in the castle at Buda, which achieved European renown through its stately buildings, were collected in crowds Italian and other foreign scholars, poets, artists, painters, sculptors, architects, and many of these took permanent service under the king. He spent great sums in the enlargement of his library there, the world-famed Corvina, and the busy intellectual life which he had created did not

limit itself to the narrow circle of his capital and his court. The magnates who were friends of learning and science and the learned prelates, among them being his former tutor, John Vitéz archbishop of Esztergom and John Csezmicze (Janus Pannonius), were prominent figures in the international republic of classical learning, and carried the new ideas and the new spirit into all parts of the land. This culture appeared still in a foreign garb and was Latin. But like every culture it had a fertilising influence on the national language and already the next generation produced a rich literature in the Hungarian tongue. King Mátyás was twice married, but neither by his first wife Catherine Podjebrad nor by his second Beatrix of Arragon had he children. He wished therefore his natural son the duke John Corvin, on whom he had lavished the most careful education, to succeed him. But just at the ripening of this plan he died. In consequence of the intrigues of Queen Beatrix, the majority of the clerical and secular nobles making light of their promise given to Mátyás, left John Corvin in the lurch and elevated the weakest of the numerous pretenders to the throne, Wladislas the Bohemian king who sprang from the family of the Polish Jagellos. Beatrix supported him for the reason that she hoped the unmarried king would take her to wife, in which she greatly deceived herself, although Wladislas acted a perfect comedy of matrimony with her. The nobles on the contrary took his side, because in the case of their benefactor King Mátyás they were weary of an energetic king and they now wished to enjoy their power unlimited and unbridled. They did not deceive themselves in the case of Wladislas, who had already shown in Bohemia that he was quite indifferent to the repute of the crown, to the maintenance of the glory of the monarchy and to the interests of the nation. In the glittering palace of Buda he was but the shadow of a monarch, who abandoned to his nobles the reins of government and bought peace under shameful conditions from foreign foes. The Roman emperor Maximilian did not only reconquer Vienna and the Austrian lands, but

pressed forward into Hungary and occupied Székes-Fehérvár Wladislas II. put an end to the war at a very disadvantageous truce, and was satisfied that the nobles should abridge more and more the rights of the king and should render quite inoperative the power of the state. The reaction of the states abolished one after another all the institutions of King Mátyás, deprived the crown of its military resources, of its repute, of its conquests, so entirely, that the doltish king was often along with his whole court exposed to the greatest privations. The country went to ruin. The nobility made the towns and the vassals inexorably feel their power, and laid on them ever heavier burdens. Then the lower nobility began, as in other European lands at that time, to agitate, and they directed their movements partly against the court, partly against the oligarchy. Society gradually was dissolved, and separated into hostile parties. The agitation of the lower nobility was all the more dangerous, inasmuch as John Szapolya, Count of Szepes, the greatest landowner in the country, and on that account the most influential man, joined the movement. While the states had laid it down as a law that they would not again choose a foreigner as king if Wladislas died without male issue, Wladislas concluded with the emperor Maximilian a mutual convention for the protection of his own family interests, and betrothed his son Lajos to the grand-daughter of the emperor, the Archduchess Maria, his daughter Anna to the Archduke Ferdinand. At the end of the reign of Wladislas there occurred in addition to all other domestic troubles a terrible insurrection of the peasantry. First of all the vassals wreaked frightful cruelties on their landlords, and when Szapolya had crushed them the nobility took a lawless revenge on the common people. Especially in the southern districts these disturbances caused tremendous losses of people and property, and the lamentations of the vassals, bound to the soil and laden with unendurable agrarian burdens, rose, as a later law expresses it, even to heaven. After the death of Wladislas a triple

regency conducted the business of the land, instead of his son Lajos II., who was not yet of age; while Szapolya, with the support of the lower nobility, strove to get himself elected Regent of the land. In the midst of the disorderly conflicts and hostile feuds the ambassadors of Soliman II. one of the greatest rulers of his time, appeared at Buda, to ask for peace, but only on condition that Hungary paid a yearly tribute to the Sultan. In Buda this demand was rejected with great haughtiness, nay, the ambassadors were thrown into prison; but nothing was done for the protection of the threatened boundaries, and the Sultan brought Belgrade, the most important boundary fortress of the land, into subjection in the summer of 1521. With this the eastern gate of Hungary was forced, and the way lay open to the Turks as far as Buda. The Sultan however did not take that road then. He gave Hungary a respite for five years and it might have procured help. Although in the meantime Lajos had begun to reign independently and had taken the Archduchess Maria for his wife, nothing was done for the protection of the land. The country wasted its small superfluous strength in unhappy domestic quarrels, no help came from abroad, and when in the year 1526 Soliman ultimately invaded the land, King Lajos could only meet him with scarcely thirty thousand men. At Mohács the decisive battle was fought on the 29th of August. The overpowering might of the Turks annihilated the small Hungarian band after a heroic and courageous resistance. Lajos found his death whilst flying for his life, and Soliman took the castle of Buda without opposition, while his troops ravaged the land in all directions.

The ill-starred day of Mohács put an end to the united Hungarian kingdom which the efforts of six hundred years had consolidated, and had raised and exalted into a prominent factor of domestic civilisation and international politics. The state again separated into its component parts, of which none was sufficiently great and strong to safeguard the political and national interests with sufficient strength. The dismemberment

began directly after the defeat of Mohács. Soliman after he had laid the town and fortress of Buda in ruins and ravaged the greatest part of the land, retreated from the country in October, without making any conquests. Only on the southern frontier he held Syrmia to secure Belgrade, while the Hungarian dominions even after the great catastrophe remained united. But the land chose two kings, and thus divided itself into two parts. Scarcely had the Turks disappeared when that party of the nobles who wished to have no foreign king, held a Parliament at Székesfehérvár and chose John Szapolya king, crowning him at once. On the other side the archduke Ferdinand, the brother of Charles V. and future king of Bohemia, laid claim to the Hungarian throne on the ground of the compact concluded with King Wladislas. Since however he had not fancied during the lifetime of Lajos II. that his claims would soon attain practical importance, his preparations generally speaking were not made. His sister Queen Maria, the widow of Lajos II., undertook the representation of his interests, and gained supporters for her brother in the circle of the old court party and the personal enemies of Szapolya. Proceedings went on however slowly, and it was the middle of December before a Parliament could be held, at which but few members appeared, who however chose Ferdinand as king and declared John Szapolya a usurper. In this way the land had two kings, and consequently, was divided into two factions perpetually, each king regarding himself as the rightful lord of the land, but his power extending only so far as his arms reached. In the combats between the two kings, and owing to the constantly threatening danger from the Turks, the leading questions of great civil and national politics were driven more and more into the background. The instinct of self-preservation compelled the ruling class, the nobility of the land, to change their convictions their lords and parties according to the change of the situation and to attach themselves now to this one now to that one, according as one or the other was more powerful and thus more dangerous. Their

behaviour which was bare of all political ideal, and political morality accommodated itself exclusively to the force of circumstances. In the early months of the year King John was lord of the situation, but in the summer of 1527 Ferdinand appeared with an immense army in the land, had himself crowned, took possession of Buda and drove his opponents to Poland. Nearly the whole land paid him homage, and he would have remained permanently king, if he could have protected his right with arms. But Ferdinand soon withdrew, John came back, asked the help of Soliman, and the Sultan put him once more in possession of Buda, and withdrew from thence to besiege Vienna. This attempt was not successful however (1529), but the Turkish alliance kept John's throne continually secure, while Ferdinand's power remained long insecure, and reached principally over the counties which bordered on the Austrian provinces.

The Turkish hosts appeared from this time forward at any moment in Hungary, which for nearly two centuries onwards remained an arena of battle on which streaming hordes from west and east fought out their bloody fights. Many hundred thousand foreign nobles and common soldiers coming from all the lands of Christendom bled here in this endless war, the weight of which however pressed in the first instance on the Hungarian people. Hundreds of thousands supported the land in its fights, but the aim of freeing Hungary and of solving the eastern question to the advantage of the Habsburgs and in the interest of the security of the western peoples, could not be attained to at that time. To complete success there was always something wanting. Either there was no sufficiently numerous army or there was no leader to help the army to victory. Under Ferdinand I. French politics, which not only in Italy and Germany but also in Constantinople worked continuously to undermine the power of the Habsburgs, spurred the Sultan Soliman continuously to new attacks, and he prepared in 1532 a second time to invest Vienna.

But the brave Nicholas Jurisics stopped him on his march, and defended resolutely the small castle of Kőszeg for

nearly four weeks. After he had wasted his time in besieging this small place Soliman did not carry on his advance, but returned home. Although both he and his army were accustomed to appear in the land as allies of King John, yet they carried on tremendous ravages and dragged many thousand people in chains away with them. These dreadful ravages caused both kings to come to an agreement to reconcile themselves and to put a stop to the visits of their dangerous guests. The reconciliation was rendered more easy by the circumstance that King John, who was unmarried had nobody to whom he could bequeath his throne.

Peace was secretly concluded actually at Nagyvárad (1538). Both kings agreed to divide the country between themselves on the ground of their actual possessions on condition that after John's death his portion should be handed over to Ferdinand and his heir. Events however soon put an end to this pacification, for a year after John married the Polish duchess Isabella, who in 1540 bore him a son John Sigismund. He himself survived the birth of his son only two weeks, but on his deathbed he impressed the cause of his son on the consideration of his council. One of these, the monk George (Martinuzzi) bishop of Várad who all along had been the main support of Szapolya's throne, embraced with zeal and energy the interests of the child and protected with armed hand the fortress of Buda when Ferdinand tried to take it, relying on the peace of Várad. But Buda soon belonged not to John Sigismund, but to the Turkish Sultan, who occupied it by cunning intrigues in 1541, and incorporated it in his kingdom. Only Transylvania and the parts on the Tisza did he leave to the child John Sigismund. With the death of King John the epoch of rival monarchs ceased, but the land did not unite, but on the contrary separated into three parts. The west and northern counties remained to Ferdinand, whose authority after King John's death at least took root in this small district; Transylvania and the neighbouring counties remained under the

dominion of Queen Isabella and her son Prince John Sigismund; while Buda and for districts, particularly the basin of the Danube and the Tisza and the greater part of the country beyond the Danube were incorporated entirely into the Turkish empire and transformed into a pashalik. Since then the Turks continued to spread themselves at the expense of both the other districts. After Buda the most flourishing cities Pécs, Esztergom, Székesfehérvár, and many important fortresses fell into their hands while the condition of Transylvania became so insecure that the monk George reconciled himself secretly with Ferdinand, and persuaded Isabella to give over her land to the king in return for compensation elsewhere. This happened in 1551, and with the exception of the Turkish possessions the Hungarian dominions were again united in King Ferdinand's hands.

This however was the cause of a new war with the Turks. Since Ferdinand's troops were not strong enough to crush the Turks, the monk George, who in the meantime had been named archbishop of Esztergom and cardinal, sought to gain time by diplomacy. This however awakened suspicion in the circle of Ferdinand's leaders, and they caused the monk to be secretly murdered (17th Dec. 1551). With him died the only man who could have upheld the king's authority in Transylvania and in the south-eastern parts of the country. After some years Isabella and John Sigismund actually returned to Transylvania, which from this time onwards was withdrawn from the authority of the king of Hungary and became a fief of the Turks. Still more fatal were the consequences of George's death in another direction. The Turks began the war all along the line, and the king's troops were not in a condition to stop their victorious advance. Temesvar was lost, which Stephen Losonczy had heroically defended for more than a month without any relieving force having arrived. Numerous frontier forces, small and great, were lost, in one of which, Drégely by name George Szondy met a hero's death along with a small garrison.

Only Stephen Dobó's attachment to the king preserved the fortress of Eger, but he was rescued from his danger not by a relieving force but by the advance of winter.

The hope that the power of the Habsburgs would deliver Hungary from the Turks was already beginning to disappear. This power would have been sufficient to liberate the land, but the sphere of interest of the Habsburgs extended over the whole of Europe and could not concentrate itself against the Turks. The Hungarian nation was also at the time of the Habsburgs especially thrown on its own resources, and help from foreign nations was never so continuous as to be able to break the Turkish dominion. It merely helped now and then to win a battle, to liberate a fortress. Still the Turkish hegemony did not only continue, but also perpetually extended itself both under Ferdinand I. and also under his successors during the whole of the sixteenth century. In these wild times Nicholas Zrinyi, the hero of Szigetvár gave a brilliant example of self-sacrifice and the fulfilment of duty in defending for a long time against the overwhelming power of the Sultan the fortress entrusted to him, and since he received no help from without, he ultimately buried himself beneath the ruins (1566). The Turks continued their conquests and established their authority in Transylvania, where princes of the family of Báthory reigned, one of whom, Stephen, succeeded to the Polish crown. In the course of time the union between the inhabitants of the kingdom and the crown still more diminished. The king could not only not protect them, but he began in spite of his solemn assurances and the dispositions of the laws, to rule most capriciously his comparatively small kingdom, which could scarcely be called a country; and particularly he introduced a closer relationship between its finance and military departments and those of the hereditary countries. In addition to this the prerogatives of the nobility and the conflicts of religions were additional causes of trouble, which towards the end of the sixteenth century began to press more and more rudely into the foreground.

The Reformation, immediately after Martin Luther's appearance, and even in the last days of the national kingdom, found support in Hungary, particularly among the burgesses of the towns, who had active commercial communication with Germany. The battle of Mohács and the Turkish hegemony had also weakened the old organisation of the Catholic church and lent great support to the rapid spread of the reformation. After some decades the greater part of the higher and lower nobility along with their vassals, and also the inhabitants of the towns were disciples of Luther's or Calvin's, and became in relation to their religion opposing factors to the Catholic dynasty. These antagonisms reached a head in the time of Kings Ferdinand I. and Maximilian, and led in Rudolf's reign to violent conflicts and bloody frays.

The melancholy king Rudolf, who carried on with the Turks a long war but in spite of some successes a useless one, brought about the collision by his religious and political measures. He wilfully introduced a new clause into the code of laws drawn up by the Parliament, caused rich magnates to be accused of high treason on the most ridiculous pretexts, simply in order to be able to lay his hand on their property, while he forcibly took from the Protestants their Cathedral at Kassa. The general discontent produced an outbreak and the states chose Stephen Bocskay as their Prince. Bocskay, who was formerly a leading vassal of the king's, conquered nearly the whole land with the help of the Turks. Although the Sultan had sent him a crown and had called him king, Bocskay reconciled himself willingly enough with the Habsburgs as soon as Rudolf's brother, the archduke Matthias, took the management of affairs. In the peace of Vienna 1606 the new settlement was decided upon. Bocskay was made Prince of Transylvania, the remedying of the abuses of the constitution was promised, and the protestants received complete freedom of religion and unconditional permission to practise their faith without interference. In the same year

also peace was concluded with the Turks for twenty years on the basis of statu quo. The Turks kept their new conquests, particularly the fortresses of Eger and Kanizsa along with the large districts belonging to them.

But the peace of Vienna which Stephen Bocskay only survived for a short time, did not bring an end to the conflict of creeds but exasperated them still more. Under Matthias II. the Counter-reformation began on the side of the catholics, and Francis Forgách and Peter Pázmány the cardinal archbishops of Esztergom carried on the work of conversion with great success particularly in the circle of the higher nobility. Illustrious families joined in large numbers the catholic church and tried to draw with them their vassals. This effort however could only slowly achieve victory so long as the protestant Transylvania was strong enough to take under its protection its Hungarian comrades in the faith. And Transylvania reached precisely at this period (1613—1657) its golden age, and under the princes Gabriel Bethlen and George Rákóczy I., made a striking advance not only in material and intellectual matters, but played also an influential rôle in international politics. Gabriel Bethlen, (1613—29) the greatest prince of Transylvania made his political and military talents felt in the first period of the thirty years war. In conjunction with the Hungarian and German protestants he fought frequently with great success against Ferdinand II. He occupied the greatest part of the land, and even gained possession of the holy crown. His followers chose him as king of Hungary, but Bethlen made peace with Ferdinand II. repeatedly. Nay, he was ready to cut himself adrift from the Turks and to ally himself with the Habsburgs against the Turkish empire whose decline he had already perceived. But this bold plan was frustrated by the mistrust of the Vienna circles. In 1629 this great prince died, who in respect of culture, science and education had founded a new epoch in Transylvania. George Rákóczy next ascended the throne, who was also a man of peace, but in the last period of the thirty years war (1644)

took up arms in the interests of the protestants and allied himself with the Swedes. This war ended with the peace of Linz, which made religious freedom a legal enactment and was the second great fundamental law of protestantism. In the meantime the catholic church in Hungary had strengthened itself remarkably. Nicholas Esterházy, one of the most prominent catholic statesmen, whom the king had distinguished by the title of count and the land had chosen as palatine, served the catholic interests very actively, and blind religious zeal and passion led continually to collisions. In the meantime George Rákóczy's son and successor George II., wasted the strength of Transylvania in a war, (1657) carried on in order to acquire the Polish crown. The land suffered severely, he himself was deprived of the favour of the Turks, was deposed and died of the wounds he had received in the battlefield (1660). With the decay of Transylvania the days of distress began to dawn also for the protestants in Hungary. On the other hand the Turks took Nagyvárad and even Érsek-Ujvár (1663), one of the most important fortresses in upper Hungary and the Austrian provinces.

One of the most important figures in the wars of these times is Count Nicholas Zrinyi the great grandson of the hero of Szigetvár, an excellent poet and commander, who while defending the Mura country, continually made courageous inroads into Turkish territory, and by a long roll of brilliant exploits attracted the attention not only of his own countrymen, but also of the whole of Europe. At Saint-Gothard also the commander-in-chief of the royal troops, General Montecuccoli, won a victory over the Turks in 1664. But he suddenly concluded a peace according to which the Sultan was to retain all his new acquisitions and conquests. This peace caused great dissatisfaction in Hungary. A conspiracy was formed, the chiefs of which, Counts Peter Zrinyi, Francis Nádasdy, and Francis Frangepán were brought to the scaffold. The court at Vienna wished to use this as an occasion for destroying the constitution and uprooting protestantism. They

tried the same barbarous means to achieve their ends in Hungary as in Bohemia after the suppression of the rebellion of 1618.

In Pozsony the Vienna court introduced a foreign government, the goods of the nobility were confiscated en masse, all protestant clergymen and schoolmasters were cited to appear before the extraordinary tribunal in Pozsony. Some of those who appeared were forcibly converted while the obstinate ones were thrown into prison, many were dragged to Naples and the terrible fate of the Hungarian clergymen there awakened such sympathy in Europe that Holland sent stout Admiral De Ruyter with several men of war to Naples to set free the galley slaves who were suffering on account of their religion. In the meantime proscriptions took their course in Hungary, thousands and thousands fled to Transylvania and the Turkish districts, from whence they repeatedly broke in to the royal dominions and fought battles with the German troops. At the head of these many thousand of fugitives (called Kurutz) Imre Thököly, who was also deprived of his possessions, placed himself as leader, and the movement took such dimensions with the help of Turkey that, with the exception of some fortresses, the whole of the royal dominions fell into Thököly's hands and the Sultan named him king. His government however received its quietus from the crushing defeat which the Turks suffered at Vienna in 1683. Eventually the emperor-king Leopold gathered his whole forces together, and with the assistance of some foreign allies carried on the war on a large scale. At the head of the hosts which streamed into Hungary, were approved commanders, and John Sobieski the king of Poland, Charles duke of Lorraine, Ludwig margrave of Baden, and Eugene Prince of Savoy inflicted in the long war which began in 1683, a succession of overwhelming defeats on the Turks by the active co-operation of the Hungarians and won back again the most important fortresses. On the second of September 1686, the fortress of Buda was at length liberated, and by the peace of Carlowitz 1699, the

whole of Hungary with the exception of Banat and some parts of Syrmia was freed from the Turkish dominion, while Transylvania had already some time before returned to the sovereignty of Hungary. The Hungarian nation rewarded the services of their royal family in the liberation of the land (1687) by legalising the succession in the male line of the Habsburg dynasty. Despite this, the capricious government of the Vienna court, their innovations introduced without any knowledge of political relations, and finally the suppression of protestantism caused universal dissatisfaction which this time resulted in an outbreak not among the nobility but among the common people (1703). In the counties of upper Hungary the vassals and the lower nobility took up arms, and Prince Francis Rákóczy II. placed himself at the head of the movement, a descendant of the former prince of Transylvania.

The quarrel took quite a national character and became a regular war of liberty, which embraced all strata of society, all parts of the land. Since the court was concerned in the great European imbroglio of the war of the Spanish succession, the whole land with the exception of a few fortresses fell into the hands of the rebels, and the states declared in a Parliament at Ónod (1707) the house of Habsburg deprived of the throne. An appeal to arms however was in favour of the king; Francis Rákóczy withdrew into foreign lands and the leader of the Kurutz-army, worn out by long fight and dreadfully decimated by pestilence: Alexander Károlyi, concluded peace with the commander of the king's troops, John Pálffy, at Szatmár (1711). With this the epoch of the civil wars reaches its close. Those Hungarians who did not accept the pacification which offered a complete amnesty — among these being Rákóczy himself and his renowned fieldmarshal Count Nicholas Bercsényi — withdrew to Poland, France and Turkey and most of them ended their life of vicissitudes in foreign countries. The Hungarian nation on the contrary accommodated itself to its new position, and reconciled

itself with the ruling house. Charles III. (1711—40) confirmed the peace of Szatmár and began to reorganize the land which was exceedingly depopulated and impoverished, and whose mechanism of administration had been destroyed in the course of the continuous domestic troubles and the Turkish wars which had lasted since 1670. These Turkish wars were renewed twice under Charles. For the first time with successful results, for by the peace of Passarovicz (1718) the king recovered not only the Turkish parts of Hungary, but he made valuable acquisitions in modern Wallachia and Servia. The second time however the war ended unfortunately; for in the peace of Belgrade (1739), he lost the Walachian and Servian acquisitions. The kingdom of Hungary however remained untouched, and under Charles three Parliaments attempted to create various public institutions and to forward the material and intellectual prosperity of the country. Among other things, along with the older elements for the defence of the land, a standing Hungarian army was organised, which was supplied by recruiting. As soon as the court had laid aside its old mistrust of Hungary, confidence was restored and the Hungarian Parliament in 1723 gave adhesion with enthusiastic readiness to the wish of the king that the succession should be entailed in the female line of the Habsburgs. This was done in the first two clauses of the statutes of that Parliament, which all by upholding the independence of Hungary, orders that so long as the successors of King Leopold I. shall live the land, through having a common ruler, shall remain in an inseparable connection with the Austrian hereditary countries and at the same time acknowledges the female succession on the side of Hungary. In these statute clauses, which are generally called, though wrongly, the Pragmatic Sanction, the first constitution-like alliance between the patrimony of the Habsburgs and the kingdom of Hungary was achieved. But even here the principle was only expressed, the manner of this relationship was not laid down; in consequence of which violent constitutional conflicts afterwards resulted.

The Hungarian nation soon found an opportunity to undertake the defence of the Pragmatic Sanction and to testify its adherence to the ruling house on the battle-field. The heritage of Charles descended to his daughter Maria Theresia, who was attacked by her neighbours with a view of effecting a partition of her dominions. The young queen appeared in a moment of the greatest danger before her trusty Hungarians, who placed their life and blood at her disposal. In the long war which she was obliged to conduct, Hungary was one of the main sources of her resistance and her military power and the loyalty and self-sacrifice of the people greatly contributed to the fact that Maria Theresa could come out of the conflict with only a proportionately small loss of territory. During the peace the queen turned her attention to the material and intellectual interests of the land. In the domain of ecclesiastical life, particularly in education, she introduced marked changes. She transplanted the university of Nagyszombat, into the natural centre of the land, to Buda. She founded schools of law and middle grade schools, based popular instruction on proper foundations, and applied the whole wealth of the suppressed Jesuit order to the purposes of education. She regulated agrarian matters for the benefit of the vassals, began a system of water supply and road-making, and her spirit of reform greatly increased the wealth of the people. But since the Hungarian states would not give up their right to complete freedom from taxation and decreed this freedom just then as a law for all times, the queen devised a system of duties which made Hungary a colony of Austria's and artfully checked its material advancement. Otherwise at the time of Maria Theresia, who while maintaining constitutional forms and paying respect to the institutions of the state, exercised really a limitless power, the spirit of nationality arose and literary life began to make great advance. Her son Joseph II. carried the work of reform still further, but without the tact of his mother. He refused to be crowned, made the German speech the official language of state

and school, overthrew everything which stood in his way, and for this reason even that part of his energy remained quite unfruitful which otherwise would have had triumphant results. Religious freedom, the reforms in education and administration, his extensive arrangements for the benefit of the vassals, roused only a slight echo even in those classes of the people immediately interested, for they were united to a assault upon the national language and tradition. A violent movement arose also in Hungary against the emperor Joseph who before his death himself revoked most of his measures.

His successor Leopold II. restored with wise moderation the unity between the crown and the nation. The statute clauses of the Parliament of 1790—91 secured Hungary's independence, gave religious freedom to the protestants and the oriental Greeks, and paved the way for many important reforms. But the French wars prevented all advance. King Francis and the ruling nobility were shocked at the actions of the French revolution, and when the French ideas began to awaken an echo also in the more cultivated circles of Hungarian society, they were suppressed with bloody vigour by the government. Many were brought to the scaffold, still more and among them nearly all the literary world, were thrown into prison, and in Hungary the condition of the states maintained unchanged its privileged position in the midst of the most gigantic changes which were introduced throughout Europe. The states supported King Francis sedulously in his wars, and when Napoleon in 1809 called upon Hungary in a proclamation to recover her political independence and to choose a new king, the invitation fell quite flat. The nobility armed themselves and under the flag of king Francis met the French invaders at Győr. The union between the king and the nobility remained till the end of the war with Napoleon, which had exhausted to a very great degree the material strength of the people. But as soon as the dangers which menaced him from France were over, the king troubled himself no more about the freedom of the states. He held no Parliament,

imposed capricious taxes, so that the states transferred to the counties the main opposition to his caprices.

In the wars of many years the antiquated manner of thinking and obsolete ideas of the nobility underwent a thorough change. They began to recognise that the privilege of nobility no longer secures even to themselves any defence against the wanton exercise of power, and that only a political renaissance and free institutions corresponding to the time could rescue the land from sinking to the rank of an Austrian province.

When king Francis in 1825 summoned the Parliament anew by compulsion, the general spirit was quite changed and offered scope for great political and civil reforms. There only wanted a leader who would lead on the right way unsteady public opinion, who would express precisely the ideas which fermented in people's minds. Just in the nick of time this leader appeared in the person of count Stephen Széchenyi. As a scion of an old and renowned family he had been an officer in the wars with Napoleon, then he undertook the management of his estates and began to take part in public affairs. But his name was first known in the Parliament of 1825. Here once and for all he won men's hearts with one action and he at once became the acknowledged leader of the nation when he devoted a whole year's income of 60.000 florins to the object of establishing the Hungarian Scientific Society. Széchenyi was above all things a man of action. The dull embittered feeling which had taken possession of the ruling classes, the visionary fancies spent over a great past, which could only mourn and lament but never raise to action, were dispersed by Széchenyi's fiery spirit as clouds are by the warmth of the rising sun. He aroused in his nation self-consciousness, the spirit of action, the feeling of duty, faith and confidence in the future, while with word and deed on hundreds of occasions and in all sorts of forms he varied the idea that Hungary should not only look back to a brilliant past but could also reckon on a glorious future, if it

developed its rich intellectual gifts, increased its material resources, and keeping pace with the time, changed its public institutions and its social arrangements. Hungary had not been but it was to come — this was Széchenyi's motto which inspired hope and courage. In the obsolete constitutions and in the ossified institutions which up till now were held by the ruling classes as a holy and inviolable palladium, lay in Széchenyi's opinion the chief hindrance to progress. He demanded therefore in his books and speeches their radical but gradual change by the cooperation of all the interested elements; he worked in action and writing as an untiring apostle in the interest of the reforms, the entire scope of which he precisely defined.

Metternich's system of policy which rudely stifled every germ of progress in Hungary as well as in central Europe was with its chilling atmosphere no less disadvantageous to this work of reform as was the indifference and the numerous prejudices which still held their own in Hungarian society. But under the influence of the revolution of July, Széchenyi was able by his own personal connections to moderate the suspicious distrust even of the court of Vienna, while in his own country he assembled in the circles of the higher and lower nobility and of the intellectual classes and particularly among the representatives of the fast developing national literature, a perfect army of disciples and fellow workers under the banners of progress and constitutional reforms. Archduke Joseph the Palatine of Hungary, who was not only convinced of the necessity of reforms but in his own immediate entourage zealously fostered the interests of the community, gave a cordial support to the new leader of the nation and his efforts.

Love for his race, enthusiasm for Hungary were boundless in Széchenyi but he nourished his spirit with all the ruling ideas of the time likewise. Repeatedly he travelled through the lands of the cultivated west investigating and learning on the way, and what he found good and useful there he

sought to realise in his own country for the benefit of his countrymen. His noble efforts were crowned with rich success in every department. Széchenyi not only gave his nation an Academy of Sciences, not only he worked indefatigably for the perfecting of the national language, for the extension and popularisation of literature, but also in practical matters he has left enduring creations. The regulation of the Danube and the Tisza is connected with his name, the founding of the Danube steamboat navigation and of many other means of communication, the building of the Buda-Pesth chain bridge, the institution of the Agricultural Society, the creation of many manufactories and undertakings. In the interest of his efforts he caused himself to be elected representative of the city of Pesth, and he brought himself into immediate touch with the mercantile and trading classes, the capitalists and projectors there. In this manner he raised himself out of the narrow circle of class, and his efforts and his creations received a national character for the furtherance of the well-being of the nation, the benefit of all classes of society.

Despite his high birth and his connections Széchenyi was the first modern statesman of Hungary, despite his aristocratic nature and education he was the first Hungarian politician who in a genuine democratic spirit worked in the interests of the community. In the years between 1830 and 1840 recognition and thanks were paid him; but later growing antagonisms made themselves felt more and more loudly. Not his high aims did the people blame but the manner, the character, the means which he employed. People found these insufficient. The Promethean sparks which Széchenyi had thrown into the public life of Hungary grew in course of time to a mighty pillar of flame. The introduction of European ideas for which Széchenyi first prepared the way, electrified all classes of the nation and allowed the desire for progress, long time unsatisfied, to burst forth with all its primitive strength. Széchenyi was outwinged by the events, less owing to his own fault but rather to the narrow policy

of the Metternich system, which did not trouble itself with the weal of the community, which rejected the most barren, the most pressing, the most useful reforms alike. Public opinion began to see that in agreement with the court of Vienna a political renaissance such as Széchenyi wished, the transformation of the obsolete system of states into a modern national and constitutional system was an idle hope which could never be realised. The opposition between the nation and the court of Vienna made itself still more sharply felt, and because Széchenyi in many things stood on the side of the Government, public favour declined from him, although even his opponents call him the greatest of the Hungarians.

New men, new ideas came forward. Among these Louis Kossuth soon became prominent through his seductive eloquence and through his brilliant literary powers. The persecution with which the court pursued him drove him naturally into the ranks of the irreconcilables, and since the land at that time had need of a decided politician of his kind the rôle of leader soon fell to his lot. He edited a daily paper round which quite a coterie of illustrious men assembled, and which electrified the masses with its passionate bold tones. In reality Kossuth aimed at the same object as Széchenyi, except that the latter kept in view peace with the Viennese court, while Kossuth saw in Vienna the sworn foe of all progress and every reform. The fruitless transaction of the Parliament in the year 1843—4 gave him right and made his influence irresistible on public opinion. The government endeavoured by tampering with the counties by force and by arbitrariness to fetter public opinion, and to prepare the votes for the Parliament of 1847 agreeably to their own interests. This succeeded in many places, but Kossuth came into the House of Commons and there began the conflict with all his strength. The events of February 1848 which were soon aggravated by the outbreak at Vienna in March and the renowned fifteenth of March in Pesth, made him and his friends the lords of the situation. In a few days a large number of laws were enacted

which annihilated at one blow the old constitution based upon the States-system, introduced parliamentary government and a responsible national ministry, united Transylvania to the mother country, abolished all agrarian burdens in return for supplementary compensations to the landlords, asserted the freedom of the press and the complete legal equality of the recognised religions. King Ferdinand named Count Louis Batthyány as Prime Minister of Hungary who formed the first responsible Hungarian ministry, in which Stephen Széchenyi, Louis Kossuth, Francis Deák, Baron Joseph Eötvös and other heroes of the great battle of reform took part. The new statutes which had brought Hungary into the ranks of modern constitutional countries were sanctioned by King Ferdinand V. on the eleventh of April at Pozsony, where he personally appeared and was received with enthusiasm.

But this joy did not remain long unimpaired. The disturbances of the nationalities, particularly in Croatia, where since 1830 Illyrism had spread in a terrible manner, being fanned moreover by Vienna where people looked with regret on the concessions made to Hungary, resulted in an outbreak and in many parts in terrible massacres. Wallachians, Servians and Croatians ran to arms, while the remaining nationalities, Germans, Slovacs, and Ruthenians, with loyalty and self-sacrifice supported the national cause. The Parliament which was chosen on basis of the representative system in 1848 voted with enthusiasm the military and financial means necessary to suppress the insurrection. But the relations between the government which was under Kossuth's influence and the court became ever more and more strained, partly in consequence of the question of nationalities, partly owing to the Italian question, and in the course of the autumn reached complete severance. Prince Windischgrätz entered the land and besieged the fortress of Buda. The Hungarian government and the Parliament fled to Debreczen. This town became the central point of the national resistance. From there a strong national army of about two hundred thousand men

was organised which under the leadership of Arthur Görgei, Klapka, Damjanich, the Pole Bem, and other excellent generals not only defeated the rebellious nationalities, but in the spring of 1849 rising victorious from numerous great battles drove the Austrian troops almost entirely out of the land. Only a few fortresses remained in the hands of the Austrians, and after a long siege, in the course of which General Hentzi quite uselessly bombarded the city of Pesth, Buda was recaptured by the heroism of the Hungarian troops.

Under the influence of this success Kossuth on the fourteenth of April caused the Parliament to decide on dethroning the dynasty. But the days of triumph were soon brought to an end by the invasion of the Russians. A Russian army of two hundred and fifty thousand men burst into the land, which in a few months was completely crushed by the united troops of the two great powers in spite of a most heroic defense. Kossuth and many with him fled to foreign parts, and Görgei laid down his arms at Világos on the thirteenth of August. There now began a period of cruel revenge. Baron Haynau, the Governor-General of the land, caused thirteen heroic Hungarian generals who had been handed over to the Austrians, along with many other leading personages who had taken part in the movement, to be executed. The prisons were filled with prisoners. The Honvéds, that is to say, the soldiers of the national army, were enrolled in the Austrian troops. Thousands of families were plunged in mourning, distress and poverty filled the whole land, which first was placed under military law and then under German rule. The so-called Bach period dismembered Hungary and incorporated it in Austria, overthrew all the old institutions, ruled with unlimited power and at will, banished the people from any participation in public affairs, made the German speech the official speech of the country, and persecuted all national endeavors remorselessly. Bach's innovations were not suitable to the relations and needs of the country, and his government, is only noticeable for a slight advance in economical matters,

for it abolished the tariff limitations which separated Hungary up till 1848, not only from Austria but also from its own provinces, and had made any development in business and export trade quite impossible.

Yet this foreign rule could not last long. The war between the French and Italians in 1859 brought it to an end, but the pacification of Hungary and the reintroduction of the constitution of 1848 sanctioned by the king, and dearly desired by the nation, which had rallied round Franz Deák, was not realised before the year 1867. The Parliament of 1861, in which Deák proclaimed the principle of continuity of right, led to no results. It was only under the influence of the war with Prussia in the year 1866 that the proposals for a compromise took a satisfactory turn. The statutes of 1867—8, set at rest at last the long strife about the constitution. King Francis Joseph recognised the Laws of the year 1848, and re-established their validity. The Hungarian Parliament in its turn modified in a constitutional manner those statutes among them, which did not correspond to the new state of affairs, and regulated the legal relation of Hungary to Austria in all respects by statutes.

The Compromise, Franz Deák's immortal creation, has restored its independence to Hungary, has exactly defined its rights and obligations in the monarchy of the Habsburgs. This monarchy freed from its dangerous domestic weaknesses plays again now a commanding rôle in the councils of the great powers. King Francis Joseph I. who caused himself along with his noble wife, Queen Elizabeth, to be crowned on the 8th of June 1867, had named in February Count Julius Andrássy to be Hungarian Prime Minister; for Franz Deák the sage of his country, had refused every office and distinction, and served his king and his nation in future only as a simple deputy.

The time which has run on since then is a time of civilising labour, of reforms, which have had for their object the development of practical and intellectual interests. The relations between

Croatia and Hungary were legally defined, the modern restoration of public institutions in all departments was taken in hand, the collective branches of education and popular culture participated in the care which was their due. With the establishment and the extensive development of the Hungarian national army (the Honvéd) the military resources of the monarchy have been greatly augmented, many thousand miles of railways and roads have been made, great sums spent on water regulations. Commissioned by Europe, Hungary carried to an end the great work of regulating the Iron Gates. The politics of communication and trade have been moulded into the service of national interests and have lent gigantic dimensions to the export trade.

In the foreign politics of the monarchy the legal realization of Hungarian influence was always devoted to the preservation of peace. It maintained the interests of neutrality at the time of the great war of 1870—71, and stood by the king faithfully in carrying through the commission which had been assigned by Europe to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina. A Hungarian statesman, Count Julius Andrassy, cemented the Austro-Hungarian and German alliance, which afterwards by the introduction of Italy extended itself to a triple alliance and during its whole existence has been one of the greatest means towards the preservation of European peace. This pacific policy and the spirit of reform freely developing under its protection is the ever memorable result of the glorious reign of the constitutional king of Hungary, Francis Joseph I.



The development of the intellectual life of the Hungarians.

Out of the primaeval darkness the form of a mounted horseman stands out clearly before our eyes, as somewhere in the wilderness by the side of the Volga he sits immoveable, and looks about him. In his peaked kalpak, in his mantle of panther skin, his muscular frame seemes as though it were grown to his diminutive horse. With eagle's eyes he regards to its furthest end the neverending plain, every portion of which was brilliantly lit up by the rays of the sun. He is calm; he is not afraid, nor fantastical; he only concerns himself with what he sees and his eye practised in the strong light of the sun sees everything in the wilderness, within the circle of the horizon. His quiver hangs upon his shoulder; his Persian sword is by his side; he watches for the enemy. If only one or two appear, he at once engages with them; if they come in a band, he carries the news to the rest. For these, for the rest, he watches carefully, and is resolved to run all risks. He looks into that distance which might seem to be beyond sight; in a distant black spot he recognizes the eagle as he swoops down, his god's swift, strong and pitiless bird. This is a good omen; he pats his horse's neck and rests his hand with confidence on the hilt of his sword. He awaits what is to come and feels, knows that the community will have need of his strength.

The picture of this solitary horseman explains much not only of the way of life of the primitive Hungarians, but also

of the nature and development of the Hungarian mind. In the whole mental life of the Hungarian nation, those natural and moral influences characteristically manifest themselves which made themselves felt in their *primaeval* circumstances and took root in their souls. They were a nomad people of the great wilderness, and the nature of the plain which surrounded them with its vast extent, its pure illumination, and its small variety of colour, developed rather the force of his observation, the clearness of his insight, the liveliness and certainty of his apprehension and judgement, rather than the desire to make acquaintance with the unknown, the capacity for drawing near to it, the imagination and together with its sports, the plunging into the flood stream of sentiment. Even counting the strangers who had been thrown upon them, their numbers were very few; the struggle for existence, the war maintained rather against men than against nature, laid claim to, occupied and developed all his outward and inward faculties. Not only the Greek and Arab writers of the IX. century, but also the first period of their life in this country proves that they lived, at least to a very large extent, by plunder. Continually engaged in wars and owing so to say all that they had to their courage and their skill, the qualities called into play by the wars in the wilderness, personal courage, straightforwardness and ready decision became their characteristic traits and their ideal, and have remained such to this day. These traits it would seem are due or were due to the Turkish elements, which blending with the more numerous Ugrian mass formed it into a nation and gave it its name.

But the personal courage of individuals would not without a strong feeling of community have been sufficient to protect, aggrandize, and maintain the little nation. The circumstance that throughout the whole course of its life from the earliest beginnings downwards, always, in all complications, wars, internal disturbances supported by strangers, its national life had been threatened, this circumstance in the most remarkable degree developed in the nation the propensity for the

common national interests. Its constitution, its free institutions, its diets which were developed out of the camp of the nation, its counties, all strengthened this tendency. The common interest of the nation, especially *vis-à-vis* foreigners, even in the middle ages, occupied everybody in Hungary to such an extent, that Otto of Freisingen deemed it worthy of notice. The state of penetration by the feeling of common and national interest has always given the chief direction to the outward and inward life of the Hungarians. Characteristically and predominantly it manifests itself throughout the whole course and every branch of the intellectual life of the nation, — in its poetry, its sciences, its arts. This national feeling suggests all its thoughts and imaginations. Whatever it took from foreigners, from the western people who had preceded it in civilization, all these ideas and forms were modified and transformed so as to render them more and more suitable to the service of the national interests of Hungary.

These millennial traits of the Hungarian spirit, their constant dominion, are all the more interesting because the nation was formed from the mixture of various races and constantly increased by the continual absorption of foreign elements. It pervaded with its military ideal the Ugrian fishers and hunters, the peaceful settlers who had fled hither from the war-like troubles of the West. A deep and strong feeling for the new national connection into which they had entered struck root into the hearts of the Italians and Germans, who had broken loose from their original national connections, the elements on the other hand that had arrived from the East, the Turks, Cumans, Bulgarians, Petshenegs, these wild and centrifugal elements, it gained over to the civilization that attached itself to the West, and made use of their strength in its service and in that of the national unity. A large portion of the territory of the new fatherland resembled in soil and climate the wilderness in which they had formerly dwelt. Thus the nature of the Hungarian country, the domination and public institu-

tion of the Hungarian race, the character of Hungarian history, even in spite of strong and continuous mixture, maintained down to the present day, at any rate in its main features, the original Hungarian spirit. The absorbed foreigners, knights and warlike nomades, agricultural and industrial settlers all alike became Hungarians, not only in speech but also in soul.

The earliest poetical manifestations of the Hungarian spirit of which the traces, subjects, general ideas remain to us, already manifest the characteristic predominance of the national interest, the direction of national politics. Those who occupied the fatherland under the leadership of Árpád at the end of the IX-th century might have learnt, partly from people who had lived under the rule of the Huns and had afterwards retired eastwards, partly from the peoples who were still living in this land, the traditions of the most powerful of its rulers, of King Attila, those legends out of which was woven the latter part of the lay of the *Nibelungen-lied*. These legends the Magyars accepted as their own and declared the Huns and the Magyars to be two brother nations, the descendants of Hunor and Magyar. The world-ruling Attila they accepted and proclaimed as their own ancestor, his glory and power as their own proud memory, and his land as their former kingdom and rightful inheritance. Who does not feel that the national imagination was led in this combination, as it were instinctively, by the national interest and sentiment? Of all the stories the different nations made about Attila, those of the Hungarians surround the form of the king of the Huns with the greatest splendour, they alone invest the »scourge of God« with the attractive features of a hero after »the peoples own heart«. Some of the legends of the Hungarian occupation of the fatherland are interwoven with the tradition of the Huns; the Hungarian traditions alone have preserved the memory of Prince Csaba, another hero of these traditions, and it is characteristic that just from him who wandered away into exile, because he could not do homage to the stranger and

live at peace with him, just from him they deduce the descent of Árpád, the founder of the country.

The form of the fabulous Álmos, the father of Árpád, appears in connection with the Hun legends; his mission, that he should lead the Magyars into their present fatherland, is announced by a holy bird. The wanderings; the treaty sealed by the blood of the chiefs; the elevation of Árpád to sovereignty, his successful battles and those of the seven leaders, with which they took possession of the country from its previous possessors; all these form the subjects of the second great circle of the primæval Hungarian legendary poetry, *the legend of the occupation of the fatherland*. To these join on the last legends of the heathen world, as it were a conclusion; the adventures in foreign lands under the successors of Árpád, their plundering expeditions, of which the principal heroes are Lehel with his horn, and Botond with his battle-axe. All these were kept alive by the minstrels as they sang to the sound of their harps in the tents and camps, and later on in the newly formed villages; as they spoke to the crowds there assembled of the deeds of their forefathers, embellished by the imagination, the last tenders and nursers of the heathen traditions already growing pale in the distance and already subjected to persecution. Of the text of these songs nothing remains; nothing has come down to us; none of the religious, mournful or amorous songs of primæval Hungarian composition, of which our historical authorities make mention. The subjects at any rate of the old legends we know from our chronicles written in Latin, which began to be composed from the end of the XII-th century onward. The authors of these chronicles, with king Béla *Anonymus* notary's at their head, have evidently drawn a great deal from the national legends and from the songs of the minstrels. It is true that they make mention of them with a pedantic contempt, but they manifest an undoubted participation in the popular ideas of the Hungarians, even there where it comes in collision with the ideas of their time and vocation. Although Christians

and priests, when they describe the ravages of their forefathers which they carried on against the west, their partisanship of the Hungarian interest breaks forth repeatedly; it is true that they now and then shudder at the ferocity of the heathens who plundered the Christian people of Germany and Italy and laid waste monasteries and churches, but they cannot conceal their barbarian pride in the heroic adventurers who were »war-like and strong of soul« and over against the »worthless and perfidious« enemy showed themselves »daring and like men«.

Saint Stephen, who in the year 1000 had the crown placed on his head, conducted his nation into the community of the European state system and civilization. With apostolic zeal he converted his people to the Roman faith; he himself entered into family alliances with western dynasties, organized the new church and the newly reconstituted state. On the ruins of the old Pannonian Christianity was built up the new Hungarian church, especially by means of missionaries from Upper Italy, who became their first teachers not only of the truths of the faith, but also of the knowledge and use of the Latin letters. The independence of the old chiefs of the tribes fell a victim to the newly established royalty; the tent of the Prince became a splendid court; among his former companions in arms there mingled a crowd of foreign knights, and the chief priests of the new church sat before them in the first places. Heathendom in the first half century several times attempted resistance, always urged by a feeling of national jealousy, but always in vain. The nation under the leadership of a peculiarly capable line of Princes became pervaded by the spirit of Christian civilization, and that too without sacrificing the interests of the nation. In spite of having become christian the nation has preserved to the present day, the most national idea and expression of the original paganism »*the God of the Hungarians*«. But from the XIth century onward the Hungarian nation had to accomplish a work, now pacific, now war-like, in the defence and diffusion of the Christian faith *vis-à-vis* their eastern kinsmen who

after them had wandered into the country. In the defence of their national interest they drew enthusiasm and encouragement from their new faith in their struggle against the continually encroaching barbarians; while at the same time by absorbing and assimilating these elements, they increased their strength for the maintenance of their independence against the Christian West.

Hungary gradually filled with the creations of Christianity, with monasteries and schools; under the kings of the house of Árpád the university of Veszprém was founded; these monasteries were afterwards adorned with churches in the Romanesque and Gothic styles, while at the same time the Hungarian soul was filled with the ideas and feelings of Christianity. These prevail in the oldest remains of our old literature, which has come down to us, the first *St. Stephen the king's fatherly counsels to his son Prince Imre* is written in the Latin language and discusses the virtues of a Christian and Hungarian sovereign. It has four chief ideas: fidelity to the faith; the reception and good treatment of foreigners and their civilization; the respect due to the traditions and laws of the nation; the acceptance of the councils of the wise and good, and the holding in especial honour of the men in arms. Prince Imre died young; but the royal councils risen from the soul of that Hungarian wise man, became the foundation of Hungarian politics: to connect the interests and development of the nation with the West, but not to sacrifice them to it; that the free nation and the free man should with his sword defend our common interests against treason and barbarism, our own interests against everybody. The Christian faith gradually assumed a Hungarian form through the exertions of the foreigners who settled among us and of the new Hungarian priests. From the beginning of the XIIIth century dates the earliest connected written memorial of our language a short *funeral address and supplication* which at the same time that it furnishes examples of difficult application shows traces of a certain rough strength, which remained the chief

characteristic of Hungarian prose down to the influence of the French in the most recent past. In this language with rough sounding words a war-like people living in storm-beaten wildernesses utter their supplication, a people who not long before had buried their dead together with his horse. Not much later is our oldest piece of verse, a corrupt copy of a hymn found at Königsberg, a fragment broken into pieces, which, with tags of the angelic greeting, in vivid accents of our national rhythms, breathes out its vows to the Virgin Mary, in whom Hungarian Christianity venerated the patroness of the land, *Patrona Hungariae*. The requirements of the religious life brought into being ever more and more of such liturgical prayers and hymns in the Hungarian language. As with the family connections of the Royal House, the passing of the armies of the crusaders, the naturalization of foreign royal families after the extinction of the Árpád dynasty, the visits of the Hungarian clergy to foreign schools and universities, the expeditions of Hungarian armies into Italy under the kings of the House of Anjou, the lines of connection with the West became more and more extended, also the monastic culture of Central Europe rooted itself ever deeper and spread ever wider and always more and more religious pious writings were made in the Hungarian language: translations of the Bible, legends, sermons, rules, prayers, hymns. The remains of the monastic literature preserved in mediaeval codexes have been published by the Hungarian Academy in 13 large volumes. They not only show the development of Hungarian style, but also the effect upon us of the worldwide movements of ecclesiastical life. We can trace the influence of Hussitism in the Bible translations of the XVth century. The theological philosophy of St. Thomas of Aquino appears in the sermons and disputations of Nicholas de Mirabilibus, with the devices of the Dominican preacher; while the spirit of the Franciscanism, of the popular, conservative and daring devotion can be recognized at the climax of its development in the most powerful representative of this

whole literature, in Temesvári-Pelbárt, the preacher of world-wide fame already at the time of the detested humanism. The learned and resolute friar in the interests of the church confronted king Matthias himself; but he only saw the Hungarian people whose Christian traditions, the legends of whose Magyar saints, he wrote as an original contribution to both the universal and Hungarian body of legends. Upon his Latin text relies the poet of the *Katherine legend*, the most extensive of all the poetical remains that have come down to us from the middle ages, the only one of all the great legends of the church that in Hungary attained to the richest development. Magyar sacred songs and hymns were also abundantly composed and have come down to us. Of this whole literature the most interesting feature is the continually increasing number of data showing how the Hungarian genius continually occupies more and more space in the circle of general Christian idea and imagery with its own special ideals, saints, endeavours, reminiscences and national feeling. Thus our oldest poem of which we know the name of the author, a hymn which begs from Mary, the patroness of the kingdom, protection against the Turks then pouring in upon it, fitly closes the mediaeval development. The author of this hymn Andrew Vásárhelyi a Franciscan friar fell at Mohács in defence of his country. Alongside of the literature of the church there lived and flourished the old poetry of legend and history. Its cultivators were the wandering minstrels and jongleurs with their harps and violins. As singers of the deeds of their ancestors they were to be found in the train of the royal court, but also at camps, fairs and pilgrimages and in the houses of the great. They preserved for the longest time the memories of the heathen world, but, with the changes of time these reminiscences were more and more worn out of their songs. More recent History, heroic achievements and disasters, the glories and feuds of the royal houses furnished abundance of new matter. In the wars against the Cumans the world of Magyar Chivalry begins, and attains its highest point in

the wars against the Turks. Its first and favourite hero was Saint Ladislas the king whose glory was sung both by national and ecclesiastical legends. The popular imagination recognized in him the ideal of the Christian Hungarian knight, story followed story of his heroic deeds and of his magnanimity and the walls of almost every temple were adorned with their pictorial representations. For centuries his knightly form was stamped upon the gold pieces, nay, the most marvellous detail out of pagan mythology was attributed to him, namely that his soul returned after his death to take part in the defence of his nation. The faithful sang hymns in the churches to him, who had dedicated his native land to Mary, and the minstrels sang songs about the hero who not only defended his country with the strong arm, but had refused to leave her for the imperial dignity. Amongst the known subjects of these minstrels characteristically appear all those tragical encounters between the distrustful Magyartom and the courts of foreign origin, — the catastrophes of Bánk-Bán, Felician-Zách, and Kont. From their songs only one has come down to us and that only in fragments, which celebrates the victory at Szabács of King Matthias over the Turks.

At the time that this song was composed a new spirit ruled in the royal palace at Buda, in the palaces of the bishops and in the high-schools. A spirit as diverse from the culture of the mediaeval church as from the old Hungarian traditions. This period was the brilliant culminating point of a national monarchy: Matthias Hunyady ruled, the Father of his people, the terror of his enemies and the friend of scholars and artists. The men of the renaissance and the movement which they forwarded had already found their way into Hungary in the time of king Sigismund, and were to be found in the palaces of the Arch-bishops of Esztergom, Szécsi Dénes and Vitéz János, but they found an especially warm and friendly reception from the Hunyadi family. Matthias was completely gained by the spirit of the renaissance. Italian artists built and decorated his palace, amongst them Benedetto de Majano.

A crowd of Latin historians, orators and poets surrounded him, Bonfini wrote his history, Galeotti put down his good sayings. He lived inspired with the new ideals of humanity, he read, he disputed in their circles and kept up a close connection with the great humanists of Florence. He collected one of the most celebrated libraries of his time, the Corvina, which consisted of 6 or 7 thousand volumes; a whole army of copists and illuminators worked for him both in Hungary and in Italy, and at the report of his death the price of books sank in all the markets of European learning. Besides collecting the treasures of the human intellect, he naturalized its most powerful weapon, the printing-press, in 1472, thus anticipating England, Austria, the Netherlands and Spain. The plans for the building of monumental churches and the conduct of the works originated for the most part in the royal court, as also those of the high-schools. In the stream of new taste Virgil appeared as the ideal of a poet and down to the beginning of the present century suggested the form and spirit of the Hungarian epic. In the endeavour after the wreath of Virgil, it was Marfilius Ficinus and Janus Pannonius, the pupil of Guarinus, later on bishop of Pécs, who went the furthest of Matthias' circle of learned men and attained to European fame, the latter with his epics of pure sonorous Latinity, in which he sang the praises of Matthias and of the Venetian Marcellinus, and with his elegies and epigrams. He was a genuine humanist, eloquent and flattering, only nominally and by habit a Christian, vain, sensual, and intriguing, but for all that by his abilities the chief ornament of his time. The royal court at Buda was one of the principal centres of the civilisation and culture of the days of the renaissance; its last rays died out a century later on Hungarian soil in the palace at Kolozsvár of the Transylvanian Prince Sigismund Báthory.

This splendid world quickly crumbled into ruins at the death of Matthias, and of all its splendour there hardly gleams anything else in our eyes except the gold of the splendid miniatures of Attavante and Gherardo in the few codexes

that still remain of the Corvina. The professors and artists were dispersed, the books were carried away by the Germans and the Turks, the palaces and villas were ruined, the statues were destroyed or melted down into cannons. Did then any trace of it remain in men's minds? Although it was foreign both in its essence and in its form, and having been confined to the court, the highest members of the clergy the diplomatists and the most part foreign surroundings, it did not penetrate into the wider circles of the nation, nevertheless it did not perish without leaving a trace behind. Humanistic and philological studies of the renaissance at the High School at Buda, but probably in several other ways also, paved the way for the Reformation so that the different stages of transition can be pointed out in Erdősi and Gabriel Pesti; further the ideals of classical and especially Latin poetry were summoned by the renaissance for the first time to the banks of the Danube and appear over and again in the greatest writers of the time that followed, in Balassa, Zrinyi, Gyöngyösi, and later on so characteristically fused themselves with the national spirit.

The great period of King Matthias found a melancholy end in incapable rulers, ungovernable oligarchs, and the outbursts of a crushed and oppressed people. The disaster of Mohács 1526 entirely changed the whole development of Hungarian life; from this time forward its independence could only be maintained by its inherent internal strength. For 350 years no Hungarian king sat on the throne at Buda. One part of the country including the capital fell under direct Turkish rule; a second organized itself as the national Transylvanian principality, whereas the third under the kings of the house of Habsburg waged a standing warfare for the liberation of the territory of the fatherland and the re-establishment of its unity. Political parties, the quarrels of religion, the struggles between the oppressors and the oppressed, the wars caused by divergent interests, both public and private, were the sources for centuries of anarchy, uncertainty and misery. But all this rather developed than crushed the moral contents of the soul

of the nation. The splitting up into parts strengthened the feeling of unity; the danger which threatened nationality from the part of German kings, strengthened the love of the Magyar language and promoted its cultivation; the view of the continual wars encouraged the *cultus* of disinterested and selfsacrificing heroism and the immoralities and treasons that abounded on all sides strengthened the severity of the moral feelings of the people. On all these points Protestantism was of very great service, which quickly found its way into our country and amongst the clash of interests and the general misery which thirsted after some spiritual consolation, spread so rapidly that in a hundred years it embraced almost the whole nation. The Magyars, owing to the peculiarities of their mental constitution, found a special repose in the more definite and fatalistic system of Calvinism, which acquired the appellation of the »Magyar religion«.

This Protestant proselytism was the first great flood of culture which had affected the whole nation since the introduction of Christianity. The preachers of the new faith stood forth in hundreds as the apostles of a culture that was at once deeper and more national than all that had preceded it. They preached, they disputed, they sang psalms, both in the churches and in the open air, traversing the country with their pilgrim staves. They founded schools from the elementary up to the academies; amongst them those of Sáros-Patak, Debreczen, and Pápa, which are flourishing to the present day; they developed a marvellous literary activity, and for the publication of their writings set up and conducted a great number of printing establishments, and sold their books themselves in tents at the great fairs; they set up stages on which they made their opponents ridiculous with dramatic performances. To their zeal and learning we owe the first Hungarian grammar, the first dictionaries, the first translations from the classics, the first Hungarian attempts at versification in the classical metres, the first Hungarian historical works. The fundamental condition of national culture, to wit, that the

nation should speak in its own language, was carried out by them thoroughly and completely. Of course they regarded the spread of the religious doctrines as their chief work.

A whole series of translations of the Bible was prepared by them, amongst which the Bible of Károlyi Gáspár, attained the highest reputation and is held in unshaken respect to the present day. The doctrines of their faith were proclaimed in a long series of sermons and disputations directed against the old religion. The Catholic Church torn by division and pressed back, only took up the glove at the end of the century. In these explanations and disputations, and that too on both sides, there is to be found a striking feature which, over and above the language in which they were carried on, gave them a peculiar national character. Besides the dogmatical, moral, and historical discussion there continually turns up the question which religious body was the cause, by exciting the wrath of God, of the nation's misfortunes and which teaching should conduct it to a happier harbour, the purity of the new doctrine, or the timehonoured traditions of the ancient faith? The national life was drawn up into the world of religious life and pervaded it with zealous efforts. The Hungarian clergyman, even as clergyman, was just as much interested in the welfare of his country as in the saving of souls. The most general questions of Christianity became in the Hungarian mind questions of Hungarian politics. This intimate connection strikes us especially in the religious poetry of the century which is fond of drawing its subjects, its motives and its tone out of the Old Testament. The old conception of the God of the Hungarians is renewed and parallels are drawn between the fortunes of the people of Israel and the Hungarian nation. The jealous God scourges his chosen people for their sins; this thought is expressed in those songs which have been named *jeremiads*, with the darkest variations and the most profound conviction of sin. The moral severity which is contained in this view of things and which promises to the faithful the redemption both of

the human race and of the fatherland: this severity pervades the most remarkable dramatic monument of our Protestant literature *The betrayal of Melchior Balassi* which represents with remarkable vivacity a man of high rank grown stiff in the practice of the sins of the age and pillories him with biting satire. This little dramatic satire whose author was probably Paul Karády a Unitarian preacher, was written a year later than Shakespeare's birth.

Besides the clergymen the literature of the century had also other wandering professors: the minstrels who with their fiddles and lutes traversed the country, amongst them retired soldiers, schoolmasters, and clerks. They were the favourite and amusing companions both of small and great, especially of the garrisons of the castles, harassed by continual wars. They also knew and composed religious poetry, they also struck up comic songs, but best of all they loved the old legends and histories, and feats of war of their own times. Their verses which have come down to us in considerable numbers prove that this vagabond people, as far as their sentiments were concerned, were by no means the worst elements of their times. It is amongst them that there appears for the first time the »poor fatherland«, a phrase which has lived down to our own day and by its personificating connection testifies to the moving intimacy of the relation which bound the Hungarian soul to the idea of the fatherland. The most distinguished and perhaps the most learned representative of these minstrels, Sebastian Tinódy, flourished in the middle of the 16th century. He spoke out boldly and branded the selfishness and sins of the great men upon whose patronage he had to rely. From his dry and monotonous songs, whose melancholy tunes he himself composed, breaks forth the passion of his heart, whilst he praises and sorrows for the Hungarian hero, who has fallen in the battle, curses the enemy and discord and bewails the lot of the fatherland. He is inflamed by every one of the noblest feelings of his time. In the two volumes of his historical songs which he himself published we find

set down in verse the whole history of a period full of the noise of war. In these chronicles is poetically conceived the typical hero of the trouble of the Turkish wars, who maintains his position for his country and his faith to the very last drop of his blood, and becomes by his unswerving contempt of death the ideal of the Hungarian hero: Szondy, Losonczy, Dobó. However rude and primitive the verses in which he celebrates them, one can already perceive in the conception the breath of the epic spirit which later on inspired Zrinyi. The form of the heroic woman, for instance, that of the women of Eger, makes its first appearance in poetry in the verses of Tinódy. At this time we first have a detailed picture of the inner and outer life of the Hungarian soldier, his amusements, his wildness, his self-confidence. The composer of the songs who with all the force of poetical enthusiasm gives utterance to the soul of the »wolves of the frontier castles«: Valentine Balassi, the highborn, fascinating, brave and light-minded knight, the first great Hungarian lyrical poet, fell, as did the last of them, on the battle-field. As his life was passed amidst festivals and battles, love adventures and exiles, his soul also was tossed by bitter deceptions and uncontrollable desires. Those find expression in the deep and bitter penitence of his songs of religion and exile; while his joy in life found new, and ever new delight in those beauties of nature which the renaissance had discovered. He burns with sorrow, with heroism, with pleasure: but he burns most of all with amorous passions; his amorous verses, or *flower songs* are not only the oldest known products of the Hungarian amorous lyre, but also the most characteristic. Full of sensual desire and nevertheless of noble submission, of flaming fire and yet of tenderness they are the hymns of passion, filled with a flood of images and abounding in complaints, but which do not shed tears but rather scatter sparks. Of all our poets Balassi is the one that has hitherto reached the greatest number of editions and has lived for the longest

time. A hundred years later he was still the favourite of the Kurucz world, and two centuries later his songs were echoed on the lips of the nation. With him and his imitators begins the series of poets from among the Magnates, among whom, however, even the most considerable remained a long way behind him.

With the beginning of the XVIIth century, our literature not only assumed a more aristocratic character, but Protestantism lost in it its predominant position. The counter-reformation commenced its career, which the Imperial Court and its soldiers supported with a violence and zeal which was inflamed by the Thirty Years War. A downright army of Jesuits settled in the country, who, with the weapons of learning, enthusiasm and violence, pressed out of the assemblies, the schools and the churches the Protestant clergy and sent the most stiff-necked amongst them to the prisons and the gallies. Amongst the ranks of the counter-reformation towered the greatest Hungarian ecclesiastical dignitary, Peter Pázmány, the cardinal archbishop of Esztergom. He used against his opponents not only literature and oratory, the book and the school, but also the weapons of a popular and downwright Hungarian style, which he managed with more force, sharpness and liveliness than all the rest. He accommodated the theological polemics which he had learnt from the doctors of the church, especially from Bellármín, his some time master, to the capacities of his fellow countrymen in the county of Bihar; he explained them in his rude language fond of proverbs and poured forth upon them a flood of the most effective scorn. His heat in the case of his successors on both sides who continued the controversy, degenerated into unrestrained hatred and abuse. Pázmány wrote in the forcible language of the people, his numberless controversial pamphlets, making head against every opponent that dared to address him; these pamphlets were afterwards comprehended in his large work entitled *Kalauz* (Guide). This contains his sermons and in this he makes his most

successful hits against the Protestant clergy, whom he ridicules under the name of preachers. He converted almost all the magnates and by his eloquence, his unbending firmness and perhaps by showing in his own person that the most genuine and most thorough Magyarism was compatible with Catholicism, became the second founder of the Roman Catholic church in Hungary. He also influenced its future by his foundations, the most conspicuous of which was founded in 1635, the Jesuit university of Nagyszombat, from which the university of Budapest afterwards developed. From this school and from the palace of Pázmány came forth the excellent translation of the Bible by George Káldy. Only Transylvanian Protestantism remained unshaken by these attacks; that of Hungary Proper had to give way. Its greatest personage, Albert Molnár of Szencz, spent a great part of his life wandering from one German university to another; in his own country he never found rest, indeed, hardly bread. It was abroad that he wrote his Hungarian grammar and dictionary; it was there he adapted to French tunes his version of the Psalms, pervaded by all the force of his devotion; this version is used at the present day in the Calvinist churches, and the rich variety of its forms made it serve as a foundation for the further development of Hungarian versification. He translated into his mother tongue Calvin's chief work, but the passionate fire of his master was wanting in it. In those days of bitter struggle for life the church had need of strong and passionate soldiers, while he was a scholar and a poet: this was the tragic element in his life.

The greatest Hungarian of the century spent his youth in the circle of Pázmány and within the walls of besieged fortresses; he was Count Nicholas Zrinyi, the Ban of Croatia, the terror of the Turks, whom he defeated in many battles; he was known and honoured by the whole Christian world, and was the glory of his nation. The leading thought of his life was to drive out the Turks, but with our own force, so that we should not be obliged to purchase our freedom by slavery

to the German. With a spirit nourished in his Italian travels and in the celebrated library at Csáktornya, with the literature of the ancient and modern world he discusses this thought in his political works and the way to carry it out in his strategic works. But the same thought gleams through his poetical masterpiece, the first ornament of the Hungarian epic muse: the *Obstdio Szigetiana* in 15 cantos of which the subject is the heroic death of his ancestor of the same name in the defence of Szigetvár against Suliman the magnificent. The traces in it of Virgil and Tasso are sufficiently plain, but it worthily competes with them as far as regards the majesty of conception, the excellent proportion of its composition, the force of its delineation, and the truth of its warlike pictures or at any rate may be ranged in the same line with them. The martyr's death of Zrinyi conceived in the spirit of the Catholic reaction, redeems before an angry God a nation sunk in sin, and turned away from the true faith. Zrinyi is the representative of old Hungarian heroism, his soul speaks out of the verses of his great descendent, whose hero is at once devout and patriotic, his war at once religious and national, and perhaps more the last than the first. Contrary to its poetic motive he bears at heart still more the national unity than the unity of the faith, and desires the renovation of the warlike virtues of his Hungarian ancestors for the liberation of his country, and the maintenance of her freedom. A powerful stream flowing in a constant direction of national feeling sweeps through the epic, like a storm-wind and carries the reader along with it: »such is the true Hungarian and it is only by such virtues that we can save the country and remain Hungarians!« On account of its rough language, however, the *Zrinyias* did not produce a great effect when it first appeared in 1651. At the beginning of our century Kazinczy, as it were, raised it from the dead. The poet's laureate crown of the *baroc* period did not fall to the portion of Zrinyi, but to his contemporary, Stephen Gyöngyösi, a county magistrate of the county of Gömör. In his stories drawn from the history of his own

times, war and love, mythology and allegory are mingled together according to the *baroc* taste of the period. He sang the Venus of Murány, Szécsi Maria, whose besieged fortress the chivalrous Francis Wesselényi could only gain together with her hand; after that he celebrated the loves of John Kemény, later on Prince of Transylvania, and Anna Lónyai; of Emmerich Tököli and Helena Zrinyi. His value does not consist in any force of composition and characterization, but in occasional single picturesque sketches, in sweet lyrical episodes and above all in his rich and poetic language and his tuneful Alexandrines, in which nobody equalled him till Arany came. By these means the fame of »the greatest Hungarian poet« surrounded his name for a whole century.

In the works of the poets also other struggles of the period made themselves heard, whose source was not one with religious sectarianism, but in connection with it. The constant policy of the imperial court, now at Prague, now at Vienna, was directed to the suppression not only of Protestantism, but also of the national freedom: at one time cautiously; at another time with downright violations of the constitution, nay, even with violence and bloodshed, sought its end. At such times the Princes of Transylvania appeared with an army in defence of Protestant and Hungarian interests as the Swedes did in Germany; and Bocskay, Bethlen, and George Rákóczy I. with the assistance of their adherents in Hungary Proper, contrived by successful campaigns to extort a more tolerable condition of things. In their courts not only the threads of Hungarian political interests ran together, but they were also the central points of the movements of Hungarian intellectual life. Especially Gabriel Bethlen and George Rákóczy I. with their vigorous bishops by their sides and the learned men whom they had summoned from abroad to teach in the High-school displayed great zeal in the development of an education whose spirit should be both Hungarian and Protestant. From these movements arose in the academy of Gyula-Fehérvár

the form of John Cseri of Apáczá the first Hungarian professor in whom the enthusiasm for knowledge was fused most intimately with his patriotism. Himself the first pupil of Descartes who by publishing some years after his master's death, in 1654, in our language the fundamental principles of rationalism under the name of *Magyar Encyclopaedia*, caused philosophy to speak Hungarian, about half a century earlier than Domasius in German. But he employed this criticism not only upon the subjects of human knowledge, but especially upon the state of things in Hungary, and both in his writings and in his speeches he urged on with the courage of enthusiasm the transformation of all our public and educational institutions and the realization of that ideal of Magyarism which he had woven in his soul out of Western culture and Eastern love of race. He came in collision with numerous interests including Protestant Orthodoxy and died while still young. His efforts were not without effect and he remained a workman on the field of philology, linguistic and especially of history. He had as literary collaborators not only professors and clergymen, but soldiers and diplomatists, citizens and princes, nay, even sovereign ladies, as for instance Susanna Lorántfi the Patroness of Comenius the professor and writer of Sárospatak. The active life of the time especially the special life of Transylvania, inspired a whole series of historians and memoir writers, the imitators of Livy, such as John Szalárdi, the simple diarists such as Prince John Kemény, the agreeable narrators of the great and little events of life such as Nicholas Bethlen and Michael Cserei, and those that took note of old customs such as Peter Apor. The last and most noble representative of this literature was the companion in exile of Francis Rákóczi II, Clement Mikes who wrote his *letters from Turkey* in the middle of the last century. These speak of the doings and mode of life of the refugees in Turkey, but still more of the inner history of a warm and true heart which maintains an enthusiastic fidelity towards his ruined lord, on the

shores of the sea of Marmora guards in his memory, the picture of his lost country with all the warmth of heart, even in the midst of his Catholic devotions nourishes a Calvinistic fatalism and carries his tender philanthropy even into his solitude growing continually darker.

The letters of Mikes were the last literary utterance of that century's long struggle, which a large part of the persecuted nation continued against its kings on account of the absolutistic tyranny and religious prosecutions of the court of Vienna. These campaigns and insurrections lost ever more and more their Protestant character and the last, the war of the Catholic Francis Rákóczi, was a purely national movement. The Magyars, so to say, regard these wars as their own proper history, whose glory and whose mourning concern themselves alone, much more so than the wars against the Turks, which were waged with foreign help. This view of things is supported, or rather let us say, this feeling is expressed, by the rich and flourishing popular poetry which accompanied the so called *Kurucz-world*, the insurrections of Tököli and Rákóczi. The historical songs recount the series of changing fortunes, the names of the heroes and of the martyrs and amongst these songs are more than one classical specimen of ballad poetry. The lyre was inspired by passionate hatred of the German sprung up from general misery and ennobled by the affecting fervour of the sorrow felt for the country's unhappy lot. A war-like temper, a proud self-confidence and a sudden despondency sound through them; the bitter complaint and angry scorn of the *Kurucz* and *Labancz* against one another. In these pictures and songs there arises before our eyes something of the old heathen warrior: in the wild boastfulness of the Heiduck and the Huszár, in the blind love of daring adventure, in the elementary force of the love of race, in the fierce enjoyments of a war-like life, amidst which the religious motive retired into the back-ground. The songs sung to the tune of Adam Balogh under the walls of Vienna must have been much the same as those that were sung eight hundred years earlier

before the walls of Augsburg. The songs of war which were sung to the accompaniment of the *lároगतó*, ended in the bitter wailing, the melancholy elegies and cries of woe of the refugee and the exile; their most celebrated instance is the *Rákóczy-Song*, which was composed after the great defeat at Trencsén, and from which tune Berlioz and Liszt have composed the world-famed Rákóczy-march. Through the ravages of the Turks and of the civil wars the nation became exhausted and exceedingly diminished in numbers. The peace-party which was especially grateful to the reigning-house for the recovery of Buda and the expulsion of the Turks, came to the top by the treaty of Szatmár in 1711; and the country entrusted itself to their leading. There was no more a prince of Transylvania. Hungarian politics changed their direction; from this time forward they attempted to attain by loyalty towards the reigning-house what hitherto they had attempted to gain from it by the sword. The old Kurucz and Labancz united in harmony to accept the succession in the female line. The kind words of Maria Theresa, a wise and beautiful queen touched the heart of the nation and its enthusiasm, its spirit of sacrifice and its valour saved her throne in the wars of Succession. There followed a period of unity, of progress in the public peace, the administration of justice, in the government of the country and in public instruction, during which period, however, the old force of the national feeling rapidly declined. The hated Vienna drew our country too within the sphere of its attraction; the land, destitute of a royal court and of a capital, imitated Vienna in language, fashion and spirit. Our chief magnates broke one after the other with their family traditions, settled in the neighbourhood of the court where distinctions awaited them. Together with them the higher ranks of our society became germanized and frenchified; public life and science became latinized. In the newly built *baroc* castles German actors were welcome guests. Culture and Magyarism parted company; the rapid advancement of the first is a sign of the still more rapid decline

of the latter. This century is characteristically called *Aureum scientiarum saeculum* in Latin. For the learned literature, which now began to flourish and in every branch of which the Jesuit played the leading part, was written in the Latin language. In that language George Pray and Stephen Katona published their historical studies of marvellous length and breadth; in that language were written the works that formed the library of the Jesuit theology; in that language began our works on comparative philology and the history of literature. Only Peter Bod, the warm-souled pastor of Magyar-Igen, shook his head with bitter complaints and composed in the Hungarian language his data on the history of the Protestant church and old Hungarian literature, just as if he were writing their obituaries. Only one single conspicuous Hungarian writer appeared at this time, nor was he an original genius: the Jesuit Francis Faludy, one of our old writers on style, the most worthy of notice; in his moral maxims, in his sketches and verses, echoes of Hungarian folk-songs and Italian poems, he showed himself a master of a strikingly expressive coloured and mobile style.

Following this white raven there soon appeared a whole flock of swallows announcing the spring. There were two chief causes for the depression of the national life during the *unnational* period; the extreme suddenness of the change and the barrenness of the period in geniuses. As soon as the new western culture, whose chief forces were the world-conquering French taste and the rousing ideas of illumination, began to touch greater and stronger geniuses, it began at the same time to stimulate their Magyar feelings and were by them made use of in the service of our nationality. The queen who certainly was led by gratitude towards the Hungarian nation established at Vienna a Hungarian body-guard consisting of youths from the nobility; and it was to the members of this body-guard that we owe the intellectual new birth of Magyarism. At the head of these inspired youths stood George Bessenyey whose career so to say, illustrated

that of his nation. This powerful framed »Meleager« having long ago left the School at Patak with some reminiscences of Latin and a smattering of other knowledge arrived at the Viennese court from a lonely farm-house in the county of Szabolcs. In the atmosphere of Vienna there awoke within him a feeling of his own backwardness and that of the nation, and a passionate desire to educate both the one and the other. By the bright flame of his feeling of nationality he studied for ten years the languages, the writers, the ideas of the West, and with them he set on fire his whole surroundings. Bessenyey's companions, the body-guard, became immortal as the van-guard of the new Hungarian literature and culture. The tragedy of *Agis* which he wrote appeared in 1772, and with this book, and in this year began the new period of our literature whose course, nay, whose ever richer and fuller development having then begun, was never arrested any more either by the will of man or the force of circumstances. Bessenyey was a follower of the French especially of Voltaire, who on the whole globe had no more faithful disciple. His radical spirit and his exquisite forms equally fascinated him; it was him whom he imitated in his dramas, whose subjects, however, he sought in Hungarian legendary traditions and history, and him he imitated in his epos written of king Mátyás as well as in his numerous historical and philosophical works. But with the system of classicism and the ideas of illumination he attempted to reconcile both his own religious feelings and the traditions and interests of his nation. The melancholy into which he fell by struggling against these opposite tendencies and the blows of fortune appear as the most poetical features of his character, while the most powerful and lively instruments of his influence were the brochures he wrote in favour of the confirmation, development and cultivation of Magyarism. Amongst the members of the *French school* which he founded Alexander Báróczy came out of the ranks of the bodyguards, the translator of Marmontel and Calprenède, to whom Hungarian prose style

owes much, in the way of euphony and distinction, and the power of accomodating itself to western forms. Meanwhile in the country itself Joseph Péczeli, the enthusiastic clergyman of Komárom, joined himself to the new school; among whose many books, his imitations of La Fontaine's fables were especially celebrated. This movement was interrupted by the conspiracy of Martinovics, together with which the literary influence of the French spirit was quenched in blood. But not the mobility of the new Hungarian literary life. Almost at the same time as the French taste, another taste also made its appearance and another school was founded for the most part by members of the religious orders; that of the *Latinists*. Its foundation was not merely the Hungarian Latin school and the Latin culture of the priests, the professors, and a part of the middle classes, but a certain internal tie which, owing to our nature, connected us with the type of mind constituting the source of this culture: its keen insight and organizing capacity, its inclination to oratory and satire, its political and military ideals, and further the fact that our language of all modern languages is the one best adapted to the classical metres. Despising the double rhymed Alexandrines of the frenchified school, and developing the Hungarian prosody to illustrate which, as it were, they wrote, with more good will than ability, odes, elegies, letters. Nicholas Révay the great comparative philologist was conspicuous amongst these poets of our Latinist school. Then the Paulist Benedict Virág was the first who brought a spark from Heaven, the true poetic fire into his sapphic, and occasional odes; he also wrote a history *Magyar Századok* (Hungarian centuries) in the spirit and the forms of Roman historians.

Voltaire and Virgil, however, who had thus become the leaders of the new Hungarian poets were soon joined by a third guide: Gyöngyösi. The gentry of the counties still read far and wide the verses of this Gömör magistrate, and saw in him the most powerful manifestation of Hungarian poetic genius. Many argued that if it was a question of a new blos-

soming of Magyar poetry, and if it was to remain really Magyar, then they had better follow in his footsteps. In this way starting from the national traditions of Gyöngyösi and form his four-rhymer strophes there arose *the school of the Hungarians*. Especially favourable to their development and their influence was the system of the Emperor Joseph who made war upon our national language, constitution, and traditions, in favour of an enlightened and German absolutism. In this new direction the nation felt nothing but the danger to its Magyar nationality, and clung with obstinate firmness to the old social and legal order that was associated with its nationality. Both the literary agitation and still more the political pressure of the »King in a hat« excited to an extraordinary degree the national self-consciousness of the Magyars, but circumstances combined them at the same time to the idea of the past. The poets of this conservative agitation were the followers of Gyöngyösy. In form they stood nearest to the frenchified party, but in their conceptions they were utterly opposite to them. They felt the connection between Voltaire and Joseph II. and resorted to the imitation of Gyöngyösi as a means of agitating against it. Their principal men were a piarist professor of Szeged, Andrew Dugonics, and a general of cavalry, sprung from an Italian family, Count Joseph Gvadányi. The first wrote tales in verse upon classical subjects and translated into Hungarian the German dramas of chivalry, but his name is chiefly famous for his historical novels. These novels with an artificial plot, disguisings, and anachronisms, remind one of the type of Mlle Scudery but in such a way as if the stories were told instead of in the dainty salons of the *précieuses*, in the watch-room of a barracks of hussars. The high-sounding exaggerations of national pride never expressed more burning love of race than in the irregular and rough pages of these books with their narrow outlook and horizon. The most celebrated amongst them was *Etelka* which brings forward the men of its time under disguises and represents them as living in the days of Duke Zsolt, just like the *Grand Cyrus*; but, while the masquerade of this

latter distributes flattering compliments, Dugonics with his skin clad puppets agitates with boiling hatred against the Emperor. Gvadányi on the contrary was nothing but loyalty, but was not any the less for that a fiery Hungarian. Rough and inartistic, but original, his Hungarian eye, good humour and anger has in a satirical story in verse created a character that will not die, *the notary of Peleske*. First of all he depicts the Hungarian life in the wilderness with its cowherds, shepherds, coltherds, and with these forms of ancestral force and originality he severely attacks the degenerate Hungarians of the capital who have become foreigners in speech, customs, and habit. This Stephen Zajtay, as he trots along by the side of the Tisza, charges headlong without any hesitation against a thousand enemies: he is the direct blood descendant of the lonely horseman we saw on the plain of the Volga.

The agitation succeeded: the Emperor Joseph took with him to the tomb the dreams of a disappointed life. Hungarian conservative reaction broke out with full force in the diet at Buda of 1790. The crown was brought back, the tunes of Rákóczy resounded on all sides, Hungarian costumes again made their appearance. The *mot d'ordre* was the setting in security of the old feudal system, and on this well tried foundation the strengthening and development of Magyarism. This political conservation was a noisy and enthusiastic outburst of Magyar feeling. The establishment of a national Academy was proposed and in Transylvania a society for the cultivation of the language even began its operations. The number and influence of newspapers and periodicals, the series of which had begun hardly ten years before with the *Magyar Hirmondó*, increased every day. Under the management of Ladislaus Kelemen the German Theatre of the capital was for a time occupied by the first Hungarian theatrical company. The leader of this company was one of the greatest capacities of the body of young writers of these eventful years: Joseph Kármán. His name is kept alive in our literature by a novelette, *the legacy of Fanny*, a subtle

and sympathetic sketch of a poor girl's heart, a delicate flower, which the heat and storm of a single summer day causes to wither. The whole novelette itself is but a single flower, but one of those which do not fade. As nature and the picture of the human soul first fuse together therein so the more polished taste of foreign literature and a sensitiveness to the genius of the Hungarian language for the first time combined to produce a coloured, varied, select and yet genuine Hungarian prose style. This young advocate who had studied at Vienna edited the first Hungarian periodical for ladies, the *Urania*, and he also wrote under the title »*The beautifying of the nation*«, the best and most correct programme of the new Hungarian culture. In his own mind he went even further, than this programme. In opposition to the public feeling he was excited by the thought that the ideas of illumination and the national feeling should enter into alliance with one another. It appears that he took part in the conspiracy of Martinovics, but escaped the consequent persecution by his early death. Those of his companions who thought as he did came in the year of his death (1795) to the scaffold or the dungeon. Amongst the latter was John Bacsányi from whose lyre the bloody threats of the »*Terreur*« screamed, and who later on in Kufstein wrote some classical specimens of our elegiac poetry, the sad complaints of a chained giant.

On the years that stood on the border between the two centuries, two distinguished poets separated themselves from these ideas. The first was Michael Vitéz of Csokona a student of Debreczen, upon whom the celebrated old college shut its gates, in order that after a few decades of years it might open them with all solemnity before his marble statue by Ferenczy. Csokonai, like the old wandering minstrels, passed for some years through the land singing and making merry, and only returned home to Debreczen to die. In the course of his troubled career he learnt a great deal and amongst the foreign poets Metastasio and Bürger especially influenced him, without, however, at all injuring his originality. This

originality was the originality of an ideal Calvinist student of an easy spirited nature, delighting in song, but at bottom serious and noble. The mischievousness and ungoverned humour of a school-boy was in him associated with a sentimentality that every now and then broke into tenderness and enthusiasm for great ideas. He wrote a comic epic called *Dorothea*, in which he made use of the motives of Pope, but withal composed one of the most Hungarian pieces in our poetical literature. He ridicules in his epic a husband-hunting oldmaid, which for the vigour of the comic conception, the gay liveliness of the pictures, and the aromatic freshness of the narration can find but few rivals in foreign literatures, in our own but one *The gypsies of Nagy-Ida*. He sang his unhappy love in lyric songs which with their tender sweetness and the noble inwardness of their outbursts of sorrow and the fluent ease of their verse made them our best amorous poetry up to the time of Vörösmarty and Petöfi. Csokonai rises out of the mist of his life of affections in a few powerful odes and didactic poems into the highest regions of questions concerning ethics and national life in order that immediately afterwards he may sweep away with himself his boon companions with his drinking songs. An entirely different nature and career was that of his competitor for popularity Alexander Kisfaludy. The son of a noble family, a member of the guard, an officer of the army, he travelled abroad in the French wars and then settled down as a distinguished and well-to-do gentleman. The scene of his inspiration was not the tobacco smoke of the rooms of a college student, whose companions laughed loud over their meagre fare and their wine, but the leisure of a gentleman's country-seat in the neighbourhood of the ruined castles on the hills beside the Balaton. While abroad he learnt to know and to love Petrarch. Under his influence with a wound in the heart which he had brought from home and with new feelings he began to write in Italy and Provence, in a metre invented by himself in the form of the sonnet, *the songs of Himfy*, whose

ardent heat is as inexhaustible as his lyrical imagination. The songs of passionate desire and complaints are followed, when he is able to espouse the beloved one, by the songs of joy: *complaining love* by *happy love*. In these four hundred songs appeared for the first time among us in its full poetic force Rousseau's conception of nature. Kisfaludy also wrote tales in verse about the ruins on the Balaton, stories full of feeling and in their time favoured with public approbation, with their chivalrous ideas of knighthood and love. The poet was proud of his descent from the original occupiers of the fatherland and clung with all his soul to the old noble state of society. He did not teach his nation new ideas but rather noble sentiments and above all patriotic self-confidence.

Csokonai and Alexander Kisfaludy were the favourite poets of the first decade, but the leader of literary life was an other person. In the fore-front arose the form of Francis Kazinczy a squire of the county of Zemplén, one of the old school of youths of liberal opinions, who endured a long imprisonment from which he was set free only in the first year of the century. He began his career as an author by sentimental songs after the manner of the Germans which were surpassed in poetical value by his later witty epigrams and his lively instructive and vehement epistles. But he did not owe his credit and authority to these compositions but to his extraordinary susceptibility, his marvellous enthusiasm, his extensive erudition and cultivated taste, in one word to his whole individuality which for the first time showed Hungary in the flesh the idea of a modern literateur. Life and nature, history and politics, everything awoke in his soul but an aesthetical echo which, with all its thoughts and feelings, lived in the past and present, the great and small appearances of culture. He translated a very great deal from the writers, both of the ancient and modern world, amongst them from Cicero and Sallust, from Shakespeare, Molière and Goethe, the last of whom he especially idolized. He routed out and put in print the monuments of our old literature, and, although

himself oppressed by the cares of life, he played the part of a poor Maecenas amongst his brother poets. He edited periodicals: he made known, he criticized, he inspired with all the force of the printed and written word. His correspondence with authors and the friends of literature fill a long row of stout volumes and they form the richest source of our literary history for a period of almost half a century. He was a living academy, in whose house at Széphalom every thread of our literary life was connected with one another. These letters are the finest models of his style tending to the choiceness of expressions, their easy and witty brevity, and characteristic euphony. Although not devoid of vanity, they are full of unselfish enthusiasm, and with a certain pettiness at times are marked by a noble daintiness of taste. Whilst he was troubling himself with words and lines, with the correction of bad rhymes and verses that would not scan, the grand ideal of a new culture hovered ever before his eyes; he was inspired by the German-Greek classicism of Goethe for the purely human, the beautiful free from all national flitters. To this taste he sought to educate his nation and thought in this way it would develop in the most worthy manner, not much troubling himself if somewhat of its originality might be sacrificed in the process. Nay, he even required this sacrifice. In order that we might speak as the great men of old times and in foreign lands had spoken, it was necessary that we should enrich our language with new words and adapt its forms to foreign models. As Ronsard formerly in French literature, so Kazinczy too desired to »adorn the temple of the Hungarian language with treasures drawn together from the whole civilized world«. Especially in the style of his translations, which was very careful but at the same time often sounded foreign and artificial, he set an example whith the exaggerations of a reformer, and in his disquisitions, critical essays and satirical verses he demanded with like exaggeration the entire reform of the whole literary language. »The main law of poetical language is beauty and

literature is its legislation« was the principle he proclaimed for *neology*; and together with his disciples he proclaimed war against the oldfashioned folk in Debreczen and beyond the Danube who defended the radical originality of the language. This war was continued for thirty years with all the weapons of learning, passion and wit, and flowed over from the camps of the literary combatants into the whole of public life. Poets, philologists and politicians joined in the controversy. Kazinczy, with all the force of his conviction that it was a vital point of our progress in culture that our language should be enlarged and our style made easier and more varied, maintained the combat obstinately and unweariedly.

After Joseph had passed away, the question of the language became an object of common interest to the awaking nation and consequently its scientific cultivation too made great progress. After John Sajnovics, the Hungarian Jesuit who travelled in Lapland, and Samuel Gyarmathi had laid the foundation of the comparative philology of the Ugrian languages, in the earliest years of the century the greatest Hungarian philologist the Piarist Nicholas Révai published his *Antiquitas* and *Elaboratior-Grammatica*. In these works, with his investigations based on the examination of the old monuments of the Language, he appeared as the first great representative and founder of historical study of language not only among ourselves but in the whole world, preceding as his did, both Bopp and Grimm. His disciple Stephen Horváth who later on became a writer of history helped on with his immense knowledge and keen criticism the dreams of national exaggeration, but, «there was none of our teachers from whom so many learnt to love the fatherland». Révai's opponent, Francis Verseggy, wrote with no little keenness his *Pure Hungarian* based upon general custom. The question of the development of the language gave rise to a peculiarly rich and interesting literature. The competitions for prizes, the studies, plans, brochures, and disputations relating to this matter, continually stimulated the public interest and prepared the ultimate

solution. The weight of the decision, however, really lay in the abilities of the authors, especially of the poets. Those effected the most in this department who carried out into literature Kazinczy's attempts at reform with greater ability and more moderation than were his. By the force of their imaginations and sentiments they were able to give life to the works of the new school, to make them received by the public and find favour in its eyes.

From the pleiade of the old master, from the circle of his friends, two especially distinguished themselves. The first was Daniel Berzsenyi, a proprietor in Kemenesalja, one of the best writers of odes of all time. He wrote almost entirely in classical metres, but all he wrote was filled with a great warmth of national feeling. His mythology sounds as little strange as if he had conquered for us Olympus and all its gods. A heart-stirring and elevating force pervades his poetry, gives wings to his thought, tenseness to his language. The old Hungarian motive, the starting point of Zrinyi's epic, the Hungarian warlike heroism, is the first inspirer of his lyre. With the fire of his inspiring songs competes in effect the majestic sadness of his patriotic melancholy, while he laments over his perishing nation, and the noble profundity of his sorrow which reveals the real life of his heart. He learnt a good deal from Horace, but his elevated fervour he learnt from no one in the world. In contrast to Berzsenyi's lightning-scattering force stands Kazinczy's young friend Francis Kölcsey, of the county of Szatmár, with his subtle and always spiritualized sensibility. Politics occupied only a short section of his life, when he was the most applauded speaker in the diet at Pozsony in 1832. The rest of his life was spent amid legal, historical, and especially critical studies and amongst visions of a world of fancy which could never be realized. The pure feelings of such an elevated world of fancy filled his breast, and the longing after noble ideals inspired his songs. It was the voice of the German sentimental lyre, but yet the natural voice of his »soul that was not fitted to

move among men«. He naturalized the ballad in imitation of Bürger, but his more burning passion only found expression in his patriotic odes, the utterance of despair. His critical and oratorical works were of more importance than his poetry. He was the founder of the Hungarian school of literary criticism and academical oratory; he was the first who wielded the dissecting knife of aesthetics with practised knowledge and taste; and in the commemorative speeches, on the occasion of the deaths of Berzsenyi and Kazinczy, he for the first time carried away a Hungarian audience with pictures of the glory and suffering of the poetic spirit. He too created the literary form of our old political oratory under the influence of the style of Cicero, with his lucidity and rotundity, but pervaded by a warmer stream of feeling and enthusiasm. As moralist he produced a first class classic in his *Parainesis*, which, addressed to his nephew depicts a moral ideal, vivified by the free air of Hungarian life.

Kölcsy's career stretches from Kazinczy's world into an entirely new period of our political and literary development. In the first decade of our century the French wars hindered progress; after them the reaction of the Holy Alliance chained down every movement among us. The constitution set aside, the doors of the diet locked, every free movement suppressed: these were the flourishing days of police-rule and espionage. Under the obtrusive pressure of the government the material, intellectual and moral energy of the nation was paralyzed. In the deadly calm of those dark days, in that suffocating atmosphere, a lightning spark of the gathering storm kindled the imagination of Joseph Katona, a young lawyer who had become acquainted with the troop of Hungarian actors again vegetating at Pest. The disconsolate mood of those days, led him to an episode in the history of the Árpáds, to a poetical conception in which that mood grew into a tragic ideal. Katona, in 1814, on the occasion of the opening of the newly built theatre at Kolozsvár, had written for a competition *Bánk Bán*, the first ornament of

Hungarian tragic poetry. Bánk a loyal and noble knight slays the haughty queen, in whom he sees the enemy of his race, the oppressor of his people, and the destroyer of his family honour. This work with its violent collisions, its thrilling tones, its classical representation of character, and the dramatic force of its unpolished language, is something much more than an excellent tragedy. The external struggle was between a foreign power and the jealous force of national virtue, while the internal struggle was between loyalty to the king and national feeling. This is the eternal tragedy of Hungarian public life. The live coal which flames forth from century to century of the tragical contrasts of the whole of Hungarian history blazes up in *Bánk Bán*. The work shows study of Shakespeare, but does not follow his model, it is one of the most national dramas, for us, our most national poem. The public of his time from the very soul of which that drama was drawn did not understand the poem. The judges of the competition did not notice it; published as a book, it almost remained unnoticed. But later on, in the forties, the national soul recognized itself in the work, and then enthusiastic applause called for the unknown writer, who by that time had long slept in the cemetery of Kecskemét.

In the twenties Charles Kisfaludy was the successful dramatist, and properly speaking the founder of Hungarian theatrical poetry. He had passed a restless youth, first he abandoned his school-books; after that his officer's sword; he attempted to become a painter, and for a time wandered about abroad; but after his return home the fame of his brother Alexander, attached him to the career of an author. With more modern culture, with many-sided abilities and great fertility he placed himself at the head of the new literature and became the leader of a more national direction. This direction showed itself in turning away from the Latin, the French and the Greek-German classical systems and turning to the ideas and forms of the modern literature and the poetical material to be found in Hungarian life. Kisfaludy

began with historical dramas of which the first, *the Tatárs in Hungary*, was put upon the stage at Buda in 1819 with a hitherto unprecedented success. It gained its success partly by its very good acting qualities, but especially by its eminently Hungarian spirit. The weak but enthusiastic drama received applause, which was perhaps the first signs of a general awakening of the paralysed national self-consciousness. The poet with easy and feverish abundance cultivated his popularity upon the stage sending forth a whole series also of historical plays amongst which *Irène* taken from the history of Byzantium was the highest in point of poetical value. In this dramatic culture of the national past especially in the prominent place given to the spirit of chivalry appears the influence of the German romantic school, but with an entirely peculiar modification. The taste for inspiring pictures of the past was nourished by the national feeling; but, instead of being occupied in a dreamy manner with their story, these plays kept the imagination occupied with the then actual condition of Hungarian life. It did not rest in the past, but sought to render the force of that past available in the interest of a great future, and in order to be able to do this it was necessary to be acquainted with the present in its true colours, with all its strength and all its weakness. In this current of ideas was conceived the realistic picture of the Hungarian world, of which school the first representative was Charles Kisfaludy, »the father of Hungarian comedy«. In his comic tales too he made amusement with the obliquities of Hungarian life and nature, of which he gives a picturegallery, amiable and gay, in the most important of his works, his comedies. Amongst these a few, such as the »*Suitors*« and »*Deceptions*«, have kept their place on our stage to the present day. He filled the forms of Kotzebue with Hungarian life, spirit and forms, bringing on the boards a whole series of the most amusing representatives of the Hungarian noble world, as it lived in the days of the emperor Francis, amongst them the magnate, who has lived abroad

and adopted foreign habits; the family lawyer, full of Latin words and phrases, the clownish cavalier, and several others, whose different varieties still live in our poetical literature. The humorous spirit of a patriarchal world smiles into our eyes, as it feels his way towards the future. The germs of the popular play *i.e.* of the play treating of the life of the people, are ready to break out in his mind, and his popular songs form the first attempt at that new form of literature, which assumes the form and the tone of the poetry composed by the people itself. His successes, the respect with which he was regarded, and his readiness to give advice, collected round him the best capacities amongst the young writers, the *Aurora's* circle, so called from the Poetical Annual which they published, whose propensity to national subjects and actual life, whose tendency for further development stand in a contrast with Kazinczy. Out of this circle there was formed, in 1836, in honour of the master early deceased, the Kisfaludy Society which has maintained to the present day a leading part in our belletristic literature.

From the Aurora Circle there arose Michael Vörösmarty from the county of Fehér, whose career as a poet, was of so grandiose a character as no instance had hitherto been seen in Hungary. At the beginning of the twenties, when the nation aroused by the poets became agitated, the counties resembled armed camps, and the formidable opposition broke down the system of repression, and with the Diet of 1825 there began the reforming period of the great transformation: the soul of these movements inspired his epic muse. In his great epos »*The flight of Zala*«, which established the passion for heroic poems in hexameters, and which with its effect claims a place not only in our literary, but also in our political history: with his splendid pictures of Árpád and the first occupation of the fatherland, he stirred up the nation to a new foundation of the country, the necessity of which was sufficiently apparent. Its composition is not compact; its mythology is arbitrary, its picture of the

times is not sufficiently probable, but in the long series of his ever memorable details, especially in the charm of its whole tone, it was still felt to be the manifestation of a great poetical power. The immediate and direct force of a series of odes and elegies seizes on the hearts of its readers. The sorrow of concealed love trembles in its patriotic despair and for consolation they fly for refuge to the glories of the past. The pictures of invincible strength and conquering beauty are composed with deep feeling and rich imagination and interpreted by a language which stand alone in our poetical literature for the richness of its colouring and the beauty of its harmony. Its wealth of language dissolves the monotony of the hexameter, its natural style dissipates its foreign character and its harmony renews the Greek world, when verse and music were one. The combination of the brilliant colours of his pictures and the brooding sweetness of his tones produced a wonderful effect in his shorter epics, in »Cserhalom« and in »Eger«, but the crown of all was the last, »The two neighbouring castles«, so thrilling with its tragic force. The tragedies that he wrote for the stage were inferior in dramatic effect to his narrative tragedies. Their chief merit consisted in the poetical character of their language and amongst them »Csongor és Tünde«, composed after an old legend, by its passion and playful, naive style, the capricious interweaving of reflection and humour and its fascinating colouring make it one of the greatest triumphs of the Hungarian poetical language. This peculiar play between tone and colouring, the enthusiasm of the ode and with it the purity of the song, the elegiac absorption combined with in the realm of thoughts and feelings produced perhaps the deepest and most lasting effect on the nation. The external peculiarities, of the Latinists, their mythologizing, have passed away; in the place of their classical metres, the rhymed stanzas of the West now prevail but without German sentimentalism. In the charming language of his words and pictures, the more serious feelings

find utterance for the welfare of humanity, the fatherland, and for the well deserved happiness of his own heart. He is disposed to reflections, but his thoughts ripen on the warmth of a noble heart and are borne along on the wings of a brilliant fancy. From his patriotic odes, there sounds the high-toned resolution and the outburst of despair of a nation entering upon a decisive struggle, like festive bells calling to war, to work and to prayer. After the old religious songs, the lyre of Vörösmarty for the first time connects together the lot of the nation with the ideals of humanity. In his »Szózat« he has written the nation's hymn for all times.

After the death of Charles Kisfaludy and of Kazinczy, at the beginning of the thirties, Vörösmarty became the recognised head of our literature. A circle gathered around him, the best and most zealous capacities in the editorial staff of the Aurora-pocket-book and the weekly Athenaeum, in the sittings of the Academy and the Kisfaludy Society. Almost about the same time made his appearance Geoge Czuczor an eager Benedictine, with his little epics drawn from the old primitive times; amongst them one, which worked up in an attractive form the legend of Botond; all in hexameters, but the poet who was of peasant extraction, later on inclined to the folk-song and wrote several successful, smart verses. Vörösmarty's most intimate friend was the critic Joseph Bajza, the first excellent Hungarian journalist, who in the direction of poetry was the last representative of any consequence among us of the German sentimental lyre. As was the case with Kölcsey, it was only the wrongs and sorrows of his nation, that as it were carried him out of himself and taught him more passionate notes. John Garay was the most faithful disciple of him who composed the Szózat. John Garai worked up the whole history of the Árpáds into a long series of spirited ballads in a somewhat rhetorical tone. The young Francis Toldy from writing notices of his contemporaries in the press, both in Hungary and abroad, became their historian. During the

course of half a century he laboured with indefatigable industry and enthusiasm; with an obstinate though touching attachment to the past, he composed the whole science of the history of Hungarian literature, issuing in extraordinary abundance editions, collections, anthologies, historical and aesthetical criticisms, speeches and systematic studies. To their circle, there joined himself Andrew Fáy, the squire poet, who was an older man and had already made his début in the first decade of the century. Full of sober and sound philosophy of life he became the Aesop of his nation, but a genuine Hungarian Aesop, whose teaching conveyed not merely human, but above all national reason. In more than six hundred prose fables he with picturesque ingenuity taught his Hungarians perseverance in progress, concentration of their forces and reasonableness. It was he who wrote in his novel entitled *»Bélték-ház«*, the richest and truest sketch of the beginning of the period of reform, a picture of Hungarian life in its transformation, when the new world rose from the decaying spirit and forms of the old.

Of this new Hungary, Count Stephen Széchenyi was the leader. His grand family traditions and strong love of race awoke in him the resolution to consecrate his whole life to his country. The experience he had acquired and especially his studies in political economy caused him to see clearly the only way to national prosperity. This way could not be any other than to break off with our dreams of past greatness, which were consequently idle and inactive; to emancipate ourselves from the obsolete legal system of feudalism with the social prejudices bound up with it, and our unprofitable system of husbandry; but above all things to abandon our narrow-minded indifference to culture. Let all of us become Hungarian in word and heart; let the national self-consciousness and self-confidence pervade every circle of our society from the lowest to the highest. We are few and poor; we must conquer back the germanized magnates; we must receive the people that have at present no rights into the bosom of

the political nation; by means of a transformation, according to the spirit of the times, of our constitution and public institutions, we must freely develop our material and intellectual resources. We must cultivate ourselves and enrich ourselves, as the nations of the West have done; with every step that we make towards them, our Hungarianism will gain ever new security. Széchenyi gave an example both of sacrifice and of labour. In the Diet of 1825 he founded the Academy, which five years later began its operations under the presidency of Count Joseph Teleky, the historian of the Hunyadys. In 1830 appeared Széchenyi's work entitled *»Credit«*, which was followed, one after the other, by his writings on reform, in which he developed his program in detail. His inclination towards the practical spirit of the English guided his pen; but his irritable, nervous system and burning love of race gave an agitating force to his books, in which in the tones of science, enthusiasm and sarcasm he in turn scolded, encouraged and taught his nation. He was also foremost in actual work and in the laws passed by the Diet, in society and in economical life, every creation of the new period started into being in his burning soul and was realized by his zeal. His nation enthusiastically accepted him as a leader and named him the *»Greatest Hungarian«*. Struggling in Parliament against the Viennese reaction, the work of reform at last started in the interest of the oppressed Hungarian language and the liberation of the people, the sects, of the intellectual and economical forces. *»Hungary was not but shall be!«* cried Széchenyi; but according to the testimony of his diaries in the years of crisis the lowering doubt, the chiaroscuro of patriotic feeling overcame also his wavering soul, that feeling to which the poets of the time gave such an affecting expression and which is the characteristic tone of the patriotic lyrics of Vörösmarty.

Do not let us brood over the past, but let us work for the future, taught Széchenyi and, as his spirit pervaded our whole public life, our epics that sought to inspire us with the glory of the past, died away at the beginning of the

thirties. They gave place to the novel and that exclusively the historical novel, which, however, no longer sought to rouse us from our apathy by pictures of the past, but to make us exult in the newly awakened magyarism and perhaps by adapting the teaching of history to the popular understanding, in some sort give it guidance with regard to the problems of the present. Our three principal novel-writers before the Revolution, each came forward as a politician in the service of Széchenyi's work of reform. Such was the case with the first of them, Baron Nicholas Josika. Brought up in the most Hungarian atmosphere of the Transylvanian magnates, he felt in their old castles, their old collections of arms and manuscript chronicles, even in their language, customs and family memories, more lively that Hungarian past, which in »Hungary Proper« had been driven into oblivion by the rule of Maria Theresa, Joseph and Francis. This feeling of nearness to the past was the most eloquent prompter of the historical novelist. Jósika's first novel »*Abaſi*« was received by both public and critics with »hats off«, and approbation and applause; the following also met with due approval, especially the *Tshekhs*, *Báthory* and *Rákóczy*; with interest all the 130 volumes. The public and private life of former times no one had hitherto set out in such a goodly and rich series of pictures; no one before had moved so familiarly in the courts of princes, in the houses of the nobles and the burghers; no one had expressed in a manner so intelligible to every reader the habits and the sentiments of former generations; no one had hitherto given such interesting accounts of their joys and sorrows. Josika was the disciple of Walter Scott, with the same faculty of taking interest in the past, both in little things and in great, but without his vivifying force. He rather paints an external picture of history than reveals its soul; he loves it more than he understands it. In the composition of his plots he is more inventive than characteristic; in his apprehension more noble than deep, in his narration more circumstantial than warm or coloured. In the books, which he wrote in his old

age and sent home from his exile abroad his imagination is more excited, but also his external fidelity diminishing. He turns from Scott to Dumas and his vigour diminishes while his fertility remains the same. The public continued to read him; but the critics, by this time turned against him; and the aged exile drew strength from well merited self-approbation: he had founded the Hungarian novel and had decupled the Hungarian reading public.

A few years after Jósika's appearance that great success which the young Baron Joseph Eötvös, afterwards Hungary's first minister of public instruction, achieved with his *Karthausi* (the Carthusian) signified not merely the enrichment of our literature with an excellent novel, but also that of our minds with a whole flood of new ideas. This book was the first work of any size, which introduced philosophical form into our belletristic literature. It leaves the soil of the fatherland and makes its personages play in France, but in the ecstasy which it excited was disclosed the unconscious feeling of the inner relation in which its subject stood to the then currents of our life. When with all our endeavours we hastened almost intoxicated towards an imperfectly known world, the author lays bare before us the doubts, the conflicts, the wounds of civilisation, in the irreconcilable contrasts of French society and the struggles of a sensitive soul. He concludes the confession of his hero and therewith his moral judgement of life with the elevating conclusion that unselfish work is our greatest good. In spite of the lengthiness of its philosophical parts and of the neither easy nor Hungarian course of his style, this book became the favourite reading of the public, and has remained to this day, for it effects with the immediate power of the poet's feeling soul as though it were a lyric poem. It is the sincere outpouring of a noble heart tormented by the sufferings of his age, feeling for nature and who draws within the circle of his imagination all natural objects, trees and flowers, mountains and valleys. Eötvös, after this, his first chief work, became more and more absorbed in Hungarian practical politics,

and his later novels are all connected with the dominant ideas of those politics. His soul warmed up by the lecture of Chateaubriand was inspired by the respect of the rights of man and by the love of his country and mankind, to create poetical works parallel with his political efforts so to say as argumentations addressed to the nation's imagination and heart. Against the great injustice of the states-constitution and the abuses of the county system, he wrote his *»Village Notary«*, the Hungarian *»Uncle Tom's Cabin«*, a powerful cry of pain on the part of feeling of justice, whose sketches of county-life occupy a foremost place in Hungarian satirical composition. Presently in the historical novel entitled *»Hungary in 1514«*, he calls up the bloody scenes of the insurrection of Dózsa as a warning in behalf of a radical solution of the most important question of his time. As the head of the centralists he demanded this solution in brochures, articles, speeches: in the place of the state-constitution, the representation of the people; in the place of the chancery, the council of lieutenancy, and instead of the county system, a strong and responsible central government. In his spirit which gave birth to *»the prevailing ideas of the 19-th century«*, the most distinguished work in Hungarian in political philosophy for the first time there flashed forth in the field of practical politics all those ideas, which were realized in the following twenty years, including the arrangement with Austria and the German alliance. In him were united the philosopher, the orator and the poet; his individuality reminds one of Kölcsey, with a closer relation to the real world, but with the same unbending idealism of soul. This is interpreted to us by his academical discourses, of a kindred form to the speeches of Kölcsey, amongst them may be specially cited the brilliant oratorical apology for patriotism which he pronounced in memory of Körösi Csoma Sándor, and amongst his lyric poems his *»Farewell«*, which he drew from the heart of a mourning nation.

After him came, in the middle of the forties, Baron Sigis-

mund Kemény, sprung from a princely family of Transylvania with a deeper soul, a sharper eye and a rougher imagination, than had hitherto been given to a Hungarian poet. Indeed, he was one of the greatest who have ever attempted to explain in fiction the human lot and the human heart. Beginning with his first novel, »*Gyulai Pál*«, through the »*Fanatics*« and »*The widow and her daughter*« right down to »*Rough Times*«, that wonderful sketch of the days of Queen Isabella, all the subjects of his more important compositions were drawn from the history of Transylvania, from the Courts of the Zápolya's, the Báthory's and the Rákóczy's, from their courts and the life of their hearts, burnt out, disenchanted and trampled down amidst the disastrous struggles of political and religious contending parties. The soul of these past days comes to life in his persons and their stories, which give instances of every weakness of humanity, good and bad mixed together, and the reciprocal action of passion and fate. His watchful eye, with most terrible certainty, recognizes and points out the most hidden fibres of our spiritual composition and traces them out from the subtlest vibration to the wasting tempest of passion. So to say, he gives us in his novels the natural history of moral responsibility. In his hero, it is the man that interests him most together with the lines of history disentangled from and reflected in the human soul. In his poems the dictum of Aristotle is seen in all its force, they are truer than history; in his writings, there is a trace of Balzac, but also of Victor Hugo; with more imagination than the first and more truth than the second. Everything stands before him in a tragic light, and in the relentless sincerity of his love of mankind there is small consolation. With the heaviness of his style and composition, with the rich superiority of his knowledge, he stands gloomily and loftily above his public. Thus more of us read his historical works of which the most distinguished are the characterisations of Széchenyi and the two Wesselényi's, nay, even his political articles, on account of which he was named, »The prince of Hungarian

journalism«, than read his novels, these lasting ornaments of our literature, which still wait for their due reward of complete recognition.

The French influence which since the end of the last century had rather given place to the German, began again to percolate into our minds. It naturally showed itself with greatest force in our dramatic literature which owed its increased importance to the development of our theatres. In the same measure that Pest, chiefly through Széchenyi's efforts, became ever more and more the centre of our national life, in the same measure there appeared as more and more frequent guests the companies of actors from Transylvania and beyond the Danube, who had been enabled to exist and to perform through the assistance given them by zealous writers, and country-gentlemen and later on by the Academy. At last the county of Pest built for them a permanent house and home, and thus in 1837 founded the first institution of the Hungarian drama which a few years later, was raised by a resolution of the Diet to the rank of National Theatre. The period of its foundation was also the heroic period of our drama. Really excellent actors founded the reputation of the glorious traditions of the new institution. Some only lived to accompany the vagabond muse to the door of her new palace, as Mme. Kántor the great tragedian and Mme. Déry, the charming Vaudeville actress, who in her memoirs proved the most delightful chronicler of the painful years of wandering.

Others found a home in the new institution, for instance, the excellent comedian Charles Megyeri, the cleverest representer of Shakespeare's heroes, Gabriel Egressy, Martin Lendvay, fascinating with his warmth and amiability, and the great representer of character, Jeseph Tóth, and the first mistress of Hungarian poetical recitation Mme. Jókay. In the original repertoire of the institution there prevailed at the beginning a tendency which with all its poetical endeavours and merits did not develope in the atmosphere of theatrical

life and with a careful observation of theatrical effect: to wit the academical drama. The translations from foreign languages, by means of their superior adaptability to the stage and their effectiveness forced into the back-ground the attempts of the Hungarians and the brilliant rhetoric of Vörösmarty. But soon the writer arose, whose ability satisfied the taste of the public, whose industry had the greatest influence upon our dramatic composition and whose marvellous fertility dominated our repertoire for nearly forty years. This was Edward Szigligeti, the son of a gentleman of Bihár, who like the greater part of his comrades, out of patriotic enthusiasm had become from a student an actor, and from an actor a dramatic author. In his historical dramas he began with the imitation of the sharp contrast of the French romantic school, its absurdities and its surprises, but afterwards he showed in the direction of his models a development contrary to that of Jósika. Preserving the interesting character of his inventiveness and the effectiveness on the stage of his compositions, he gradually clarified and came out of the world of hair-stiffening fables into that of healthy human life. Although in his conceptions without the inspiration of true sublimity and in his telling of the story without the charm of the more attractive poetical narration, on the field of the historical drama he gave us many noble and moving works, such as, for instance, »*The Pretender to the Throne*«. He also expressed the tone of the revolution in dramatic form with the greatest success, in the »*Imprisonment of Rákóczy*«. He was a wholesome and ingenious nature, better suited to comedy, in which genre he produced several excellent pieces; not concerning himself in these with the more important social troubles and questions, but rather with the amusing obliquities of domestic life. His most distinguished and most original work was the farce of »*Liliomfi*«, drawn from the life of the wanderings actors. He continued the work of Charles Kisfaludy; he too constructed characteristic Hungarian types, but not from the class of gentle folks but from that of the people. Under the influ-

ence of the tendency towards democracy, he turned towards the life of the people; and out of its characters and circumstances, out of its poetical feeling, its songs, and influenced by the French Vaudeville he created with the »*Run-away soldier*« and the »*Coltherd*« in the beginning of the forties the Hungarian popular drama. In the predilection with which our public looked at the representations of the simple and honest soul of the countryfolk, the spirit of the time manifested itself; whose effects towards national reform were at once accompanied by the motives and tendencies of the dramatic literature, that developed itself richly by the side of Szigligeti. Among these theatrical pieces that expressed the tendency of the day, Ignatius Nagy, reaped the greatest success with his »*Municipal Election*«. Nor was there wanting attempts towards a higher poetical creation, such as the stage sketches of Sigismund Czakó which were painted with feverish fancy, and especially Count Ladislaus Teleky's single tragedy, the »*Favourite*«, in which the psychology in its principal action is not free from objection, but in his sketch of the times, he shows with keen, passionate and thrilling irony the moral degradation of the Roman Empire, sinking into final ruin. Otherwise, its conception, the character of its hero and the construction of its plot shows strong marks of the French theatrical romanticism. All these foreign Latin, German and French influences, which made themselves felt in our literature ever since its renaissance were more and more pressed into the background by the feeling of nationality, which was growing constantly stronger since the period of reform had set in. This it was that agitated the most violently in all this time the hearts which strove for poetical manifestation; nor in this respect did the extremest schools of the imitators form an exception. But it now began to pervade and direct taste too. It began to be considered faulty, that the Hungarian legend, history, life, feeling should appear in foreign forms, struggling with restrictions imposed on it only because required by that foreign style. It demanded to be represented in its own proper form

and colour, in all its wealth and all its force. The development of the timid essay towards a national form was hastened by the fact that in the case of Vörösmarty's lyric successors not only the foreign forms, but also empty oratory, over-refined and monotonous sentimentality came in conflict with the elementary force of the nation now thoroughly aroused and seeking in every direction for expression. It was necessary that the poetry that would reach to the soul of a nation should have its source in the same: it was no longer enough to be a Hungarian, one must be hungarianized too. Both the eye and the heart of the period turned towards the people, it was the eye and the heart of the democratic politician who sought in the people a new source of national force and at the same time the eye and the heart of literature, which was pervaded by means of the folk's poetry by the national soul in all its fullness and originality, with its own peculiar world of imagination and feeling, with its characteristic and lovely forms. The ideals of the folk's fables and legends, of its ballads and songs, the pictures, forms and voices of the love and pride of race, of the strength let loose and restrained, of love, warm and tender in happiness, in misfortune defiant and sarcastic, of merriness amidst tears, of the love of freedom, of intellectual and moral health inspired literature and gave it new and stronger wings. John Erdélyi, a distinguished pupil of Hegel, and the founder of the Hungarian philosophy of art started, on the commission of the Kisfaludy Society, the first great collection of Hungarian folk's poetry, accompanied with very valuable disquisitions, which others afterwards continued in great numbers. Of these the most deserving was John Kriza, a Unitarian bishop, the Hungarian Percy, whose »*Wild Roses*« disclose the buried treasures of the hitherto unknown Székely ballads. Both of them, Erdélyi and Kriza, as poets also, were among the first who sounded their lyres in the spirit and the forms of the people. From these collections, but also directly from the lips of peasants who told tales while they were husking the maize and of the reapers who

sang at their work, the folk's poetry began to influence our literature. It taught it those subjects which had been graven on the memory of the people out of the past and had consequently entwined themselves together with its feelings, all the subjects which carried away its soul in the present; it taught our literature the tone which would be able to excite wonder and laughter, sorrow and joy; and lastly it taught it that more natural and simple language, which everybody would understand. It whispered the songs in ancient rhythms which could be sung not only to the piano, but also to the violin, whose motives had long ago thrilled the heart of the solitary horseman by the course of the Volga, and of which the succeeding centuries had merely taught his descendants variations. Under this inspiration together with the absorption of the national and vivifying elements of the folk's poetry, there was developed that school of poets, which fusing together the naïve and the artistic, the individual and the universal into one product of their art, expressed the Hungarian national soul in the deepest, richest and most faithfully way. Its masters were Tompa, Petöfi and Arany.

Amongst these the first that made his appearance was Michael Tompa, the son of a poor bootmaker in Rima-Szombat, a scholar of the College of Patak and later on the Calvinistic pastor of certain picturesquely situated villages in Gömör. In the castles of that neighbourhood the memory of Gyöngyösi still lived on and the people who dwelt along the course of the Sajó were the people who told the most folk's tales in Hungary. That country, with its more lively life of imagination, its old-world Hungarian originality, and the varied beauty of its scenery, inspired the young pastor. From 1841 forward, he began to publish his first lyrical pieces, which, however, were still productions of the old foreign style; but in his *Folk's tales and legends*, the admiration of the public was able to greet the first productions of the new school. He gave a form to the tales of the people by the

banks of the Sajó and transfused into his own inventions the people's motives and utterances. In the poetic world of tales sound the songs of the Hungarian people, the pictures of its simple life are impressive and the artistic colouring of its beauties both of land and water ravish reader and hearer. Tompa speaks wholly from the soul of the people and to the soul of the people in his folk-songs and poetical anecdotes, such for instance as *Matthias Szuhay* and the *Notary of Vámos-Ujfalu*, which are to be ranged amongst the most pleasing productions of Hungarian humour, owing to the roomy, pleasant, jocose manner of their narration and their original motives and actors. The most characteristic, popular trait of Tompa's genius, was his love of nature. He not only regards the life of nature but he sees it, hears it, feels it, lives it himself. He, so to say, is in a closer connection with nature than any other of our poets; he cogitates, he reaches and feels in his pictures. His inclination leads to a disposition to allegorize: but the images were not those of the reflective head, but of the simple heart, which everyone understood, nay, which in those melancholy days, when free speech was suppressed, only increased the impression of the strength and justice of the national feeling which it expressed. After the revolution Tompa became the favorite poet of the oppressed nation, the most masterly interpreter of its mood. His feelings, his anger, his sorrow, his faith, like those of a people driven from their homes into the church, raised themselves to the sublimity of strength and to the consoling strength of sublimity. Along with the simplicity of the common folk, there appeared in his style the voice and the expressions of the Bible. His burning love of race and country and the faith he reposed on eternal justice, inspired his heart-thrilling complaints and supplications, such as *The Stork*, *The Bird to its young ones* and *The Letter*, which he sent to his fellow-poet Kerényi in America; also the curious mixture of ode and elegy, such as the *New Simeon*, *the Old Servant*, *the River*, *the Wasted Forest*, *the Stag*, *the Galley Slave* and the rest,

which in allegorical forms, gave a masterly expression to the whole life of the Hungarian heart in its agony: its self-tormenting doubts and passionate sorrow, its deep hatred and self-questionings, its melancholy grief and its returning faith. He also saluted the first rays of better days in his odes on Kazinczy and on Lorántffy Zsuzsánna. He lived too to see the deliverance; but in the spring of the renewed national life with failing strength, he saw autumnal pictures around him and in the most touching strophes of his poetry, he took his leave of them.

Whilst in Tompa of all the features of the soul of the Hungarian folk, a tender love of nature made itself especially visible, that love of nature, which adorns his beloved with the names of flowers and sings flower-songs to her, which paints his furniture with tulips and pinks, which marks his sorrow by the faded nosegay in his hat, and mourns with a twig of rosemary in his hand: another poet in immortal verses gave expression to the wealth of feeling and feverish heat of that soul. For not long after the appearance of the first literary effects of the folk's poetry, very exciting days began in the life of the nation: the period of reform hurried with ever-hastening steps towards its fulfilment. The retarding politics of the Viennese court and of the conservatives only sharpened and diffused in the nation a warmer desire for as thorough and as early a reform of the constitution as possible. Hearts burned for a worthier national life and for its worthy expression in the independent and democratic order of public affairs. Széchenyi sank into racking anxieties at the stormy haste of the process, which he had himself set in motion. To these anxieties he gave the most touching expression, in that one of his works, which has the greatest literary value *the People of the East*. In the forefront of affairs, there stood already at that time his great opposite, Kossuth, one of the most excellent orators of all times and all nations. With the wealth of poetical imagination and the irresistible heat of autocratical feelings, with a clearness of rhetorical art and all its

charms and with the blinding logic of passion, he showed to the nation the origin of ideas and their connection and the consequences of the situations. The political moderation of our race and a rational weighing of chances was pressed into the back-ground; but with its other characteristics, its heroism and soldierly virtues, it fought triumphant battles against two empires and acquired for its name new and world-wide glory and in spite of its temporary defeat conquered its future. Every true pearl from the soul of the Hungarian people, which the whirlwind of those years brought to the surface, gleams in the poetry of Alexander Petöfi.

He too was born among the people at Kis-Kőrös, in the county of Pest. He was the son of a farming butcher like Shakespeare, whom he so much admired. He with difficulty accommodated himself to the ordinary restrictions of life: his career at school, although he learned much and eagerly, including the classics, was several times interrupted. His surly and honest father gave him over to his own devices, but in doing so he did not destroy the tender affection of his son, which he expressed more than once in poems full of warmth and humour. Whilst he was a school-boy he had a longing for the stage and several times made unsuccessful attempts to become an actor. He was also a soldier, a common soldier; but it was only to poetry that he remained faithful to the end. As in his miserable wanderings, neither man nor fortune had effect upon him, neither were they able, for one moment, to shake his faith in himself, in the value of his individuality and in the success of his efforts. This »princely self-consciousness«, which manifested itself in the full and free expression of his individuality, was, so to say, the foundation of his poetry. One of the chief sources of his lyrical greatness and extraordinary effectiveness was the *attractive force of his individuality*, his great sensitiveness to every impression and the almost continual vibration of his poetic mood. Nature and after that the public life of the people, the life of the heart, in all their great and little moments, all affected his imagination and

sensibility, and awoke within him a peculiar poetical echo. He not only lived his life like other poets expecting and seeking impressions, but he so to say, poetizes the whole of it. In addition to that he lived a more interesting life than others and mirrored things in a more original soul. He saw with his own eyes, he drew everything within the sphere of his own feeling and imagination. The mixture of feelings, their chiaroscuro, he hardly knew: every one of his motives was simple, clear, pure and such was their effect. In his domestic poems a childlike attachment to the beloved hearth and those who gather around it; in his pictures of nature his quiet, meditative pleasure in mere contemplation; in his poems derived from the impressions of external life, the pure outburst of love, friendship, pain, moral emotion; in his patriotic songs and odes, the burning pride of love of race. The openness that was connected with his self-consciousness, his sincerity, perhaps sometimes lead him to say more than he should; but then he has a hundred times as much really to say than anyone else. His verses too, flow so easily and simply as if his marvellous lyrical power of composition and characterisation were a perfectly common and natural gift, as though he would narrate in rhyme the whole course of his days. The second source of his effect was *the popular basis of his individuality*. The whole world of sentiment of the people lived in him in all its truth and found expression in his folk-songs; he loves the land of the purest Magyar population, the Alföld, with the heart of that population, and creates its poetry. Among his characters the »Shepherd« shambling along on his donkey, the young men making merry in the pot-house, the brigand galloping over the wilderness, the old grannies crouching in the porch, these and so many more, he has rendered immortal. And this too he has done in their simple and expressive language, in their favorite measures and their peculiar forms of composition, with the repetitions of the first lines in the verses of his songs, and the dramatically developed pictures

of billowing feelings. He is well acquainted too with the nature of the folk-tale and while his other narrative poems are decidedly inferior to his lyrics, in »*John the brave*«, he has produced something excellent. But there was yet another source of his popularity, *the connection between his individuality and his own time*. Petöfi was not only the idol but also the ideal representative of the youth of Hungary in the period of reform made young again with the elixir of national feeling. What was characteristic in that youth : the ideal enthusiasm and the provoking intolerance, the passionate desire for a national independence and the defiant vanity, the wild fire and the self-forgetful readiness for sacrifice : all these characterize Petöfi's political lyrics. Beginning with the days of March when his *national-song* first appeared from the emancipated press, his lyre accompanies to the end the sublime tragedy of our revolution, carried away occasionally to the rawness of wild passion. It continued singing until its poet on the battle-field of Segesvár breathed forth his soul which Herman Grimm has said was akin to that of Homer, of Shakespeare and of Goethe. Certainly he was one of the greatest amongst those who were not only poets but also prophets. He foretold his own poetic fame, the breaking out of the revolution, his heroic death and his widow's desertion of his memory ; with regard to whatsoever he felt in the most lively manner, in that direction he saw furthest into the future. His sensibility in these relations was so strong that out of the obscurest elements of formaton his imagination drew a faithful picture of the future.

The womb of fertile times produced a few years earlier than the greatest Hungarian lyric genius, the greatest Hungarian epic poet. In the mind of John Arany, not the Hungarianism of one period, but, so to say, of all times, was represented ; not of the flaming and contending passions, but of the world of reminiscence. He raised the folk style to the level of universal national art. He, too, was born in a reed-thatched village-house at Szalonta, in the county of Bihar,

and the poor Calvinist youth studied as a student at Debreczen, whence disenchanted of his phantasies of short duration he returned to content himself with the office of notary in his native town.

Later on, from the chair of professor in Nagy-Kőrös, later still as secretary of the Academy, he wished himself back in the little Alföld town, in whose quiet simplicity and originality his reserved soul, with his deep feelings and living rather in its memories than in hopes and new impressions, felt itself really at home. In the whole Alföld, the people of Szalonta have perhaps the greatest number of historical legends, — of Toldi, of the Turkish world, of the Kurucz wars. These legends and songs were Arany's first intellectual nourishment; the next were the books of the old Hungarian versifiers, often artificial or of rough taste and workmanship, but often full of original humour and always sound in their language. These laid the foundation of his taste, but his artistic development was guided by a wide and profound study of the ancient and modern classics, such as hardly any of our critics can boast of. His knowledge only ennobled his taste developed his art and enriched also theory with valuable works, but it never deprived him of his naïveté and originality. The fundamental impressions and forms of his inward life are dominant in all his poetry: the legend producing its effect by his imagination and his memories of the centuries; the old sacred hymns of the pious parental house and the piety of a believer towards the biblical stories; mocking good humour and witty jokes of his student companions; the simple and affecting dramas and comic stories of the life of the people; the free and fresh poetry of the fields: the folk-song.

The public already carried Petőfi on the palms of their hands, while as yet the name of Arany was unknown to anyone. He was already a full-grown man, when he made his début, but it was with youthful heart and youthful cheer-

fullness. The humour of the Debreczen student plays with lively and even glaring colours, but a nobly serious conviction and deep feeling is interpreted by his satirical epic in hexameters, the »*Lost constitution*«, which satirizes the coarse excesses of the canvassers and partisans of the progressive and conservative parties in the old county elections. With this work Arany gained in 1846 a prize awarded by the Kisfaludy Society, of which he also gained the next prize with his *Toldy* and withal the crown of the first Hungarian epic writer. The people of Szalonta considered as one of themselves the knight of King Lewis (Lajos) the Great, but Arany was guided to his artistic working up of Ilosvai's fragmentary story, not only by the remembrance of his childhood, but also the suggestions of his time, a time when the rights and the spirit of the people were making themselves recognised. This was the bond which connected Toldy, emancipating himself from unworthy conditions of life and attaining to the rights due to his force both of body and soul, with the period of reform. It was likewise his time that suggested the tone and manner of the working up to the master both of composition and of characterisation: the beloved motives of the folk-tale which he wove into it, the faithful pictures of village-life in all its various realities, the clear naiveté of his delivery and above all the radical originality of its language, his popular force and richness of colouring. The purest Hungarian language and spirit overflow from this book, which, however, only gives the first part of the Toldi legend, the completion of the whole trilogy, protracted itself through the whole of the poet's life. The author next gave out *Toldy's evening*, the history of the hero's last duel and death, with the gloomy humour of the old that comes in collision with the new, of the delusive second floration of autumn.

In his old age he completed the middle portion, the one that had the most romantic character: *Toldy's love* which incloses in the unity of a deep tragical idea, a greater richness in action, in pictures, in form, a greater variety in tone together with lyrical episodes, than the two other parts. The

whole trilogy is the epic of Hungarian chivalry; brilliant with all its ideals and colours, with all its varieties of tone and with a deep and characteristic force of Hungarianism. Besides the story of Toldi, the oldest national traditions, *the Legend of the Huns*, occupied Arany's mind his whole life long: of this he also planned a trilogy, but only succeeded in accomplishing the first part, *the Death of Buda*; after the knights with their waving plumes, the epic of the men of iron. He does not now tell a tale by the shepherd's fire, out in the fields, but sings a song at a ceremonious festival. His conception and tone still remain naïve, but have grown more serious in the atmosphere of sublime antiquity; his language is no less musical, but it has a more oldfashioned flavour and a more dignified march, whilst he speaks of human greatness elevated to the boundary of miracle. In the tragical development of the Hun Legend, the forces of primæval passions struggle and lead to the prejudice of an old Hungarian ideal: of the openness of the fight man against man. The traits taken from the present life of the Alföld add an extraordinary likeliness to the pictures of distant majesty. The ruin of The Hun Empire and its re-establishment by Árpád, in which the whole trilogy would have culminated, ran together in the poet's imagination with the failure of the revolution and the hope of a national resurrection. The years of mourning gave birth to one of his most classical creations, sparkling with a force of genius, his comic epic *the Gypsies of Nagyida*, in which he works up an historical anecdote, in which, in the form of a masterly parody are expressed the sorrow of a patriot and the bitterness that makes merry in tears. The healthy force of this work's comic conception, the abundance of its ridiculous characters, the lively freshness of its jokes and turns of expression, and the freedom and wildness of its whole tone, raised it above all its competitors. It was the same sad days' tragical memories, suppressed sufferings and circumstances that accustomed men to giving hints and suggestions that influenced and strengthened that branch of Arany's compositions in which

he perhaps soared highest, the ballad. These little gems, on account of which Gyulai named Arany, the Shakespeare of ballad, are of various construction, tone and style, but all agree in uniting in a masterly manner, epic, dramatic and lyric art. After Percy's Scotch and Kriza's Székely ballads Arany composed new models in his own terse and yet melodious, pure and yet rich, language. He does not declaim and discuss, but imagines and makes imagine; feels and makes feel. It is the depth and faithfulness of his feelings, by means of which he is able to penetrate with his own tone the pictures of whole periods and sweeps us irresistably into the world of Mistress Agnes and Abigail Kund, of King Ladislaus and Page Szondy, a world of as many struggling hearts delineated with but one or two traits. This deep feeling manifests itself in his lyrics also, but with a certain reserve of chastity it melts into pictures of contemplation and reminiscence rather than breaks out with direct force. He trembles with more violent passion when he soars with his reflections into the highest regions of the human mind as in his *Dante*, or gives a sublime utterance to his national feelings as in his *Széchényi* ode. For the rest he more willingly discloses the noble contents and movements of his heart in the tone of melancholy or of humour, but most abundantly and powerfully in his *Őszikék* (meadow-saffron flowers), this unexpected gift of his second floriation. With the old fullness of his love, with the old fidelity of observation, with the old perfection of his artistic forms, he gives in that composition such a deeply affecting picture of the changeable, playful and gloomy temper of old age that its equal is not to be found.

Through these brilliant geniuses just then when the heroic struggles of the emancipated strength of the Hungarians again directed the eyes of the world towards us, our poetical literature too had become a clear and complete picture of the Hungarian soul. The inwardness of Tompa's love of nature, the unrestrained power of Petőfi's enthusiasm and the fidelity of Arany's observation and the charm of his noble

ideas, combined to bring about this result. The style, too, of poetic delivery in its complete fullness, both of matter and form was enlivened to new vigour from the sources of the original language, of the people of the course of the Sajó, of Bihar and Cumania. Maurice Jókai, the son of a nobleman of Komárom, brought in the spirit and humour of language of the people beyond the Danube with their original expressions, peculiar turns and soothing flow. Since half a century he is one of the chief ornaments of our literature, the one whose name beside that of Petőfi, the civilized world knows best. The best part of his production falls in a later period, but he started on his career at the same time with his great fellow writers, amongst whom he was the early friend of Petőfi and with his whole mind their companion and ally. As those did in poetry, so he in narrative prose created a new style, one, that was more flavoured, more lively, more coloured and more Hungarian than the old. Of this style he is not only the creator and pioneer, but also the ablest and most fruitful representative, who has written more than 250 volumes. None of our writers has had a larger treasure of words than he, and of this language, so to say in its fullness, no one has developed the poetical force in a hundred directions, as he has done, with his rich, fresh and varied genius. This genius unites in itself the peculiar contrasts of the soul of the people: the disposition to exaggeration in matters at a distance and less known, and its tendency to realism, in regard to phenomena that fall within the circle of its vision. His remarkably mobile and extraordinarily rich imagination, easily leads him towards unboundedness, to incredible plots and exaggerations in character-drawing, when he tells of foreign and imaginary worlds, as of the distant past; but on the other hand his power of observation and feeling for reality sets before us with the fidelity of a master and with a power of characterisation pictures of the life that surges around him, all that he has seen himself or has gathered from the

memories of his contemporaries. With his naïveté, his good humour and his excitability he loses himself entirely in these pictures and with his unequalled capacity for narration, the abundance of ideas that occur to him and his fascinating play of fancy he easily becomes master of the soul of his readers. None of our writers can show such a rich characteristic picture-gallery of Hungarian life from the beginning of the period of reform down to the present day, as he has done. Do not we gladly pardon him the vagaries of his unbridled imagination, when we owe to him the most artistic and truest picture of the Hungarian Society before Széchenyi in the *Magyar Nábob*; so many affecting and real pictures of the life both of the people and of the country gentry, all drawn with irresistible humour, and amongst them the incomparably true and deep incorporation of the character of the Hungarian people in the *Yellow Rose*; do not we overlook some carelessness of construction, when we read the *New Landlord*, so excellent in respect of its characters, this revivification of the Hungarian world in the period of Bach, true to the very depth of the soul. In this sad period, Jókai fulfilled the greatest national task of his life; no one more unweariedly and with greater success served the enlivening of the mental life of the Hungarian so relentlessly trodden down, the ideals of the persecuted nation, as he did with his magical imagination, his consciousness of a conqueror and his untiring capacity for work.

As Tompa has exemplified in *Herodes* and Arany in *Rachel*, the eternal truth proved true in our case also: our opponents too were not able to contend with the spirit; in spite of their power, their violence, their fetters it lived and it made alive. The various branches of our intellectual life were never in such intimate connection with our national feelings and national efforts as in the dark time when absolutism declared war against everything that was national. Such was the case with science, especially the writing of history. Besides *the Period of the Hunyady's*, by

Count Joseph Teleky, two monumental historical works of Hungarian history were finished, the one by Michael Horváth, the other by Ladislaus Szalay; the first sought to encourage and to animate, the other to direct and to idealize. The gathering together in immense collections and publication of historical and literary memoirs, sources, documents, began anew. With the works of Francis Toldy began the modern history of Hungarian literature appealing to the force of the spirit against brute violence. Arnold Ipolyi devoted his care and abilities to the description of the monuments of Hungarian art. Gregory Czuczor and John Fogarasi laboured at the composition of the great dictionary of the Hungarian language and the collection and working up of data throwing light on the origin and nature of our language. Under the guidance of Paul Hunfalvy a new and zealous school of philologists was formed, from whence came forth Joseph Budenz and Arminius Vámbéry, the one a celebrated searcher into the Ugrian, the other into the Turkish languages. The Academy served as a central point for all these endeavours, although impeded in every possible way, both in its material and intellectual development. Struggling with the persecution of the censureship, our dramatists, at any rate, cherished the love of the Hungarian speech, which at the national theatre lived a new life in the new talents such as Joseph Szigeti the excellent representer of the characters of Shakespeare and Molière, Coloman Szerdahelyi and Cornelia Prielle, who distinguished themselves in the fine and witty tones of the salon drama and the charming songstress of folk-songs Madame Hegedüs.

But in these three lustrums of our last period of trial, the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties, our poetry had a greater and more decisive influence than anything else in keeping awake the national feeling. It vivified more openly, or, avoiding the eyes of spies, in a more concealed manner; but in its most discreet hints, in its darkest allegories, always understood by every heart. It

drew its spirit and its motives out of the heart of the circumstances of the times, following in its directions the great men, who were still composing or the great one who had just disappeared. The poetic charm of Petőfi ruled most strongly, his kindling power and popular originality, especially attracted his successors. But without his richness and depth of soul, they knew rather how to imitate him in his wildness, his eccentricities and external peculiarities. That these empty poetasters were able to remain on the surface for some years is only to be attributed to the fact that at that time everything that was Hungarian was dear to us. Out of the school of Petőfi, only one singer survived dear to the nation and of more permanent influence, Coloman Tóth, with the delicate, warm and rich intonations of his love lyrics. Although not popular in his style, but nevertheless in connection with this school was John Vajda, whose lyre alone sounds to the present day the feverish pulse of the revolutionary world, its strong passions, its obscure imaginations and internal discord. That the artistic Hungarianism of Petőfi and Arany should not fall back into an artificial imitation of the speech of the people, was the endeavour and merit of the school of Arany. It owes its success in great part to the collections of Arany's shorter poems, to the imitation and translation of the classics of the world, which was set on foot on a large scale and to the boldness and ability of its distinguished critics. Amongst these the first, and the first in the ranks of all Hungarian aesthetic writers, was Paul Gyulai, who in his numerous studies and criticisms, but especially in his biographies of Vörösmarty and Katona, applied the method of historical and aesthetical analysis, with a rare keenness of judgement and with the gift of a free euphonious, clear and warm style. He was the enemy of all exaggeration and overflowing, and his poetry, as a memorial of the vanquished excited feelings radiates pure and true warmth. He turns gladly to the people and to their traditions for an impulse, but

then he develops these impulses with a powerful, artistic feeling, and some of his poems, such as *Sir lieutenant* and the *Nightly Visit*, have reached the heart of the nation. Alongside of Gyulai and in one direction with him, labourer Charles Szász, who with his remarkably successful activity in artistic translations, has brought numberless *chefs-d'oeuvre* of the western literatures nearer to the spirit of the nation, than all the old schools of imitators put together. In his original poems too with lively apprehension and elevated feelings and artistic versification, he has influenced in an elevating way ; from the legend of the kings, he has composed an excellent epic entitled *Solomon*. The national pathos, in the commemoration of our great ones has been expressed by his mouth for several decades in the most worthy manner. Tho these has associated himself Joseph Lévy, with a pure and pleasing liveliness of feeling and with a fine sense of artistic form. The young poets of the sixties under Arany's influence, for the most part started in his way, the path of artistic Hungarianism. Thus the son of the great poet, Ladislaus Arany, depicted with abundant humour the transitional society of the newly awakening nation in his versified novel entitled the *Hero of the Mirage*, in like manner Lewis Tolnai, the dark realist of the misery both of body and soul has followed with the vigour of his stern ballads. In prose fiction the circumstances of the times are favourable to the cultivation of the Hungarian past, the historical novel, which remained in fashion pretty well up to the reconciliation with Austria. Beside these, however, distinguished representatives appeared of the social novel, such as Charles Vadnay and Charles Bérczy, who excel in psychology and Lewis Abonyi in sketches and tales of the people. The bad times produce humorists also, but the discord in their souls, from which burst their shouts of laughter, does not allow their abilities to develop themselves completely. On the stage Szigligeti ruled ; Jókai with poetical pathos elevated the tone of the historical drama and with the *Martyrs of*

Szigetvár, deeply affected the imagination of the nation, whilst the repertoire of popular pieces was enriched by the liveliness and humour of Joseph Szigeti. Towards the middle of the sixties, a new stage of development followed with *Aesop* and the appearance of Eugene Rákossy, who wished to give a more poetical movement by means of a closer connection between what was of effect on the stage and what was poetical, with a freer flight of the imagination and a greater richness of diction. Both he and Lewis Dóczy who joined him, show in their romantic and historical plays a tendency towards the unusual and exceptional, together with the deficiencies that flow therefrom, but with the liveliness of their psychological dialectics, their brilliant coloring and poetical utterances made a strong general impression in their more excellent passages. Of these seventeen years the greatest poetical work and one of the chief glories of our literature, was a dramatic poem of Emerich Madách of the county of Nográd, the *Tragedy of Man*, on reading which in the manuscript John Arany greeted the new great poet of the nation. Following Goethe and Byron he rose into the highest regions of poetical philosophy; but thence he sees with his own eyes, and feels with his own heart the struggles of mankind. He carries into the life of humanity his domestic disappointments and the failure of his patriotic efforts in the revolution and later on the new hopes that broke out in the awakening public life and writes the eternal *Tragedy of Man*. By means of visions in his sleep, he brings before Adam the whole future of the human race in its principal scenes. He leads him from triumph to triumph, but contained in these triumphs, from disappointment to disappointment. He solves the doubts of his intellect in his heart; and reconciles them with the joy of rising to infinity and with love. The poetical art of the narration and the embodying force of his imagination remain, it is true, below the splendid richness of his ideas, but the deep and absorbing conception of the whole and of individual parts, the sublimity of the tragic

thought, its boldness and truth place the drama of Madach amongst the first gems of our poetic literature.

Literature in this way encouraging the Hungarian spirit, our perseverance in the maintenance of our rights could not be broken either by violence or cajolery and this perseverance of ours combined with the great historical events that took place, gradually loosened our fetters more and more. At last the time came, when Francis Deák »conquered without bloodshed«, a man equally great by his patriotism, his wisdom and his disinterestedness, who had already been for thirty years one of the leaders of Hungarian liberalism. His state-papers and speeches were not only pieces of oratory, which conquered by the force of the unexampled clearness and simplicity, both of thought and language, and made the deepest truths the common possession of all by the crystal clearness of the suitable formulas, but, together with his great study written against Lustkandl, they are the most valuable productions of Hungarian political literature. In 1867 he reconciled the nation with its king; he recovered the confiscated constitution and by this means placed the fortunes of the nation in its own hands. In spite of the vacillations which showed themselves at first, there followed a period of such prosperity as was hardly expected, not only in the political and economical life, but also in the field of public culture, the result of the free competition of all sorts of forces now for the first time set free. In the activity of the realization of new ideas struggling into life and of the new institutions, the national life was no longer confined as it had been in the recent past to the circle of science, to literature and art, much less so than in any previous time. These at once found their places in the great national organization and recognized the new tasks that were set them: that we should develop and make good our intellectual forces in that great competition of modern nations, whose barriers were at last opened before us.

The Academy, the Universities, Museums, learned societies,

as well as individuals with their scientific works, publications, researches, not only attempted the diffusion of public culture, but also to raise every branch of our scientific life to the European level. We beg a share in the worldwide work of human culture having determined to respectably accomplish that share. Our learned men are inclined especially to the solution of such problems combined with our national life, for the solution of which we feel ourselves most especially adapted and with which we could at the same time satisfy the claims both of universal science and of our obligations towards the nation. Such are the collection of the memoirs and sources of our political and cultural history, their publication and the working them up in a long series of valuable monographs, which should throw light on the share we have had in the common life of Europe, and thus are instructive also from that point of view. Our antiquaries diligently search out and make known those remains of primitive man and of the Roman world, which the soil of our country has preserved. Our philologists have founded the first school of Ugrian comparative philology and one certainly of importance from the works it has produced and collected, which form a whole library; they are preparing a great lexicon of Hungarian mediaeval Latinity and by their works on the Corvina do service to the study of the classical languages. They have lately completed the great historical dictionary of the Hungarian language and will soon have completed the collection of the words in the dialects. Amongst their efforts the one that has the most direct and important influence upon our literature, indeed upon our whole life is the *orthological* movements started and conducted by Gabriel Szarvas, of which the aim is the rooting out of the strange and unnatural words and constructions that made their way into the language during and since its renaissance and who establish among us such a usage and cultivation of our language, as shall better correspond to its original nature. And if besides all this, we regard the amount

of work continually increasing in industry, in extent and in results, which we find in the different branches of legal and political, of natural and mathematical knowledge, we shall see, that the circle of our scientific life and efforts extends by far beyond the bounds indicated above. Poetry, although the flood from all sides of new ideas and new elements has to a certain extent disturbed it, has nevertheless, in its more distinguished representatives, preserved its national character and strives to protect and maintain it. Amongst its traditions the influence of Arany and Petőfi is still the strongest, thus that of the first is to be found in the verses of Joseph Kiss, the best of whose poetry is composed of simple, elegiac lyrics and short narrative poems, whose subjects he draws by preference from the life of the Hungarian Jews. Andrew Kozma is entirely the disciple of Arany, both in language and versification; in his political verses and satires the pureness of the Hungarian conception is united with a courageous directness of feeling. In Julius Vargha's warm and simple songs beside the studies of a distinguished translator, are felt the influence of the folk-song and of Petőfi. Julius Réviczky sought other paths and suffered from the doubts of the modern world in the violent agitation of its temper; he died early. Alexander Endrődi, the author of pictures of the Balaton, takes us back amongst the noble dreams of Kölcsey, through his music, the richness of his language and the delicacy of his colouring. Amongst the most recent is Michael Szabolcska, who sings of the Hungarian world of feeling, its characteristic tones and engaging pictures of the Alföld. This tone, in all its poetical naïveté and primitive force has been brought upon the stage by Edward Tóth, a wandering player, who fell an early victim to his miserable poverty, with the greatest effect in his *The bad fellow of the village*, which is without doubt the most characteristic and most poetical dramatic picture of the life of the Hungarian people. His appearance upon the stage, coincided with the period of the theatrical success of the Hungarian people's

drama, whose chief elements, were the lively and natural grace of Louisa Blaha and the thorough originality of Joseph Tamássy. Gregory Csiky placed upon the stage the circumstances and figures of the new Hungarian society in the greatest number and with the loudest and best deserved success; he ruled over the stage for full ten years as the successor of Charles Kisfaludy and of Szigligeti. He also wrote poetical comedies, historical dramas and tragedies in the style of Vörösmarty; and did good service by his translations of Sophocles and Plautos; but his greatest importance was in the drama of modern society, of which he became the real founder by his powerful feeling for stage effect, his great fertility and the abundance of his life-like traits and comic hits. He is followed by Francis Herczeg, who has, however, developed his powers rather on the field of the novelette. A sharp-eyed and accurate observer of social and personal life, with the slightest traits and with apparent trifles he is able to throw light upon his story by the liveliness of details in his narration and his forcible brevity; he awakes our ideas, amuses us and interests us. Alexander Baksay's world and style are more simple; he depicts the Hungarianly cheerful and pleasant life of the village Calvinists out of whose past he has drawn one of the most beautiful productions of Hungarian prose fiction, *The Granny of Patak*. Akin to him but more lively and more inventive is the most popular novelist of our new literature, Coloman Mikszáth, who has given a new and artistic form to the Hungarian anecdote, by preference he takes his subjects from the present and past life of the county and the people, over which he pours a flood of fresh humour, developing with playful ease the kernel of poetry that lurks in the simplest things. His chief strength lies in the agreeable fluency of his narration, in his naïve charm and lively point. Besides these, several capable novelette writers seek the favour of the public, amongst whom Alexander Bródy distinguishes himself by his tendency towards naturalism and his copious and interesting

invention, but the mind of many of them displays a greater susceptibility to the currents of thought abroad, than towards that which prevails amongst ourselves.

The extraordinary advance that the press has made has rendered the political »feuilleton« and especially the feuilleton of social life a favourite and much cultivated species of composition. About the time of the reconciliation, the conservative satire of Aurelius Kecskeméty prevailed in the first and in the other the agreeable wittiness of Adolf Agai for more than twenty years amused the public; Amongst the more recent ones Béla Tóth worthy of distinction on account of the artistic fineness of his style and Géza Kenedy for the nobility and intellectual character of his moralizations.

Thus the prevailing characteristic of our literature which runs right through its whole course, although from time to time passing currents may have been enabled to sweep it into other channels, has never failed and can never fail. Its Hungarian character warms most powerfully its imagination, its sentiment, its efforts, and characterizes it with its ancestral features in all the varying forms it may assume from time to time. In all of us there is a drop of the blood of the horseman by the course of the Volga. Of the intellectual force of the primitive ancestral tradition, with which the heathen warrior let himself be absorbed in the swoop of the eagle, there lives something in the soul of the Christian church dignitary whilst he enthusiastically searches for our old myths and composes anew our legends. The eyes that hung with fond admiration on the unending plain of the Volga, were the eyes of Arany and Petőfi as they gloated over the plain of Bihar and the level lands along the course of the Tisza. As race, nature, mode of life had formed his spirit to see clearly, the field, the waters and the wilderness right away to the horizon, this still gives its strength to our intellectual life and fixes its bounds, perhaps within somewhat narrower limits than is the case with our neighbours. This strong and agile horseman, who is ready to run all dangers for his race

and feels therein his own worth, as from time to time in the course of the centuries such necessity arose, still remains the favourite and most characteristic figure of our souls and our poetical world. Of this ideal Petőfi was not only the great poet but also the heroic representative and at last victim. That solitary warder in whose barbarian soul the feeling that he belonged to his people was perhaps the strongest, left this feeling to us all as an inheritance that could not be squandered. Amongst the ideals of our national soul and of our literature that makes that soul vocal, the idea of Magyarism and its common interests always was to be found and served as a guide to fix the direction of the contents of our mind. When it from time to time grew weak and obscure in the nation or in particular classes, our literature continually roused it to new and more vigorous life. Here is the explanation that perhaps there is no nation in the world, whose literature stands in such direct, intimate and close relation with its political life as the Hungarian. Our literature not only expressed, but maintained the national soul. If this Hungarian national soul, this Hungarian strength has done any service to European civilization in the defence for centuries of its boundaries, this protected civilization, owes thanks and respect to our modest literature, which supported the strength of the Magyarism that protected it.



The Hungarian Language.

Of every people, one of the most essential and characteristic properties is its language and every self-respecting nation acknowledges its own language to be its pride and jealously guarded treasure. Amongst us has become a winged word the phrase: *In its language lives the nation.*

Everybody amongst all people is accustomed to regard his own mother-tongue as the most beautiful. But we Hungarians can proudly assert that foreigners too, have recognized the beauty of our language and especially for its euphony, they are accustomed to compare it to the Italian. A French savant, Monsieur O. Réclus, thus characterizes the Hungarian language: * *Ils parlent une langue musicale très riche en termes, très riche en formes: idiome tellement harmonique sans être trop lâche, tellement poétique sans être enfantin, qu'on se prend à regretter que le peuple aimable, honnête, sérieux, un peu triste qui le parle, ait tellement reculé devant une race plus forte.*

In a book intended to make our country known, an account of our national language can certainly demand a worthy place. Not only the children of the fatherland, but also the foreigner who concerns himself with us will be interested to learn the origin of our language, its most characteristic peculiarities: further, its historical development and the influence upon it of other languages; lastly, its dialects and its contact with the other languages spoken in our country.

* La terre à vol d'oiseau Paris, 1877.

If we seek to know anybody's origin, we first of all inquire what was his native country and who were his relations. We have to do the same if we are curious about the origin of a language: we must inquire whence it came and what are the cognate languages? That the Hungarian language came into its present fatherland from the East, from the countries about the Don and the Volga, that we know, consequently it is there we must look for its relations, upon the boundless plains of the Russian Empire. Now a very great number of people dwell and have dwelt there, and the question is in the language of which people do we find those characteristic family features, whereby we may recognize that they are members of one family with our own language.

The Hungarian language is not »the brotherless branch of his race«, as many among us have believed and announced, although this erroneous belief, not to say superstition, which science has long ago condemned, still haunts us even to-day. It is true, that it has no such near relations as the Italian is to the French, the English to the German, or the Tatar to the Turkish. But every educated person knows that the French is a relation, although more distant, of the German, and the English of the Italian, and that all these languages are members of one family, the so-called Indo-German family. Its relations of the same degree our language has also, and in the centuries of *primaeval* time, it lived together with these relations, nay, there was a still earlier time when it was identical with them, for they all separated from a common fundamental language and changed with the changes of time and place.

At once the first savant, who was acquainted with both the Hungarian and the Finn language, Martin Fogel, a physician of Hamburg, discovered, it is now two hundred years ago, that the Hungarian words and constructions were akin to those of the Finn and Lap languages. And it is now more than a hundred years that Sajnovich, with regard to the Lap language and Samuel Gyarmathi, with regard to the other

Finn-Ugrian languages established that kinship in a convincing manner. Since 1848 Paul Hunfalvy and especially Joseph Budencz and his disciples have laid bare with the complete clearness of science the question of the kindred of the Hungarian language, so that we can say to-day that, on this point, no one has any longer cause or right to doubt.

Just as a vain man is ashamed of his poor relations, so the national vanity revolted against the idea of any relationship with the fisherfolks of the Laps and the Voguls. But gradually as a distinguished German philologist (who wrote not long ago) has observed »Our pride — moderated by the love of truth which belongs to science — has acquiesced with praiseworthy resignation in this not very aristocratic family connections«. Why, the self-respect of the French and the English is not affected by the fact that their languages are akin to that of the gypsies. And even if on the grounds of this relationship we suppose — although researches into our primitive history tend continually to prove the contrary — that our ancestors before the occupation of the fatherland, were utterly savage barbarians: so much the greater were our glory to have advanced so far in a thousand years. Besides in all fairness, it is our duty to point out that one of our linguistic relations, the Finn people — although it cannot compete with us in martial glory — stands on such a high footing of culture and moral excellence, which not only competes with our own, but in many respects even surpasses it. The relationship of this worthy northern people conduces indeed to our credit.

Besides the Finn and Lap, the following languages belong to the Finn-Ugrian family: the Vogul and Ostjak, the Zürjen and Votjak, the Mordvin and Tseremiss. And out of all these languages it is the Vogul and the Ostjak which stand nearest to our language.

The relationship is most evidently certified by the agreement of words. The names of objects, actions and properties remain the same for millenniums with here and there a slight

change. Cicero's contemporaries called the hand *manus*; the nose, *nasus*; and the Roman of the present day says *mano*, *naso*. It is true, that in course of time some words drop out of one branch of the divided language, while they remain in the other. The difference is also increased by the fact, that in course of time every language receives into its body more or fewer *foreign elements*. But there are certain circles of ideas, whose words are less subject to decay or to be exchanged for foreign ones; such for instance are the names of the parts of the body and of the degrees of kinship, the numerals and the pronouns. The agreement therefore of these words is the most powerful assurance of the kinship of two or more languages, or sometimes, of their original unity. Now, between the Hungarian and the other Ugrian languages, this agreement is exceedingly striking.

To begin with a few of the expressions relating to the different parts of the body:

<i>English</i>	<i>Magyar</i>	<i>Vogul</i>	<i>Finn</i>
eye	szem	säm (szem*)	silmä (szilme*)
head	fej	pänk	pää (pê*)
hand	kéz	kät (kêt)	käsi (keszi*)
armpit	hón (al)	khäñel, khälna	kain (-alo)
blood	vér	wuir	veri

If we now compare the numerals, we shall see unmistakable marks of relationship:

<i>English</i>	<i>Hungarian</i>	<i>Vogul</i>	<i>Finn</i>
one	egy	äkw	yksi (ükszi*)
two	kettő, két	kit, kiti,	kaksi
three	három	khürem	kolme
four	négy	ñilä	neljä etc. etc.

But besides these there are some hundred important words, of which we find the exact correspondent in the

*) Pronunciation marked according to Hungarian orthography.

Ugrian languages. For instance amongst names of animals. Such as: — horse, Hung: *ló*; Vog. *lū*; — raven, Hung: *holló*; Vog: *xullax*; *) Ostiak: *kōlak*; — swan, Hung: *hattyú*; Vog: *xatän*; Ostiak: *xōteng*; — fish, Hung: *hal*; Vog: *kal*; Ostiak: *xul*; Finn: *kala*; Mordvin: *kal*; Lap: *kvele*, *guolle*, etc. etc. —

Numerous expressions of primitive culture, such as: net, Hung: *háló*; Vog: *xulép*; Ostiak: *xolip*; — arrow, Hung: *nyíl*; Vog: *úāl*; Ostiak: *úol*, Votják: *úel*; Lap: *úuol*; — to shoot, Hung: *lő-(ní)*; Vog: *lŕ*; Zürj: *lij*; Tsheremiss: *lū*; Finn: *luo*, etc. etc. And a very great number of names of ordinary objects and actions. For instance water, Hung: *viz*; Vog: *vit*; Tsheremiss: *vid*; Finn: *vesi*; — stone, Hung: *kő*; Vog: and Ostiak: *keu*, *kevi*; Tsheremiss: *kū*; Mord. *kev*, etc. — To live, Hung: *él-(ni)*; Tsheremiss: *el*; Lap: *ele*; — to die, Hung: *hal-(ni)*; Vog: *xal*; Ostiak *xal*; Finn: *kuole*; — to go, Hung: *menni*; Vog: and Ost: *min*; Finn: *mene*, etc. etc.

Besides the agreement of words, the grammatical construction of these languages proves their common origin and in this respect the most important are the coincident suffixes and formatives. For instance, it is easy to show the community of the suffixes that mark the persons of the verbs and replace the possessive pronouns. In such verbal forms as *kérem*, *törődöm*, the personal suffix *m*, is found in the other Ugrian languages: the Lap *mannam*, the Tsheremiss *miem*, which signify *megyek*, I go. Thus in the first person plural the Mordvin, *pele-nek* = Hung: *félünk*, »we fear«; — the Lap *mannai-mek* = Hung: *mené-nk*, »we went«, *mannai-dek* = Hung: *mené-tek*, »ye went« etc. As for the suffixes that denote personal possession: *szemem*, *szemed*, *szeme*: »my eye, thy eye, his eye«; Lap: *čalmem*, *čalmed*, *čalmes*, Vog: *sämem*, *sämen*, *sämä* etc.

Amongst the formatives we find our frequentative, factitive, momentary, and passive verbal formatives, and besides

*) the letter *x* sounds like the German *ch*.

them several nominal and adjectival formatives. Of these we will cite only a few instances out of many. The Hungarian *veszni* »to get lost«, Zürjen: *voš-ni*; and the Hungarian *vesztetni*, »to lose« Ost: *voš-t-ini*: the Hungarian *tolvaj*, »thief«, Vog: *tolmax*; and the Hung. *tolvajol*, »he steals« Vog: *tolmaxl*. Our verbs *lep* and *fed*, »cover«; Vog. *lēp*, *pānt*-, and there also we find the corresponding nouns formed therefrom, *lepel* and *fedél*; Vog: *lēpil*, *pāntil*. The Hungarian *al-sz-ik* and *álom* »he sleeps, dream« = Vog: *ul* and *ulom*. The formative of the ordinal numerals is found in the whole of the Finn-Ugrian languages, for instance the Hung: *negyed*-(ik), *hatod*-(ik); »fourth, fifth, Lap: *neljad*, *kotad*; Vog: *nelit*, *katit*; etc. In like manner we find there the Hungarian formative of the comparative degree, e. g., Lap: *kejves*; the Hungarian *könnyű*, »light«, or *keves*, »little«, *kevesebb*. *könnyebb* or *kevesebb*, »lighter«.

The Finn-Ugrian languages have besides further relations outside their own circle, and in the first place the Samoyed languages; for in these many primitive notions have the same name as in the Finn-Ugrian languages, e. g., heart, Hung. *szív* is in Samoyed *si* (*szi*); eye, Hung. *szem*; Samoyed *sinia*; lake, Hung. *tó*; Samoyed *tu*; feather Hung. *toll*; Samoyed *tu*; fish, Hung. *hal*; Samoyed *kutélé*, etc. — Some call the family, that includes the Finn-Ugrian and Samoyed languages the *Uralian family* of languages and this again stands in further relationship with the so called *Altaiian family of languages*, which in its turn is divided into three smaller families; the *Turkish*, the *Mongol* and the *Manchu*. The five smaller, otherwise the two greater families, taken together form the great *Ural-Altaiic*, which again until now is briefly called the *Altaiic family*.

From the mere enumeration of these several degrees of relationship, it can be supposed, that the community of all these languages must have ceased several thousand years ago. *The funeral discourse*, which is now seven hundred years old does not stand much nearer the Vogul and the

Ostiak, than does the Hungarian of the present day. Consequently we do not say much, if we reckon the life of the Hungarian language since its separation from the Vogul and the Ostiak at two thousand years. If according to this proportion we reckon the probability — although this calculation rests upon a very uncertain foundation — the unity of all the Finn-Ugrian languages must have ceased at least three thousand years ago; and the separation of the original Finn-Ugrian language from the original Samoyed at least four thousand, of the original Uralian language from the original Altaic language (that is from the common ancestor of the Turkish Mongol and Manchu languages) at least five thousand years ago!

Amongst the further cognate languages already enumerated, we encountered the family of the Turkish languages. There was an opinion, and this Vámbéry defended for the longest time, that our language stood in a nearer relationship to these Turkish languages, than to the Finn-Ugrian languages. The Hungarian people, for some continuous time, were in contact with people belonging to the Turkish race and took from them the names of several objects of culture, but the Turkish languages had still greater influence over other Finn-Ugrian languages, notably the Votiak and Tchermess. But to assert on the strength of such foreign elements, that our language stands in nearer connection to the Turkish would be just such a fault as to assert, that the French is the nearest relation of the English, because a great number of French words and idioms have been naturalized in English. It is indeed instructive to compare the relations between the Hungarian and Turkish languages, with that of the English and French. In both cases we have to distinguish two relations: one of them is the ancestral relation, by which both the Hungarian and the Turkish are branches of the Ural-Altaic, both the English and the French of the Indo-German family, — the other, the subsequent strong influence whereby the Hungarian language borrowed Turkish words

in large quantities, and the English French words. But just as, in the latter case, it is possible to distinguish the later loan-words from the remains of their common origin: so too we must distinguish two separate strata of words identical in Hungarian and Turkish. But to call Hungarian a Turkish language is just such an error as Dankovszky committed, when he wanted to make it out a Slavic language, because several hundred Slavic words have been naturalized in our language.

The Hungarian and the other Ugrian languages, indeed, the whole Ural-Altaic family, have certain common peculiarities of form, in consequence of which the so-called morphological classification of languages — even if they were not of common origin, — places them in one class, that of the *agglutinative* languages, in contra-distinction to the class of *inflectional* languages, to which the Indo-Germanic belongs. Amongst these common features, the most important.

1. As regards the *form of sounds* all the original words of the Ural-Altaic languages, begin with a *single consonant*, never with two or three consonants, as so many Indo-Germanic words do. Those words, which in our language, at the present day, begin with a group of consonants, are either onomatopoeic, such as *prüsszent*, »sneeze«, or they are of foreign origin, such *proba*, »trial«, *krajczár*, »kreutzer«; *trombita*, »trumpet«; etc.

2. A still more important phonetical peculiarity, for it effects the whole doctrine of form, is the *vowel harmony*, in the Ural-Altaic languages, that is to say, the arrangement of all words and forms of words, according to the double order of sound; in the original simple words there were always either only high vowels (*e, ë, i, ö, ü* etc.) or only deep (*a, o, u*, etc.). For instance *emel*, *keres*, *akad facsar*, and not *emal* or *amel* etc. This double character of the simple fundamental words drew after it, as a consequence, that the elements which modified the idea or expressed their relation as soon as they were fused with the noun, or the verb into

a single word, had to accomodate themselves to the phonetic system of that word, so that, instead of *kér-hat*, they said *kérhet*, instead of *magas-ség*, they said *magasság*, instead of *jár-nek*, *járnak*; instead of *kéz-nál*, *kéznel*. This adaptation with respect to the doctrine of form is carried out most consistently in the Hungarian, the Finnish and the Turkish languages.

This so natural mode of proceeding — according to which the suffixes accomodate themselves to the stem-word and not the stem to the suffixes, — has been by certain Indo-Germanists accounted as a fault in the Ural-Altaic languages. They say that the proceeding of the Indo-Germanic languages, according to which the suffixe remains unchanged, but the stem changes, is a more perfect way. For instance Sanscrit *veda*, Hung. *tudom*, »I know«; Sanscrit *vidmas*, Hung. *tudjuk*, »we know«, Greek *οἶδα*, but in the plural *ἴδμεν* (*idmen*); German *rot*: »red«, *röllich*, *rund*: »round« *ründlich*, etc. They assert that the Indo-German feels the unity of the word beforehand and therefore brings its beginning into harmony with the end. On the other hand, the Altaian speaks out the main word without troubling himself as to what is to follow, and only then feels the necessity of fitting them together, when he has to pronounce the modifying element, which he consequently adapts to the stem-syllable. In our opinion the difference is not based upon any mysterious psychological forces, but has arisen in a regular historical way. The principal cause was the *variety of accentuation*. The aboriginal Indo-Germanic language surely employed the so-called raised (or »longvowelled« or double-vowelled) stem then when the stem, the verbal idea, had to be accentuated and the short vowelled stem, when the inflexion was of importance. This double system of stress was originally possible in any one of the persons, so that the termination of the first person singular might be stressed, if for instance it was contrasted with the second and so on. A similar mobility must be attributed to the original Altaic languages. Later on certain word-forms established

themselves with fixed accentuation in the Indo-Germanic language, in some of which the stem, while in others, the termination or the augment was always stressed and this circumstance had the consequence, that the stem assumed different forms. On the other hand the Ural-Altaic languages settled down upon the accentuation of the stem-syllable, and consequently the suffix had to accommodate itself.*)

The reproach has been made against the Ural-Altaic languages, that their formation of words is »bad mosaic«; that »their words plainly show the joinings where the little stones have been stuck together«, that their suffixes and formatives are joined on roughly and superficially, glued on »agglutinated« to the stem. They quote as something wonderful the French word *âge*, from the beginning of which the root has been entirely lost; for it is abbreviated from *eage*, *edage*, where the first letter of the word *e* was its root (*edage* from the Latin *aetaticum* and that from *aetas* and further from *aevum*). Now there is no language in which the like things do not occur, in which when the etymology becomes obscure the stem-syllable disappears. When the Transylvanian says: *jába* instead of *hijába*, *hiába* (in vain) he has evidently forgotten the *hi* stem-syllable; just as the Debreczener, when he calls the loft *hászia*, (*ház-hija*, *empty-space*). When we say: *ejt*, *fejt*, *ont*, *bont*, do we feel the base-words, *es(ik)*, *fes(lik)*, *om(lik)*, *bom(lik)*; or, in such words, as *tesz*, *vön*, *étel*, the stems *tiv*, *vöv*, *év*, in *ünnep* the *id-nap*; in *jámbor* and in *némbor*, the *jó-ember*, the *nő-ember*? etc. etc.

3. A widely spread phenomenon, notably universal in the Ugrian and Turkish languages, is the attachment to nouns of the possessive suffixes.

*) In obscured compounds and in foreign words, in which the two syllables are of equal rank or in which the second is the essential bearer of the signification, the accommodation in the opposite direction occurs in our language also; for instance, beyond the Danube, they say instead of *nap-estig* *nep-estig*; instead of *beretva*, *borotva*; instead of *nyevolya*, *nya-valya*; instead of *csorda*, *csorda* etc.

From this, those linguists derived their chief argument, who assert that our language does not distinguish accurately between the noun and the verb. They argue, that *napom* and *kapom* »my day« and »I get it«; *házunk* and *fázunk* »our house« and »we are cold« etc., are completely identical forms; so that in our language it comes to the same thing, whether we inflect a noun or a verb. A Hungarian could hardly be found who would use the form *napom* as a verb or the form *kapom* as a noun. Nor is it possible: for the possessive suffixes of the noun and the verb form entirely different paradigms; they form series which with regard to the feeling for language, cannot be confounded and in several points differ from each other. Compare:

- *) 1. kapok, kapsz, kap, kapunk, kaptok, kapnak;
- 2. kapom, kapod, kapja, kapjuk, kapjátok, kapják;
- 3. napom, napod, napja, napunk, napotok, napjuk;
- 4. napjaim, napjaid, napjai, napjaink, napjaitok, napjaik.

Nor does anybody so far confound them as to suppose that *kapjuk* has reference to the third or *napjuk* to the first person. For the rest it is quite natural that these forms should resemble one another in many points, as both the nouns and the verbs take the signs of the persons at the end. That nouns should take the signs of persons occurs also in »more perfect« languages, notably it is quite common in the Semitic languages, and in Italian too such forms have developed themselves as *fratello mio* my brother instead of *fratello tuo*, *fratello*, thy brother in the place of *fratello tuo*; *maritato* thy husband, *mammata* thy mother.

In other points too, our language has sharply distinguished the verb from the noun, so that the verbal idea can only assume the nominal form — or »vice-versa« — by means of certain definite formatives, for instance: *jár, járó, járás, vas, vasal*. Where the verbal and nominal expressions seem

- *) 1. I get, thou gettest, he gets; we get, you get, they get.
- 2. I get it, thou gettest it, he gets it; we get it, you get it, they get it.
- 3. My day, thy day, his day; our day, your day, their day.
- 4. My days, thy days, his days; our days, your days, their days.

to be identical, the form of the word has regularly abbreviated subsequently, as happens so often in the Indo-Germanic languages (for instance the English flat-*adj.* and then flat-*vb* etc.) where the accusation may be turned back upon the Indo-German feeling for languages — and perhaps such Sanscrit formations as *dharma-vid*, jurist-consult, etc. etc.

That, however, we form certain tenses from the verbal-noun, for instance from the Hungarian verbal-noun *irt*, the tense *irtam* and similar cases in the Turkish, this can be considered a fault only by such as have not observed that exactly similar formations occur in the Indo-Germanic languages; e.g. *Bhero* a stem of the present is a noun formed with *o*; the Sanscrit *datasmi* »I will give«; (originally *datár asmi* = Latin *dator sum*); the Latin *ferimini* is nothing else than the plural of a participle *Φερόμενοι* etc. *Futottam* is simply as much as »futott vagyok« = *ich bin gelaufen*, not »*futásom*« as some explain it without any ground, asserting that in the Altaic languages the subject stands to the predicate in an adnominal attributive relation: *az eb futott* = *az eb futása!* Now it is impossible to believe that the attributive construction could in any language have been preceded by the adverbial relation, when we know that the attributive is from the psychological and logical point of view, nothing else but an abbreviated sentence. Besides the noun cannot possibly exist before the verb; the two categories came into being at once, and if one preceded the other, it must have been rather the verb than the noun.

4. The Ural-Altaic languages, as a rule, place the attributive adjective without any suffix whatsoever before the noun: *jó ember*, *jó embereket* (contrary for instance to the Latin *bonus homo*, *bonos homines*). Some philologists mention this as a phenonemon »unheard of« in the Indo-Germanic languages. First of all they forget, that there is an Indo-Germanic language, which even now does not inflect the attributive, i. e. the English, which says *a good man*, *good men*. Secondly they forget, that the Indo-Germanic languages did not, from

the beginning, inflect the attributive; this is shown by such combinations as ἀκρό πολις in which the attributive is in the pure form of the bare stem: further the genitive ending in *sja* (Greek *io*) which the Indo-Germanists themselves consider as an uninflected adjective form in *sja* (δημοσίη φῆμις instead of δημόσιο φῆμις). Finally they do not take into consideration, that amongst our languages, the Finn language, to a great extent unites the attributive adjective with the noun: *hyvää-t herra-t*, good lords; *muutam-i-ssa kiel-i-ssä*, in some languages; *muutam-ssa kylä-ssä*, in some villages etc. This construction, which agrees with that of the Indo-Germanic languages, places the adjective only loosely by the side of the noun as it were in apposition, while the English and the Hungarian join the two words belonging to one another into decided unity by placing them under a single accent and only inflecting the end (as for instance *Akropolis* in Greek compared with Ἀκρη πολις). This construction therefore, is more complete than the other.

5. As a negative characteristic as compared with the Indo-Germanic and Semitic languages must be noted that the genders (masculine, feminine) are not distinguished in the form of the noun in the Ural-Altaic languages.

We have enumerated in the above five points the principle common characteristics of the Ural-Altaic languages and in connection with them, we have pointed out some erroneous ideas of foreign linguists. Other things of the same kind they have asserted, for instance, that we attach our post-positions to the uninflected noun, instead of to »readymade cases«, as the Indo-Germanic languages do with their prepositions (although we too have such expressions as: *házon belül, ezen felül*); further, that our language has a smaller capacity for abstraction, that its forms do not conform to analogy etc., all of them such reproaches as are proofs of an *a priori* absurdity, or too hasty inferences. On the whole it is a vain attempt to evaluate languages, to arrange them in a certain order of rank, and from thence to draw rash conclusion with regard

to the intellectual capacities of the people, who speak them. It is true, that one may weigh the psychological or logical value of individual words or of grammatical forms. For instance, it is true that the idea of »szellem« in a language, is nowhere so full and spiritual, as the French »*esprit*«; that the world of feeling is nowhere comprehended in a word that says so much as the German »*Gemüt*«; that as to the order of words no other language is able to express so many fine shades of meaning as the Hungarian. Indeed it may be even asserted that individual geniuses have *made* French and German words and forms, nobler and richer by the addition of new ideas than is the case in the Hungarian or any other Ural-Altaic language. Only that is not permitted to be alleged, for it cannot be proved; that a language or a family of languages, owing to its original capacity (»*Anlagen*«) and construction stand higher than another. Every linguistic perfection has been slowly developed in connection with the natural, historical and cultural circumstances of the people. Every language has its own beauties and ingenuities, and in every one of them, if we penetrate far enough we shall wonder at the manifestation of the human soul.

As is the case with the language of most peoples, so that of the Hungarian has been strongly affected by *foreign influences*, by contact and mixture with other languages. In this way it has been exposed to considerable changes of a grammatical kind; nevertheless, the foreign influence is most plainly seen in the dictionary, in the great number of words that have been adopted.

From historical and other reasons, it is an undoubted fact, that the Hungarians, when they occupied their present fatherland, could have been at most but a few hundred thousand. Out of this little people the Hungarian nation has grown to its present size; in spite of the devastation of the Mongols and the conquest of the Turks. It is beyond doubt that some hundred thousand people of another speech have since a thousand years adopted the Hungarian language. Our language owes its conquest, not merely to its great creative

force, which is manifested in the marvellously easy and fertile formation of words and phrases, but also to its capacity of accommodation and the readiness, with which it receives, transforms and imitates the expressions of the languages with which it comes in contact. It took over and worked up Turkish, Slavic, German, Italian, Latin and in its eastern dialects Ruman expressions; by this means it facilitated the Magyarization of the corresponding nationalities, but for all that — as we have seen — it has not suffered any essential change in its original construction.

After the Hungarian people and language had separated themselves from the Ugrians and had left their original country, they first of all became for considerable time, the neighbours of some Turkish people. This is proved not merely by historical authorities but also by the confessions of the Hungarian vocabulary. Our Turkish words in great part are of such a form as corresponds to the phonetic character of the Tchuvash language, now spoken in the neighbourhood of the Volga, so that this contact must have taken place in the period, immediately preceding the occupation of our present fatherland. In particular there are two large groups of words, which show in what direction developed the culture of the Hungarian people when they dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Volga: the one group of words relates to *agriculture*, the other to the *breeding of cattle* (*buza* »wheat«, *árpa* »barley«, *borsó* »peas«, *szérű* »threshing-floor«, *tarló* »stubble«, *gyümölcs* »fruit«, *alma* »apple«, *szőlő* »grapes«, *kender* »hemp«, *tiló* »scutching machine«, *orsó* »spindle«, *barom* »cattle«, *tulok* »bullock«, *ökör* »ox«, *borjú* »calf«, *csikó* »colt«, *disznó* »pig«, *tyúk* »hen«, *gyapju* »wool«, *turó* »curds«).

Besides this two later contacts with Turks have left traces on our language and explain such of our Turkish words, as the Tchuvash does not throw sufficient light upon, although in this respect the naturalized Turkish words have not yet been sufficiently carefully examined. The first contact, which had an immediate effect on our vocabulary was

the settlement of the Petchenegs and Cumans in the time of the Árpád Kings; the second was the conquest by the Ottoman Turks after the defeat at Mohács.

Our vocabulary underwent a very great change, that is to say enrichment, immediately after the occupation of our present country, derived from the *Pannonian Slaves*. The whole body of the Slaves, whom the Magyars found here, gradually melted into the Hungarian people, bringing with them their culture and the names of its objects. It was chiefly in five circles of ideas, that they enriched our language with a multitude of words: *agriculture, domestic economy, handicrafts* and further *Christianity* and *political life*. ex. a) *puszta*, »a waste«; *róna*, »a plain«; *barázda*, »trench«; *abrak*, »fodder«; *széna*, »hay«; *szalma*, »straw«; b) *konyha* »kitchen«; *pincze*, »cellar«; *tornác* »veranda«; *kémény*, »chimney«; *pad*, *lócza*, »bench«; *asztal*, »table«; *abrosz*, »table-cloth«; c) *kádár*, *bodnár*, »cooper«; *mészár*(os), »butcher«; *kovács*, »blacksmith«; *takács*, »weaver«; *abroncs*, »hoop of a cask«; *kulcs*, »key«; *kalapács*, »hammer«; d) *keresztény*, »Christian«; *pogány*, »heathen«; *pap*, »priest«; *oltár* »altar«; *kereszt*, »cross«; *szolozsma*, »collect (prayer)«; *szent*, »saint«; *pokol*, »hell«; *karácson*, »Christmas«; *szombat*, »Saturday«; *péntek*, »Friday«; etc. e) *király*, »king«; *császár*, »emperor«; *bán*, »governor«; *poroszló*, »beadle«; *lőmlöcz*, »dungeon«; *robot*, »labour due to a feudal lord«; *dézsma* »tithe« etc.

The *Slavic* influence was followed by that of the *Germans* and *Italians*, which began when the Hungarian nation embraced Christianity and began to have peaceable intercourse with its western neighbours. Already in the times of the Árpáds, not only individual knights and priests, but numerous *German Colonies* wandered into our country. Consequently we cannot be surprised that even in the times of our first kings, German Christian names became naturalized, such as *Imreh*, *Gizella*, *Joseph* etc.; nor, that in the remains of our language, belonging to the 15th century, we find many other German words naturalized as *herczeg*, »duke«;

polgár, »burgher, citizen«; czímer, »coat of arms«; tarsoly, »sabretash«; frigy, »peace«; czéh, »guild«; farsang, »carnival«; torony, »tower«; kehely, »chalice«; ércz »ore«; zománcz, »enamel«; font »pound«; perém, »brim«; példa, »example« etc.

The Italian influence also commenced in the days of the Árpád's. It was from Venice, that we received a large portion of the missionaries that converted us, from them we took the Latin pronunciation, that so long prevailed amongst us and together with it the foundation of our orthography. Later on numerous Italian colonies and lively commercial intercourse brought Italian words into our language. The Italian influence got stronger in several directions during the time of our Anjou kings. Charles Robert held knightly games, arranged in the Italian manner, in which he himself often stood in the ranks of the combatants and on such occasions distributed coats of arms amongst his noblemen. Lewis the Great, repeatedly concluded commercial treaties with Venice and the great profits of the trade induced many industrious and distinguished Italian merchant families to settle in our country.

The memory of the knightly sports is preserved by the words *pálya*, »career«; *pajzs*, »shield«, *pallos*, »executioner's sword, glaive«; *párt*, party. Commercial words: *posta*, »post«; *árrenda*, »rent«; *somma*, »sum«: *szimpla*, »simple«; *dupla*, »double«. In this way we acquired the names of many stuffs and other articles of luxury, such as *bakacsin* (boccacino); *mazolán* (mezza-lana), *paszomány* (passaman) lace; *velez* (vales, valessio); *konty* (concio) »cap«, *paróka* (paruca) »wig«.

The fifth language from which we have taken numerous words is the Latin. This enriched our language through three channels; first, that of the Church, secondly that of the legislature and of the administration of justice; thirdly, that of international science. Of these three factors, the second was especially strong, so that in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries our public life was entirely flooded with Latin expres-

sions, but the period of the Renaissance of our language replaced these for the most part with native formations. Still many Latin words remain, some of them in general use, some of them in the language of the people or in some of our dialects.

Such as: a) nouns: *evangéliom*, »gospel« *testamentom*, »testament«; *paradicsom*, »paradise«; *káptalan*, »chapter (cathedral body)«; *almárium*, »wardrobe, cupboard«; *papiros*, »paper«; *fiskális*, »lawyer«; *lurkó*, »rum fellow«; *kin-torna*, »hurdy-gurdy«; *áér*, »air«; etc. b) verbs: *kommendál* recommend; *prézsmítál*, »to chat«; *ágál*, »to show off«; *próbál*, »tries« etc.

Much less than those hitherto cited was the Rouman influence, because it began much later. In the general common Hungarian language, perhaps hardly 20 words are of Rouman origin, such as: *czimbora*, »comrade«; *banya* »hag«; *kópé*, »wag«; the rest are rather confined to the Transylvanian dialects, such as *szpurka*, »dirty«; *borbát*, »diligent«; *pakulár*, »shepherd«.

As, however, the Rouman words press into our language from the East, so the Slovak words begin to press in from the North. Single Slovak words, such as, *svihák* »braggart«; *verbuval* *) to engage as a recruit; are universally diffused, but in our northern dialects, the Slovak words continually increase. On the other hand many words out of our language have found their way into the South Slavonic languages further into the Polish, the Ruthenian, Slovak and Rouman, and naturally into the German dialects spoken in our country.

Individual Hungarian words have found their way into the body of the German language and other western languages, such as *csákó*, *tarisznya*, *hajrá* (in the form of *hurrá*) *kocsi* and others. The word *huszár*, in all the world proclaims the Hungarian's martial glory.

*) *Verbuval* is from the Slovak verb *verbovat*, which is itself a transformation of the German *werben*, as in the speech of our foot soldiers *pučovai* — the Slovak *pučovai* which means the German *putzen*, to polish.

Finally we must speak shortly of the Hungarian dialects of the present day.

Modern science explains the divergence of the dialects, as also those of the cognate languages, for the most part by foreign influences and the mixture of peoples. In the most recent times, marks of the effects on the Hungarian dialects, have been sufficiently conspicuous in the East of the Roumans, in the North of the Slovacks and in the West of the Germans. In Transylvania, instead of saying »*El kell mennem*« (I must go), they say »*El kell, hogy menjek*« and »*El kell menjek*«. This construction is of Rouman origin. Of the Palócz, a portion instead of »*az én házam eladó*«, say »*az enyém ház eladó*«, (my house is to be sold), and this is evidently Slovak influence. In the county of Sopron »*El kellek menni*«, which is without doubt an imitation of the German »*ich muss gehen*«. — The older differences of our dialects may very well be the result of older mixtures; Turkish, Slavic, and other influences.

The newest decision of philologists divides the whole territory of the Hungarian language into eight dialectal districts, which are named Western, beyond the Danube, Alföld, Danube-Tisza, North-West, North-East, Beyond the Királyhágó, and the Székely districts.

1. The *Western* dialect district (Sopron, Vas, Zala counties) pronounce words, such as *szēm, lēsēm* with a closed *ē*, but in certain words replaces it with *ö*: *csöpp, föl, vörös*; *a* and *e* at the end of a word are often replaced by the more closed sounds of *o, ő, ö* (*lábo, kezē, ökrö*); it also specially favours the double vowels and further the short vowels, especially replacing long *í, ű, ú* by the short, *i, ü, u*; instead of *ly* and *lj, l* or *ll* are in fashion (*millen, üllön lē*), and the *l* at the end of a word is constantly left out. — To this district belongs the Göcsej, the Rába side, the Őrség, the Hetés and Zala dialects.

2. The *Trans-Danubian* district (to which belong all the remaining country beyond the Danube, with the exception of the southern portion of Somogy and Baranya) in which they likewise say *szēm, lēsēm, ember*, and *csöpp, föl, vörös* etc., but at the end of the words they do not favour the sounds of *ä, ö, o*; the long vowels *í, ű, ú* are here too sufficiently often shortened; in the place of *ly*, they generally substitute *l*, but instead of *lj*, they substitute *j* (*hel, űjön lē*); the *l* at the end sometimes remains.

3. The *Alföld dialect district* (Little Cumania, the neighbourhood of Szeged, Sárköz, Baranya and Southern Somogy) has for its distinguishing peculiarity, that excepting the case of a few monosyllables *ē* is always changed into *ö*: *szömöm, löszöm, embör*. — To this district belong the dialects between the Danube and the Drave (that of Sárköz, the Lower Drave, of Slavonia and the Upper Drave.)

4. The *Danube-Tisza district* (Between the Danube and the Tisza and on the two sides of the rivers Körös) again speaks with *ž, szēmēm, embēr*; it specially favours the long vowels *i, ū, ú*; and instead of *ly*, always substitutes *j* (hej, gója). — To this district belong the dialects of the county of Pest, of the county of Bács and of the country beyond the Tisza.

5. The *North-Western district* comprises the Palócz and all the cognate dialects. These have preserved most faithfully the sounds *ly* and *ž*; in the place of *ly* they pronounce neither *l* nor *j*, and with the sound *ž*, they pronounce such words as *csēpp, fēl, mēgēt, vērēs*; instead of *a* they for the most part use the Slovakish *ä*, on the other hand instead of *á* they use the long sound of *a*: *kábátom*. In the accusative case of the plural number, they pronounce the more closed vowel *házakot, embērēkēt, gyűrűköt*. The Palócz dialects are also characterized by the frequent double vowel.

6. The *North-Eastern district* (the greater part of the counties beyond the Tisza, and on this side of the Tisza the counties of Zemplén and Abauj) use as a rule, instead of the closed *ē* the open *e*, *szemem, ember, csepp, veres, felett* etc.; the place of *é* is in certain words replaced by *i*: *czil, szípsig, keleviny*, etc. (on the other hand in other words such as *hét, név, levél, szekér, é* is retained); they like to use long vowels and do not so often leave out the sound *l* as in other parts. Its two chief dialects are that of the *Upper-Tisza* and that of *Zemplén and Abauj*.

7. The district *beyond de Királyhágó* (by which is meant Transylvania excluding the Székely-land), in like manner does not know the sound of closed *ē*; but here for the most part instead of *o*, they pronounce the more open sound *a*: *azak, vagyak*, and even *akas, baland*. — To this belong the dialects of the Küküllő, the country between the Maros and the Szamos and that of Kalotaszeg.

8. Lastly come the *Székely dialects*, which have developed themselves apart from the rest for a long time, more than the rest, they favour the tongue sounds (*tiúdom mutat tiükör*, etc.); in the accusative case of the plural number, they always pronounce a more closed sound, than the common Hungarian (*házakot, levelekēt, ököt*); in many words the *i* is changed to *ú* (*kūs, hūt, mű*, etc.); they have a peculiar intonation of the voice in questions and have preserved more faithfully the old forms of the tenses of the verb etc. — However, the division of the other dialects is here repeated in little, that is to say in some parts they use *ž*, (the Eastern-Székelys) in others *ö* (the Western-Székelys).

Upon the whole it may be said, that the dialects of the Hungarian language do not differ either in pronunciation or in vocabulary from one another, as much as for instance the dialects of the German or French languages. Hence it is, that a comparatively small distance separates our dialects from the literary language.

In older times, in the XIIIth, XIVth and XVth centuries, the written monuments that have come down to us faithfully reflected the different local dialects. In the XVIth century, the diffusion of printing and the more lively intellectual communications, caused the literary language to become more unified, and in this direction in the XVIIth century, the powerful individuality as a writer of Peter Pázmány had the greatest influence. At the end of the XVIIIth century and the beginning of the XIXth the so called renovation of the language (Renaissance) brought in no small changes. Its faults have been to some extent corrected by the recent movement advocated by the periodical »Nyelvőr« (Linguistic watcher). The greatest artist of our language in the millennium that has come to an end was undoubtedly John Arany, whose works will certainly survive the second Millennium.

Note of Translator.

For the benefit of the English reader a few words of explanation may as well be added.

By *ě* is meant the vowel sound in the English word *bet*. By *e* is meant (approximatively) the vowel sound in the English word *bat*. If I may judge by my own experience most Hungarians find the greatest difficulty in distinguishing between these sounds.

By *ü* & *ű*, and by *ö* & *ő*, are meant the short and the long sounds respectively of the German *ü* & *ö*.

The Hungarian vowel *á* and *a* differ from each other not only in quantity, but in quality also. While *á* is the English *a* in *father*, *a* is the vowel sound in the English word *not*. We thus see how curious is the *chassée-croisée* achieved by the Palócz dialect in paragraph 5. By changing the sounds

of *both* the long *and* the short vowel the Palócz contrives that they should still differ not only in quantity, but in quality also. The sound of the long vowel is changed from that of the *a* in the English word *father* to that of the *a* in the English word *water*; while the sound of the short vowel is changed from the vowel sound heard in the English word *not* to that of the short German *a*.

In Hungarian the letter *j* represents the sound of the *y* in the English word *yet*. The Hungarian *ly* represents the French sound *ill* as in the word *mouillé*.



Hungarian Music.

The Hungarians must have had a special love for music in their original home, for in their sacrifices and other religious ceremonies, in their national festivals, before and after a battle, at banquets and funerals, Song, Music, and Dancing played an important rôle.

In religious sacrifices the High priest (Táltos) led the ceremony with Song. The people repeating the last verse of the stanza softly sang the refrain, and young girls, scattering fragrant herbs in the altar flame, danced a blithe dance. At national festivals and at banquets the minstrels sang, accompanying themselves on their lute, the heroic deeds of fallen champions, or poured forth other patriotic songs, while reciters declaimed in sonorous rhythmes the old heroic legends.

Our ancestors used to inter their dead with song and music. Priests of lower rank (Gyulas) delivered an address at the funeral, praised the heroism and virtues of the dead, and at the end paced round the grave in a slow dance. This custom likewise remained partially until the present day. For at burials — with Catholic and Protestant alike — the Cantor takes leave of the dead in a mournful song. After the interment the mourners assemble with the sorrowing family at the funeral banquet. 160 years ago the »Dance of Death« used to be danced after this evening meal.

This was probably the oldest Hungarian dance, which our people here danced for hundreds of years as a remnant of heathen funeral rites. Among the compositions of the renowned Gipsy musician Czinka Panna there is a »Dance of Death« melody, of the first half of the 18th. century.

That music and song were in great maturity already among the Huns is proved by the Travels of Priscus Rhetor whom the Emperor of Byzantium sent along with the Senator Maximus on an embassy to Attila.

Like the Gallic bards, the Vates, and the Skandinavian Skalds, the Hun minstrels, not only stimulated the fighters to the combat, but took part in the battle themselves. Many of them remained on the field of battle. In 451 on the eve of the bloody and desperate battle of Catalaunum, when Attila withdrew to his barricade of waggons, the dirges of the Huns echoed from there to the enemy's camp. Next day numberless lutes were found on the battle-field.

Later, at the time of the conquest of the land, in the 10th century, the music of the Hungarians must have been highly developed, for the »Anonymous« of King Béla (Anonymus Bélae Regis notarius) ends his account of the fights of the leaders Lel, Bulcsu, and Botond, with the words: »As to their wars and heroic deeds, if you pay no credence to my letter, at least believe the prattling songs of the minstrels, and the well worn legends of the people, who have not allowed the heroic deeds of the Hungarians up till now to fall in oblivion«. After Árpád had conquered the land, he marched with his people into the castle of Attila, where everything was waste and neglected. »In the ruins« — says the Anonymous — »they held daily banquets, they sat in rows in the palace of Attila, and the sounds and sweet tones of their lutes and shalms, all sorts of songs from their vocalists, echoed from the company«. Along with the Anonymous Notary other chroniclers also mention the numerous hymns, dirges and martial songs, the latter of which were forthcoming in great numbers, and enjoyed universal favour.

The minstrels, reciters, and jongleurs can be regarded as the makers of these songs, who already at Árpád's time sang their heroic songs at national festivities, which came into popular use thereby. The name »igricz« of slavie origin used to refer to Harlequinades, Mummeries, and buffooneries, and since it was not in the nature of the Hungarians to take part in common antics, in frivolous buffooneries, or to feel any particular pleasure therein, it is probable that these jongleurs were of foreign nationality. In their place came the Troubadours later, whose name is by many people derived from »tréfa« (fun).

Many interesting facts about the dance of the Hungarians are found in the Chronicle of the Monk of St. Gallen, Ekkehard, (10th century). He relates that in the Hungarian dance there are seven steps. He names it »Siebensprünge« (»the Seven Steps«). This dance was taught to the people of the Lake of Constance by the Hungarians during the latter's residence there, who later under the name of »Hun step« applied this dance to their own slow moving dance.

Many aver that the leaders themselves made the old Hungarian heroic songs, the minstrels being only their exponents, after having put them to music.

All testimony points to the fact that at Árpád's time music was not only beloved by great personages, but also among the people. It is known of Bishop Gerhard, that, when he came from his seat Csanád with Walther, the Singing-master of the Fehérvár School, to King Stephen I., he passed the night on the way at suitable places, and through the night was awakened from his sleep by songs. The bishop turned to his conductor with the words: »Walther, do you hear how sweet the song of the Hungarians is?« Since the songs grew clearer and clearer, Gerhard continued: »Walther, tell me, what causes this song, which compels me to interrupt my slumbers?« On this, Walther declared that a girl was the singer, who ground wheat on a handmill and wiled away her hard work with singing. Thus the Hungarians

had already at that time a taste for singing, and carried on their hard work while singing, just as at present, when the most beautiful Hungarian folk-songs arise at ploughing and sowing, at the harvest and the vintage.

The Hungarian music must have had great repute even 800 years ago, for when the Hungarians fought as allies of the Russian prince Isislav, against the Poles and Bohemians, and after a victorious fight marched with triumphal pomp into Kiev, the townspeople got up festivities in honour of their guests, and »the house was fortunate in which Hungarian music sounded«.

We know from descriptions that the following instruments were in use in Hungary: the Lute (koboz, a kind of Indian Lyre), and the violin (hegedű) likewise a string-instrument. Of wind-instruments, large and small pipes were made out of willow twigs — which are still a popular instrument like the Shepherd's pipe (*tilinkó*); — the horn made out of the buffalo's or ox's horn called »kürt«; the small hand-drum, like a Moorish tambourine, but without castanets. It is best to assume that the Hungarians brought these musical instruments from their original home. The field-trumpet and the cymbal were of later date.

With regard to form, opinions about the old lutes are various. Most probably it was like the Indian national instrument, the *Vina*. The player sat, laid it on his knee, and played *pizzicato*. Among the Székelys in Transylvania, there is still a similar instrument, which is so played, and is called the »timbora«.

Unfortunately we know not a single melody from the music of the Huns' songs, nor from the time of the old heathenism, but from the manner of life and the continual wars of our people it is self-evident, that the music of that time must have been dramatic and heroic. The best proof of its once high development, are the old Hungarian legends and traditions, which relate in song the fortunate or unfortunate careers of the nation, the heroic deeds of Attila, Árpád,

and the dukes. The melodies of these songs were gradually lost in the advance of Christianity, and it is probable that with the crushing of Vata's rebellion, very many precious poetical and musical products of the ancient days of heathen Hungary were entirely destroyed.

Under Stephen I. and later, the Christian church-music spread also among us, and the Gregorian song soon took root here too, as among all the other proselytes to Christianity. The schools founded by Stephen I. and his successors, had a twofold task: to educate in Christian religion and in song.

In the first of these schools founded by Bishop Gregory at Székesfehérvár, the forementioned Walther instructed the children of thirty christianized families in Latin and in song.

Several bishops followed this example, and thus schools arose in Esztergom, Pannonhalma, Vác, Veszprém, Nagyvárad and Nyitra.

That church-music had some influence on our popular songs is plain from certain Folk-songs whose melody is constructed on the Scale of Church-music, which at the same time is a convincing proof of their age. In these songs, though the words are more recent, the melodies plainly show the influence of Christian Church-Music.

Since the first priests in Hungary were strangers and principally Italians, as a matter of course they taught the young people only Latin songs. Later, when several natives became clergymen, they spread the Church-songs in Hungarian translations, composed church-songs themselves, Hymns with Hungarian text, which however by a law of King Kálmán's time (1112) could only be adopted among Church-Songs on approval by the Synod.

Our annals mention several such composers of this time, among the rest Andreas Vásárhelyi, who wrote a song to the Virgin as Patroness of Hungary, and an unknown composer, whose song on St. Stephen was printed at Nüremberg in 1454.

From this time the Hungarian text of another church

song has come down to us, the Königsberg fragment »On the virginity of the Virgin Mary«. The tunes of the three songs mentioned we do not know, but they cannot have been aught else than the ordinary Gregorian Hymns.

We must now mention two pre-eminent Hungarians, who have acquired European renown by their art. The first was Nicolas Klinsor in the 13th Century, a Transylvanian who lived at the court of Andreas III, and as one of the most learned of the Master Singers took part in the competition held at the Wartburg near Eisenach in 1208 at the invitation of the German Minnesinger, Henry von Ofterdingen. Some of his songs are found in the old epic poem: *Der Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg* (The singing match at the Wartburg). Still more famous was George Szlatkoni, (Slakoni, Slakonia) born in Krajna near Nyitra, 1456, who at the beginning of the 16th century was the 4th bishop of St. Stephen's church in Vienna, and as privy counsellor and choir-master to Emperor Maximilian I. distinguished himself in religious and secular music alike. *)

At the court of the Hungarian Kings of mixed families foreign masters often found employment. The Capellmeister of King Sigismund was the renowned Georg Stolzer, Josquin des Prés' contemporary. At the court of King Mathias, the great

*) Among the pictures of Hans Burgmayer (Imperial & Royal Library, Vienna) which contain 135 woodcuts and exhibit the triumph of the Emperor Maximilian, our countryman is portrayed sitting in a cant equipage and directing his band of singers and musicians. Under the picture is the word »Apollo«. The explanation appended to the pictures thus alludes to Szlakoni:

Sztrakoni (Bishop in Vienna) is to be made Capellmeister, and the rhyme has reference to the fact, that by direction of the emperor he arranged the singing of of the choir in a most charming manner:

In consonance and harmony,
In melody and symphony,
In every art to my desire
have I improved the tuneful choir.
And yet the honour not to me
But to my emperor must be.

Netherland theorist Johann Tinctoris resided, who was the Capellmeister of King Ferdinand of Naples and the music-master of his daughter Beatrice. Beatrice brought him with her to Hungary, and under him the court-band and the singers of King Mathias attained world-wide renown. According to Peter, Bishop of Vulturana and legate of Sixtus IV, there was no better choir at that time than that of King Mathias.

This fact plainly shows that King Matthias fostered music, and that the queen as well as he had a band and a choir. In addition there was a well organized band of trumpets. The band of the King and queen must have consisted of 30 executants, which was reckoned an extraordinary number for that time, if we compare the Vienna band of Leopold some centuries later, which was only 18 strong.

Tinctoris dedicated to Queen Beatrice one of his renowned theoretical works. At the same time lived Monetarius, born at Selmecz, who distinguished himself as a composer and by a theoretical work, which he dedicated to George Thurzó in 1513.

Even King Wladislaus II. renowned for his great poverty, spent 200 pieces of gold yearly on his singers and musicians.

Under Lewis II. Adrian Willaert, of Netherland birth (afterwards the founder of the Venetian School) lived seven years at Buda, and left Hungary after the battle of Mohács. Willaert, the creator of the Madrigal, dedicated to the wife of Lewis II. a madrigal consisting of several parts, which is preserved in St.-Mark's Library at Venice.

The residence of these illustrious personages in our land, who were all disciples of the old counterpoint, has exercised small influence on the character of the Hungarian music, for singers and instruments alike were brought sometimes out of Italy, sometimes from Germany, and while they figured as court musicians only in churches and at court festivities, Hungarian music drew little advantage from their sojourn here and only a few popular songs have descended to us,

e. g: the song »Mátyást mostan választotta« (King Matthias has been elected) which the children sang at Matthias' election to the throne.

In King Sigismund's time there were organs in many churches. There is a well known document of John Hunyadi (1452) in which the parish of Felső-Bánya is allowed certain expenses for the erection of an organ. The first introduction of this instrument however cannot be historically indicated. According to Nicolas Oláh an organ with silver pipes was played at Visegrád in the chapel of King Matthias, whereas at Buda Masses with song were celebrated; thus not only was the royal Cathedral (Matthias' church) decorated with an organ, but there was also instrumental music corresponding to the time.

With regard to Hungarian Folk-songs and Dance Music, no certain data have come down to us from these centuries; still we may assume that it went on a way of its own despite foreign influence. Conspicuous executants of Hungarian dance-music were the wandering gipsies of the 14th century, and they especially spread the Hungarian Secular Instrumental music. Not only the people patronized them, but they were willingly entertained at the courts of the magnates. They played a rôle not only in festivities, but sometimes also at the Parliaments meetings of which our historians make mention at the noisy assemblies at Rákos and Hatvan in 1525. The most conspicuous was Dominik Kármán, who according to Tinódi enjoyed great renown as a lutist and a violinist. A verse of Tinódi testifies that the lute at that time was played with the fingers, but the violin was already played by the gipsies with the bow.

In the 18th century Michael Barna and Czinka Panna, distinguished themselves — the former being called the Hungarian Orpheus — on whose life and death numerous Latin poems were written. Johann Bihary followed them, one of the most illustrious, whose recruiting tunes and *Primate*, *Palatine*, and *Coronation* tunes are among the most beautiful of Hungarian dances. He and his band were invited more

than once to the Court-balls at Vienna. He gave concerts in Hungary, Transylvania, Poland and Vienna; the great Beethoven listened to his playing often with great pleasure, and has used the melody of a slow Hungarian tune of Bihari's in his overture dedicated to King Stephen. At present our gipsy bands win laurels not only in Europe but also in America and Asia, and reap much money and renown. They deserve our thanks for spreading Hungarian music.

Returning to earlier centuries, we must not forget war-songs and camp-music. History mentions as composers of this style John Césinge, who as Bishop of Pécs (15th century) placed himself at the head of his troops, and inspired his soldiers to battle by his songs. Several Hungarian lutists had repute in Europe already in the 16th century. One was Valentine Bakfark, others say Graevisius (born in Transylvania 1507 died at Padua 1576) who lived chiefly in Poland. He came at the invitation of the emperor Maximilian to Vienna (1570) where he played a rôle at court. He lived long at the court of the Polish King August Sigismund, with whom he must have been on intimate terms, at least the preface of one of his works says as much. Two of his works have come down to us: *Premier livre de tabulature de lute* (Paris 1564.) and *Bakfarci Valentini Greffi Pannonii Harmoniarum musicarum usum testudinis factorum* (Cracoviae 1566). He dedicated the last work to the Polish king who bestowed on him a property as leader of the court band. John Bakfark — probably son of the foregoing — was also a lute virtuoso of great fame. Among the works of both we find several compositions written in Hungarian style.

As excellent lutanist must be named John Newsidler, who was born in Pozsony. His school for the Lute appeared in Nuremberg. In the first volume of this work he treats of Lute tablature. In the second volume are several Fantasias, Preludes, Psalms, and Motetts.*)

*) The full title of the work: »Ein Newgeordnet künstliche Lautenbuch. In zwen Theyl getheylt. Gedruckt zu Nürnberg bei Petreis, durch verlegung

A contemporary of his was Christopher Armpruster, also born in Transylvania, whose Pamphlet, »Song on morality«, appeared in print in 1551.

In the 16th century are conspicuous Andreas Batizi (1546) with his »Fair history of the Holy Marriage of the Patriarch Isaac«, Andreas Farkas (1538) with »How God led Israel's people from Egypt and similarly the Hungarians from Scythia«, Peter Kákonyi, Peter Désy, Kasper Bajnai, Stephan Csükei, Michael Sztáray, Blasius Székely, and Michael Tarjay, who have also written songs with biblical purport, and whose style, despite their religious character, is quite Hungarian. In the airs there is much melodious invention. Many a song sounds just like an earnest slow Hungarian tune. We see therefore how even in the 16th century, those who were of pure Hungarian race were concerned with music and aimed at elevating our national music not only in secular songs, but by applying it to religious ditties.

At this time *Sebastian Tinódi* lived, the lute-player of the 16th century, whom the people named »Sebök deák«. He was the prototype of the true lutist, wandering through the country, and playing his lute here and there. He wrote music to his songs.** He was not only a true chronicler in his historical songs of the events of the 16th century, but he was the first Hungarian composer; for the musical invention of his songs and their construction are of quite a Hungarian

Hansen Newsidlers Lutinisten Anno 1536«. (A newly arranged artistic Book for the Lute. In two parts. Printed at Nuremberg by Petreis, edited by Hans Newsidler, Lutist. Anno 1536.)

**) »On Brother George's horrible death«; »King John's will«; »The Defeat of Szeged«; »On the death of Stephen Losonczi«; »The history of Ali Pacha of Buda«; »Song of the Siege of Egervár« (in 5 parts); »John Török's bravery«; »Emperor Charles' army in Saxony, and the capture of the Elector«; »The taking of the castles Sztinya, Léva, Csábrág, and Murány«; »King David's fight with Goliath«; »Emperor Soliman's fight with Kasul Pacha«; »Instruction for warriors if they will fight the Turks«; »The taking of Buda and imprisonment of Valentine Török«; »Captivity of Peter Perényi, Stephen Mayláth and Valentine Török«; »Emerich Verböczi's fight with the host of Kászón on the field of Kozár«; The Battle of Szalka«; »The battles at the time of Thomas Várkucz«; »Captain George's Duel«; Judges and Stewards«.

character, and some of his songs, *e. g.* »Sok csudák« (many a miracle), »Siess keresztyén« (Hasten Christian) are quite unique and possess abiding worth. The tune of his song »Enyingi Török« Francis Erkel has adapted in his famous funeral march in his opera »Ladislaus Hunyadi«.

Tinódi's songs passed from mouth to mouth at that time, and people began afterwards to perpetuate their style, as the numerous songs and ballads of the Thököly and Rákóczy period show.

The bloom of Hungarian music however began to take greater dimensions already with the spread of the Hungarian Reformation. Then the people sang in churches in their own language, and made their musical forms out of the tunes in the Psalter. At that time secular poems were often sung to the music of sacred songs, and in many tunes composed in the 17th century, we recognise the tunes of the hymns of the Huguenots composed by Gaudimel which were naturalized with us.

The most brilliant period of our Folk-songs is in the time of Thököly and still more in that of Rákóczy. We can only wonder at the beauty, impressiveness, natural strength and characteristic rhythm of the so-called *Kurutz songs* and be amazed at their variety.

The Kurutz songs and other musical creations of that time are not only genuine musical pearls, but accurately reflect also the character and peculiarity of the Hungarian music and form the source from which the later songs, tunes, recruiting songs, wedding and other dances, and the whole body of the so called »hallgató magyar« melodies have sprung. If we take into consideration that the great masters, Haendel and Sebastian Bach, were born or in their childhood when these songs arose, and that Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven — this triad of geniuses, — lived 50 or 60 years later, we can scarcely express our marvel at the astonishing variety and versatility of the bold forms and richness of the rhythm, which had revealed itself in Hungarian music at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. F. Liszt rightly remarks:

»There is no other music from which European musicians can learn so much rhythmic originality as the Hungarian«.

At this time arose »Rákóczi Ferencz dala« (Song of Francis Rákóczi), »Rákóczi siralma« (Rákóczi's complaint), and the »Rákóczi nóta« (Rákóczi Tune), from which the world-renowned Rákóczi March sprang a hundred years later.

At this period were composed the numerous melancholy songs of the exiles: »Őszi harmat« (Autumnal dew), »Ne búsulj« (Don't be grieved), »Adam Balogh's tune« and »Bercsényi's tune« which have enduring value, and also many folksongs which arose later can be referred to this period, viz. »Repülj fecském« (Fly, my swallow), »Az ég alatt« (Under the heaven), »Vörös bársony süvegem« (My cap of red velvet), »Zöld asztalon ég a gyertya« (The candle is burning on the green table); and many other famous songs date from the Rákóczi period.

From the middle of the 17th to the end of the 18th century, only the Song and the Tune (nóta) were known in Hungarian music. The Song was a simple Folk-song, a war-song or a hymn. By »Tune« was implied a piece of music of greater extent. There were already, as we said, Thököli, Rákóczi, Bercsényi Tunes, from which sprang later the so called »hallgató magyar«, melodies which were intended for public performance. Also the different styles of Hungarian Dance-music arose in this period.

We had two sorts of dances, Court dances, and Peasant dances. The »Palace dance« and the »Slow Hungarian« were court dances, the »Dance tune« and the »Dumping tune« were Peasant dances. The old Palace Dance was known exclusively as a court dance in the 15th century. Its music is quite different from the difficult tempoed music of its time, and from the later foreign dances: Saraband, Pavan and Minuet. Its melody was livelier and moved in quicker rhythms. The nobility and their ladies danced it; and since it only consisted of slow turns and was rather a walking dance, old ladies and gentlemen, nay, even ecclesiastics took part in it. In the music of this dance young Knights often showed their cleverness

in a Hungarian solo, but at such occasions they moved more rapidly. This dance was danced also abroad as the »Passo mezzo ongarese« or »Passo mezzo ongaro« and formed a separate part of the Italian »Ballo«.

From the Palace and the Slow Hungarian Dance rose the »Verbunkos«, which was danced at recruiting. No other nation beside the Hungarian possesses such a dance. Popular dances were also the *Lakodalmas* (Wedding-dance), *Incselkedő*, (the »Coquettish«), *Kalákás*, which were in use at weddings; the *Sátoros* (Dance of the tents), *Fegyveres* (Dance of the arms), and *Dobogó* (Drumming-dance), which were danced in camps and after the battle.

During the forties of the 19th Century several Hungarian Society dances arose, *e. g.* the *Körmagyar* (Ronde-magyar), the *Füzér-táncz* (Wreaths-dance), and the *Csárdás* (Tavern-dance), which is still in vogue.

As an excellent dance-composer John Lavota must be mentioned, belonging to the last century, who has written more than 80 works of this class. Antonis Csermák and Markus Rózsavölgyi followed him, who have written many excellent dances.

At the end of the 17th century some of our artists attained celebrity and brought honour to Hungary abroad. One of these was J. Sigismund Cousser, born at Pozsony, who in 1697 at Hamburg helped Mattheson and Kaiser to create the first German opera. He produced a large number of his operas there. His operas *Erindo* (1693), *Porus* (1694) *Pyramus and Thisbe* (1694), *Scipio in Africa* (1697) enjoyed great favour. In 1700 he was choirmaster at Dublin Cathedral, where he died about 1730. *)

In the sphere of church-music Johann Francisci, born at Beszterczebánya in 1691, attained great honour as an excellent organist. He travelled through Germany, knew Mattheson and S. Bach, and had such renown that one of his

*) The following works appeared in print: — »Apollon enjoué«, containing six overtures, »The joy of the Muses« (Nüremberg, 1700), »Ode on the death after renowned Arabella Hunt« (London), »Serenade on the Birth day of the English King, Georg I.« Dublin 1724.

friends in Breslau, Joh. Glettinger (1725), was inspired to make the following panegyric:

Illustrious friend, Amphion's progeny;
 My fancy finds Art's true ideal in thee.
 Thy songs are like an angel's songs above,
 And thus the world bestows on thee her love.
 This only wish have I at my command,
 That thou may'st be the Orpheus of thy land.

In 1733 he was invited to Pozsony, where he lived as church-choirmaster. He returned to his native town to a similar post in 1735.

In the second half of the preceding century the higher circles cultivated secular music, especially Italian and German, to a great degree. They kept excellent bands, and invited to their conductorship illustrious foreign composers.

The Esterházy's were pre-eminent for their patronage of music. Duke Nicholas Esterházy, and afterwards his son Paul, had in Kis-Martón a theatre erected with great luxury, and a distinguished band, at the head of which was Joseph Haydn, afterwards Ignatz Pleyel, and lastly Johann Nep. Hummel. The Károlyis had permanent bands and theatres in Megyer, the Batthyany's in Rohoncz, and the Erdődy's in Pozsony. The higher clergy were not behindhand in the culture of music, and kept in their residences singers and musicians, placing distinguished foreign masters at their head, which was of great influence to the formation of the church style and also of secular music. The illustrious contrapointist and theorist Albrechtsberger, Beethoven's master, lived at Győr, Michael Haydn also and Karl Dittersdorf in Nagy-Várad. They all exercised great influence on the development of the musical life in the towns mentioned. That influence can still be seen in all the towns where there was a standing band, for at these places the taste for music and its encouragement has remained among the people till the present day. As examples let us quote Kassa, Eger, Nagy-Várad, Pécs,

Pozsony, Temesvár, where an excellent soil is prepared not only for concerts, but for theatrical exhibitions. After many of these bandmasters, musicians and singers had founded families and remained in our land, the cultivation of music came more into fashion. Piano-playing began to spread at the beginning of this century. There was scarcely a nobleman's house, where this instrument was not found. For this reason several illustrious foreign masters settled in Hungary and occupied themselves with pianoforte teaching. These masters were disciples of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and thus the piano compositions of these three geniuses were introduced into aristocratic circles, where there must have been excellent players, since Beethoven has dedicated several of his classical piano sonatas to Hungarian ladies of high rank. The taste for music soon spread in middle-class society, and from this class proceeded our best musicians and composers. We must thank this movement for the fact that several Hungarian instruction-books appeared at the beginning of the century. The first School for piano was written by Stephen Gati (Buda 1809), which was followed by Dömény's and Milovitzkys Piano school, and a course of Harmony entitled the «Hungarian Apollo» by Andreas Bartay.

All these publications had a favourable effect on the development of music in general and that of Hungarian music in particular.

The number of those who cultivated Hungarian music was already considerable.

From their ranks Johann Fuss arose (born Tolna 1777, died Vienna 1819) who was so conspicuous as a composer of all styles of music that he awoke the interest of Haydn. He generally lived at Vienna, but in 1800 he was invited to Pozsony as composer, where he received universal esteem. He wrote string quartettes, trios, duos for violin and piano, sonatas for piano, solos and duets, overtures, sacred works and numerous duologues. The greater part of his works are printed.

Two countrymen of ours attained world-wide renown at the beginning of this century — Johann Nep. Hummel (born on Nov. 14th 1778 at Pozsony), and Francis Liszt (born 22nd October 1811 at the village of Doborján, in the County of Sopron). Hummel as a pianist belonged to the last cultivation of the classical style, and excelled by his free improvisation. The number of his compositions exceeds 120, of which his concertos for the piano and his renowned Septett for Wind instruments, are of abiding worth. He died at Weimar on the 7th of October, 1837. His birth place, Pozsony, erected a statue to his memory in 1888.

Francis Liszt, awoke such wonder by his piano-playing in his 9th year, that he was called the second Mozart. The families of Szapáry, Apponyi, Esterházy, and Erdődy guaranteed a yearly amount for the child's education. His father took him to Vienna, where Charles Czerny and Salieri were his masters. At this time he was introduced to Beethoven, who prophesied a brilliant future for the boy, and kissed him publicly at his first concert at Vienna. At the age of 16—17 he ravished the world with his concerts. At the end of 1848, he abandoned the rôle of virtuoso, devoted himself to composition and settled in Weimar. There he began to write his incomparable Hungarian Rhapsodies, 15 in all, in which he employed the prettiest Folk-songs, and Dances, and the Rákóczy March. By his means Hungarian music was spread and made popular in Europe. He was the creator of the Rhapsody and of the Symphonic Poem. In the last named composition he employed many Hungarian tunes *e. g.* in »Battle of the Huns« and »Hungaria«, and proved hereby that Hungarian music is capable of being applied to serious purposes.

We should have to write books in order to do justice to his manysidedness as a composer and to his compositions. Also as a tone-poet he occupies a high place. He was the apostle of Richard Wagner, who later became his son-in-law, and he paved the way for that great musical reformer.

In 1862, he went to Rome, where he lived in the seclusion of the Convent Monte Maria and there under the title of an Abbé received the lowest clerical ordination. At this time he wrote his most important works: his oratorio »St.-Elisabeth«, first performed in Budapest in 1865, his renowned Hungarian Coronation March in 1867, and his oratorio »Christus« which was first performed in Budapest in 1875. In both of the former he employed many Hungarian melodies.

He was President of the Royal Hungarian Academy of music in 1875, where he taught the piano to the highest class. He died at Bayreuth on the 31st of July 1886.

We, Hungarians, can be proud of the fact that the great gladiators of piano-playing, Hummel and Liszt, were our countrymen.

A worthy contemporary of Liszt's was *Francis Erkel*, (born 5th November 1810, at Békés-Gyula. Died at Budapest 15th June 1880). He can be confidently named as the creator of the Hungarian original opera, for all that was produced in this sphere before him by Joseph Rusicska with his »Flight of Béla«, Joseph Heinisch with his »Election of King Matthias«, and Andreas Bartay with his opera entitled »Cunning« can scarcely be regarded as aught else than as a more or less successful attempt at soaring, although genuine Hungarian music played a considerable part in these works. Francis Erkel's merits on this field are immortal. He showed the path to be followed and the means to be adopted that Hungarian opera might be a worthy companion of foreign musical drama. In 1848 he wrote »Maria Báthori«, this was followed by »Ladislaus Hunyadi«, which was received with enthusiasm. Individual parts of this opera, the remarkable overture, the swan song, the church scene, the funeral March can be said to be of classical value in the literature of Hungarian music. In 1860 his »Bánk Bán« was performed. In this work he attained very original and striking effects by the use of the Hungarian cymbal, along with old instruments seldom employed. In the scene on the banks of the Tisza he made the shepherd's

pipe sound (of course represented by 2 piccolos) and gives to individual scenes a thoroughly Hungarian character. His opera »Sarlota« was performed in 1862. »George Dózsa« followed in 1874, »Nameless Heroes« in 1880, »George Brankovics« in 1874, and »King Stephen« in 1885. The last work he wrote in his 76th year, despite which the melodic invention and the instrumentation are as fresh as in his works.

He also takes first place as bandmaster. In his artistic life of more than half a century he laid the foundations of the Philharmonic Concerts in Budapest, in 1850, and conducted them for 18 years.

We cannot speak with detail of his services as bandmaster but can only mention the fact that it is through him that the orchestra of the National Theatre has gained European renown. His name will always live as the composer of the national hymn »Isten áldd meg a magyart«, (God save the Magyar) so long as there is a Hungarian in the land.

As a dramatic composer *Charles Goldmark* stands in the first rank, who in the sphere of Symphonies, Chamber music, and Song composition, enjoys a wide reputation not only in his own country but in all the cultivated world. Goldmark was born at Keszthely in 1832. He awoke real enthusiasm in 1860 when he came before the public with his Suite composed for violin and piano and his Overture »Sakuntala« of eastern character. Goldmark belongs to those pre-eminent men of talent who distinguish themselves by originality, feeling, a vein of poetry, noble inspiration and interesting harmony. He is also a master of brilliant orchestration. Of his works the most remarkable are the Symphony »The Country Wedding«, the overtures, »Penthesilea«, »Spring« and »Sappho«. These works are found in the repertoires of Philharmonic Concerts all the world over. He gained the greatest success with his opera, »The Queen of Sheba« (1873). In this work his musical talents are at their best. In 1886, 13 years later, his opera »Merlin« was performed. In this he abandoned his eastern style, and curbing his indi-

viduality has produced a work of grand style and of noble melody, which is almost equal to »the Queen of Sheba«. Of late he has tried his powers in the lyric sphere, and with his new opera »A házi tücsök« (Cricket on the hearth) he has repeatedly shown his many-sided brilliant talents. His music has much of Hungarian character in melody and conception alike.

Goldmark works slowly and re-writes much, but what he does write, be it a piece for the piano, a song, an orchestral piece, or an opera, all stands on a high level.

In the sphere of opera there are at present *Karl Thern*, the composer of Vörösmarty's »Song of Fót«, whose operas »Gizul« and »The Siege of Tihany«, gained great success in 1840. Further, *Charles Huber* with his comic opera, »The Székely Maid«, into which he has worked several of our prettiest songs. Charles Huber has done much as a violin teacher; he wrote an excellent violin school into the practical part of which he has incorporated many Hungarian songs. From his compositions we must single out, »5 Hungarian Fantasias for Violin and Piano«, and many patriotic male choruses, »Freedom's song«, »Memory of our Ancestors«, »National flag«, »For holy fatherland«, »Song of inspiration« etc.

His son *Eugene Hubay* is one of the most renowned violinists, who enjoys great fame not only in Hungary but abroad. Thus far he has written three operas. »Alienor«, and »The Lutanist of Cremona«, were first performed in the Royal Hungarian Opera House. With the latter he gained success abroad. Of late he has struck out a new style with his opera »Falu rossza« (The bad fellow of the village) — the so-called Popular operetta, which from beginning to end contains the prettiest Hungarian music, while the new arts of modern technique are applied simultaneously.

A very cultivated, fertile and many-sided man is *Edmund Mihalovich*. As a composer he is a disciple of the new school. The style of the Symphonic Poem, created by Liszt, he cultivates with success. His works, »Hero and Leander«,

»La Ronde du Sabbat«, »The ghostly vessel« and »Sellö« (nymph) are all eminent. His tunes are noble, his orchestration masterly. Thus far he has written two operas, »Hagbarth und Signe« and »Toldi's Love«. In Hungarian music he is very successful, as is proved by his compositions for orchestra, »Dirge in memory of Francis Deák«, and »Toldi's Love.« Richard Wagner esteemed highly his musical talents, and wrote »Wieland the Smith« for him. Francis Sárossy has also written the successful operas, »Atala« and »The last Abencerage«.

It is a matter for congratulation that we have talented composers among the younger generation. One of these is *Emerich Elbert*, who has shown dramatic power in the opera »Tamora«: further Edmund Farkas whose two operas »The Penitents« and »Valentin Balassa«, are written with beautiful melodic invention; Julius Mannheimer whose opera »Maritana«, and Maurice Varinecz whose »Rosmunda« and »Ratclif« have been performed abroad.

As cultivators of Hungarian music we must mention *Michael Mosonyi* (born in 1814 in Boldogasszonyfalva. County Moson.) and *Cornelius Ábrányi* sen. who have rendered great services in the development of Hungarian music. Mosonyi in the fifties played a leading rôle in Pesth, and was an authority on Church and Chamber music. He wrote string quartets, Symphonies, and religious compositions. In 1850 he applied himself with all his heart to the cultivation of Hungarian music. He gained great success with his pièces de circonstance: The memory of Kazinczy, Széchényi-Mourning, Festive Overture, Victory and Grief of the Hungarian Honvéd. The Hungarian ballad, the song, the male and mixed choruses, the Cantata and the opera are beholden to him for excellent works. Among his best works are »The Festival of the old Hungarians at the river Ung«, and »Fair Ilona«, a romantic Hungarian opera.

As teacher and distinguished musical savant he had excellent scholars e. g. Alexander Erkel, Julius Erkel, Edmund Mihalovich, Ladislaus Zimay etc. He died in 1870. Francis Liszt composed a funeral March in his memory.

Cornelius Ábrányi played not only an important rôle in the spread of Hungarian music, but as composer he also takes a high place. His songs and ballads for solo voice, his fantasias for piano, are excellent specimens of Hungarian music. He has distinguished himself also as a writer on music. He founded the first Hungarian musical journal. He wrote instruction books, such as *A school of Composition*, *A General History of Music*, and *The peculiarities of Hungarian Music*. He founded at Arad the National Choral Society. The number of his compositions reaches nearly 100.

Edward Bartay has done much for the spread of Hungarian music. From 1860 he has taken an active part in our musical movements. At present he is director of the National Conservatorium. He has written piano pieces, choruses and instrumental works, which have been often performed with success. In the cultivation of orchestral and chamber music *Julius Beliczay*, *I. Julius Major*, *Francis Xav. Szabó*, *Paul Jámbo*r, *Árpád Késmárky* and *Isidor Bátor* are eminent for many excellent works.

Virtuoso playing which Liszt brought to great perfection has had great exponents also in our country, among them *Emerik Székely* (born in 1823 at Mátyusfalva, county Ugocsa) must be mentioned. Among his compositions are string quartettes, trios and sonatas, but his fame is founded on his 32 Hungarian fantasias, written for piano, and his 12 music idylls in which he has elaborated the greatest treasures of our modern Folk-songs.

Stephen Heller, the illustrious pianist, born at Budapest in 1815, achieved great success in 1830. The number of his works for the piano is 140. They are characterized by originality, good taste, elegant treatment, and richness of melody. Since 1838 he lived at Paris, where he took first rank among distinguished pianoforte teachers, and where he died.

A Hungarian pianist of European renown is *Count Géza Zichy*, who in his 14th year by an unlucky wound from a gun lost his right arm. By unwearied diligence he

succeeded in training his left hand so that not only in Hungary but in the whole cultivated world he has excited the greatest admiration by his pianoforte playing. As a composer he has written several songs, many excellent works for choruses, and the opera »Alar«. He writes almost all the text to his own compositions.

In the composition of Hungarian songs, ballads, and male choruses the principal writers are: *Benjamin Egressy* the author of the melody of the »Szózat«, with his noble popular songs; *Ladislaus Zimay*, *Victor Langer*, *Ernest Lányi*, with their romances; *Alexander Erkel*, the distinguished bandmaster, with his patriotic male choruses; *Francis Gaál* and *Alois Tarnay*. With our musical literature there is closely connected a species of Hungarian drama, the Popular Play which takes its subjects from common life and which has the Folk-song and the dance as one of its principal elements. *Edward Szigligety* was the creator of this style of art. To his first two pieces, »Szökött Katona« (The Deserter), and »Csikós« (The Coltherd), Josef Szerdahelyi wrote the music, using for that purpose our oldest and most original songs. Also the music to »Matyás Diák«, (The student Matthias) »Bányarém«, (The terror of the mine) »Liliomfi« is written by him. Later writers of the same order are Benjamin Egressy, Ignaz Bognár, Julius Káldy, Julius Erkel, Alexander Nikolits. Executants in this branch are Mimi de Cau, Michel Füredy, Josef Tamásy, Madame Hegedüs, and Madame Blaha. This style of drama greatly contributed to the fact that popular Hungarian music became known and appreciated abroad, for our publishers, directly after the performance of a piece, published the prettiest songs in it and diffused them not only in Hungary but also in Europe, so as to admit of foreign composers familiarizing themselves with Hungarian music.

We should have to write a regular anthology if we reckoned up all the compositions which famous foreign composers have written in the Hungarian style, or in which they have used Hungarian songs. In the works of Haydn, Beethoven, Schubert and Weber we find many Hungarian passages. We can

mention only a few of the later composers, and thus we may credit Berlioz with the transcription of the renowned Rákóczy march, Volkmann with »Visegrád«, Twelve sketches for piano called »Hungarian sketches«, »Souvenir of Maroth«. »At the tomb of Count Széchényi«, John Brahms with four volumes of Hungarian dances, Hungarian and Gipsy songs. Raff with Hungarian dances, Hofmann with a Hungarian suite, Bülow a »Heroic March«, Massenet, Hungarian March, Delibes, parts of his ballet »Copélia«, Mascagni, »Friend Fritz«. Beside these the famous pianoforte and violin artists Dreischock, Thalberg, Wilmers, Schulhof, Rubinstein, Molique, Sarasate have written for their instruments Variations and Fantasias in Hungarian style with the introduction of favourite songs. When in 1860 operettas came into fashion some composers tried their powers in this branch. Among the earlier ones were Géza Allaga, and Charles Huber; afterwards Julius Káldy, Alexius Erkel, Béla Hegyi, Eugene Stojanovits.

More recently some have gained success in ballet music, and excellent music has been written by *Charles Szabados*, who with his ballet, »Viora«, roused great enthusiasm. *Eugene Stojanovits* with his ballet »Csárdás«, *Stephen Kerner* with »Le cheval de bronze«, *Lewis Tóth* and *Albert Metz* with their ballet »Day and Night«, have shown excellent powers of composition.

Many conspicuous countrymen of ours have won honour for Hungary abroad, e. g. *Josef Joachim*, the greatest violinist of modern times, the Director of the High School of Music in Berlin. Also among his compositions the most valuable is the Hungarian Concerto. *Edward Reményi*, *Leopold Auer*, Director of the Conservatorium at St. Petersburg, *Edmund Singer*, *Rafael Josephi*. Renowned conductors are *John Richter*, *Sucher* (Berlin), *Seidel* (New-York); singers: *Mme. Mainville*, *Mme. Schoedel*, *Louise Liebhardt*, *Cornelia Hollósy*, *Rosa Csillag*, *Ida Benza*, *Francis Steger*, *Josef Wurda*, *John Beck*, *Lewis Bignio* etc.

As pianists and teachers we must further mention *Antonio Sipos*, with his numerous compositions for the piano, *John*

Theindl and *Willy Deutsch*, who took an active part in the musical life of the capital. Teachers of composition were *Michael Mosonyi* and *Alexander Nikolits*; one might almost say that nearly all the younger generation have had their education from them. As writers on music beside the above mentioned *Ábrányi*, are *Gabriel Mátray* and *Stephen Bartalus*. The first made the old Hungarian music known by his work »The melodies of historical, biblical and satirical Hungarian songs of the 17th century«. *Bartalus* issued his interesting publication, »The Hungarian Orpheus«, a collection of miscellaneous matter of the 18th and 19th centuries and a General collection of Hungarian songs.

Recently *Julius Káldy* with his works, »The Treasures of old Hungarian Music«, »Old Hungarian War Songs«, »Recruiting Songs«, »Songs and Marches of the War for Freedom«, has aroused much enthusiasm.

We must mention that in Hungary since the beginning of this century many institutions and schools for the cultivation of music have arisen. In Kolozsvár in 1819, the first Hungarian Conservatorium now existing was founded (the first Hungarian Opera was performed there in 1821). In 1833 Arad followed this example. An artistic association founded a similar institution at Pesth called The Musicians Society, which in its turn founded the National Conservatoire. In 1860, Debreczen founded in its turn a Conservatoire, while Kassa, Szeged and Sabadka, followed its example.

In 1860 the National Dramatic School was opened in Budapest, in which operatic song was also taught. At the same time the Society of Musical Amateurs was founded, and the Musical Academy of Buda. Later in both these institutes a Music school was organized. In 1875 the National Hungarian academy of Music was opened with Francis Liszt and Francis Erkel at the head of it. Ultimately the Hungarian School of Music was opened under the presidency of Julius Káldy, Alexander Nikolits and Julius Major, who have undertaken the special field of cultivation and instruction in Hungarian music.

Beside these there are in Budapest as in the larger provincial towns many musical and choral societies, and at Budapest as brilliant a concert season as at Vienna or Leipsic. In the first rank we must name the concerts of the Philharmonic Society, the Budapest Society of amateurs, the Buda Musical academy, also the performances of the National academy of Music, the National and the Hungarian School of music and also the concerts of several music societies. We must add the appearance of many famous foreign violinists, pianists and singers, who visit Budapest regularly.

Lately historical concerts have been started, by Stephen Bartalus and Julius Káldy reviving the most precious relics of the 17th and 18th centuries. These concerts, in consequence of their historical and scientific character, are generally given in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

We have cause for pride that Hungarian music has in a comparatively short time reached so high a level. If we compare it with the music of other nations the Italian, French, and German, the result is really surprising. At the festivities of the thousandth year of the nation we can point to world-renowned composers among our countrymen and eminent works in all branches of music, and having regard to the past development and advance of Hungarian music we can look with full confidence and with great hope to the future.



Fine Arts and Industrial Arts in Hungary.

The plastic art of Hungary can unfortunately not look back on a brilliant past like that of other western nations. Hungarian artists must turn to foreign lands in order to acquire education and inspiration from the great artistic creations of past centuries.

That the cause of this is not to be sought in any deficiency in the qualifications of the Hungarian race but rather in unfavourable circumstances, is proved sufficiently by the very great progress, which is to be seen in all branches of plastic art with us, since the beginning of the era of universal development, of quiet labor and of earnest effort for culture.

A glance at the history of this land, which for centuries has carried on desperate struggles for its existence and for the general advantage of Christendom, will make it plain to everybody that the Hungarian (of whom the poet who depicts those times sings that he wields the plough with one hand and the sword with the other) could not possibly find time or opportunity to realise the highest aims of culture and art.

And yet despite everything the artistic element is not entirely absent in the past history of our land. History yields several documents which prove that even in the first centuries remarkable works of art were forthcoming.

It is sufficient to point to the fact that our first king St.

Stephen during his long reign which lasted nearly forty years, founded ten bishoprics, many abbeys and cloisters, and in their neighbourhood built small and large churches.

The wars of centuries have laid all these churches in ruins. The cathedral of Pécs alone has survived, which on account of its brilliant interior is described as "aurata" in original accounts which come from the middle ages. With equal praise our historical documents speak of the basilica of Esztergom built in the twelfth century. It is interesting that in that time the higher artistic genius and the practical power are both forthcoming so as to build churches of comparatively great artistic value in districts more or less distant from the capital. As for example the renowned church of Ják famous in the history of art for its noble porch, that of Lebény and other smaller churches.

In the churches built in the Romanesque style before the middle of the twelfth century the interior decoration had proportionate relation to the colossal exterior. It is natural that the Hungarian nation who in external things and also in their surroundings always delighted in brilliancy and pomp, should make this characteristic a prominent one in the arrangement and decoration of their churches. And that this gorgeousness which received additional brilliance proportionately to the value of the material and the artistic form, did not limit itself to ecclesiastical objects alone, has been brilliantly demonstrated by the Goldsmiths Art exhibition held in Buda-Pesth in 1884; although there could only be gathered an imperfect collection of the arms, ornaments, domestic and ecclesiastical decorations of ancient Hungary possessing fabulous value and a high degree of artistic merit.

This surprising collection was calculated to offer only an imperfect conception of that magnificence and gorgeousness which the description of old travellers in the time of the Anjous and later of Kings Sigismund and Matthias Corvinus mentioned in words of the greatest astonishment and praise.

The ravages which followed that brilliant period swept

away en masse everything which the epoch of our national supremacy had done in respect of art, so that we should receive with doubt the records of chroniclers, if the Corvina codexes were not forthcoming from the library of King Matthias, which have survived in some of their numbers pre-eminently splendid and written on parchment, which decorated by the best artists of the Italian renaissance with fine miniature paintings give a surprising testimony to the liberality and the love of art of that great prince.

It is an unfortunate fact that the following period in which the barbarous hordes of Turks overwhelmed the land nipped in the bud all artistic life, which although it was transplanted from foreign soil had in itself all the conditions for the establishment of a wider development.

For a hundred and fifty years the oppressive slavery of the land lasted, and there could scarcely be any talk of art at such a time. The little which remained from the past took refuge in the small towns of upper Hungary, and there sought an asylum in individual churches and public buildings. Little is left of the monuments of the fifteenth and sixteenth century in their original state. The cathedral of Kassa and a few small village churches, creations of the Pointed (Gothic) style, need all of them thorough restoration.

Our almost only monument of the Pointed architecture of a secular character is the beautiful Town-hall in Bártfa which stands free on all sides, which however is only interesting from an architectural point of view, since in artistic decoration there is nothing remarkable to show.

Yet even the village churches built in a little better style were decorated with frescoes of some artistic value or at least of value in the history of art. It is noteworthy in regard to the decline which subsequently set in, that these frescoes were little by little covered with thick layers of plaster, so that they have been discovered here and there only quite recently when any demolition or restoration took place.

It is difficult to affirm whether the original creators of

these frescoes were native or foreign artists. Yet it is remarkable that along with ecclesiastical subjects they depict the political events of their own time or of a recent past. Such are the frescoes of the Gisella chapel in Veszprém and of the church at Turnicze, the latter of which shows an episode in the legend of St. Ladislaus. Further the fresco in the cathedral of Szepesváralja which was originally Romanesque but was altered and enlarged in the taste of the Pointed style. This picture displays an ecclesiastical subject on a political background. Other remarkable monuments are not to be found till the eighteenth century, at the beginning of which two highly talented artists appeared together in Hungary, John *Kupeczky* and Adam *Mányoky*. These were not the first whom Hungarian genius had vouchsafed to art to prove that the inclination and capability for art was not absent from the Hungarian race but was only latent, and that from time to time a gleam of this endowment broke forth in order to inscribe a brilliant path in the clouded heaven of national culture. Albert Dürer the Nuremberg painter was a descendant of the family of Ajtós which had emigrated from the county of Békés. Certainly he was born in a foreign country, and it is probable that his talent would scarcely have been able to develop if he had not reached the atmosphere of the court of those patrons of art, the emperor Maximilian and Charles V. None the less we may claim our part in his fame and may proudly name him as one of us. John Kupeczky (1676—1740) and Adam Mányoky (1673—1757) found scope for their talents also in foreign countries. Their country's soil was not yet adapted to foster the artistic spirit.

The first of these two lived twenty-two years in Rome, then returned to Vienna, and ultimately settled in Nuremberg, where he died.

Mányoky was first the scholar of the Hanover court-painter Andreas Scheiby, later of Nicolas Largillière, and then he continued his studies in Paris and in Holland. For a short time he was also in the service of Francis Rákóczy II. From the

year 1712 onwards he lived as court-painter to the king of Poland, Augustus II., in Warsaw, later as court-painter to the king of Saxony, Augustus III., in Dresden. In the latter place he remained till his death.

True to the epoch in which the important branch of their activity falls, both these artists cultivated particularly portrait-painting. Both followed the tendency which had formed itself from the imitation of Rembrandt and Vandyk and from the influence of Italian studies. Their figures are lively in appearance, their colours deep and of a warm glow.

The frescoes of the Buda-Pesth university-church date from the eighteenth century. They have been hardly dealt with by time, but even in their present condition one can recognise the rococo style which belongs to decline, which with insufficient means aims at great effects. In such conditions Hungarian art crossed the threshold of the nineteenth century. A busy artistic life cannot be noticed also at the beginning of this century. But the fermentation of ideas, the awakening of intellectual life, reached with its wide waves of contact our country. As its first effect here came the regeneration of literature, which was followed by a culture more and more invigorating amidst a repression attempted at first secretly later on with an always increasing violence.

But soon men of bold enterprise arose with the future Minister of public education at their head, Augustus *Trefort*, who could no longer brook the shameful void which in consequence of the complete want of artistic taste gaped in Hungarian society.

The fruit of their efforts was the establishment of the first Hungarian art union which had been formed with the object of exhibiting from time to time new foreign and Hungarian pictures, of acquiring some of them and of disposing of them by lottery among its members.

Our new parliamentary regime took up the promotion of art as one of its tasks in its early years, and if the government at first only went so far as to endow with stipends

a few talented young artists who wished to complete their studies abroad, even this at that time was a reform, because it involved the recognition of the principle that the development of art belongs to the duties of the state.

That this task was not completed by the provision of certain stipends, of this artists and all competent authorities were aware. However in consequence of the quarrels of political organisations and particularly on account of the unfavourable financial conditions, some time elapsed before a more extensive public intervention came to pass.

The first important step was taken in the year 1870., when upon initiative of the painter *Gustavus Keleti* our first School of Fine Arts was opened, the establishment of which was not to be postponed, principally on this account, that because of the want of professionally taught teachers drawing was tremendously neglected in public schools and therefore the strongest reason given to take measures for the education of a sufficient staff of teachers with the view to develop the sense for the beautiful in young people, and simultaneously to assure actual practical aims by special and systematic instruction.

Along with the afore-mentioned institution the School of Painting began its activity about ten years ago, in which under the lead of our distinguished master Julius Benczur whom we had prevailed upon to return to his country, ten or twelve talented young painters at least are enabled to receive a high artistic education.

Along with these privileges the government following the examples set in foreign lands wished to do justice to its task of guiding, stimulating and suggesting, which with us was all the more necessary inasmuch as our society, even at the middle of the century, was equally indifferent to the enjoyment of plastic art and to the highest interests of art.

It must be confessed that gradually in this direction too an encouraging change is to be noticed. Partly under the influence of the activity of the Society of Arts, and partly under the influence of the art-institutions instituted by the

government, and without doubt also in consequence of international changes which in an era of peace found a fruitful soil, and in consequence of the spread of the periodical press, the interest of the public at large began to be daily a more lively one. Thanks to the cooperation of these various influences the cultivated middle class has now for the last two decades accustomed itself to the enjoyment offered by a visit to our art exhibitions: nay, inspired further by the sublime example of the king and the annual purchases of pictures which the government effects for the national museum, both the aristocracy and the wealthy mercantile class do not draw back from any material sacrifices so as to decorate their houses with paintings and statues.

It is very natural that this participation of society should have a stimulating influence on the activity of practical artists, and in time it raised the calling of artist into the rank of the popular professions. For the possibility was now forthcoming that the gifted artist should find along with his joy in creation also the means of livelihood and of material prosperity. The social standing of our artists is raised, their ambition advances owing to the gradually increasing attention and appreciation of foreign countries. Ever more numerous we see young artists devote themselves to all branches of art.

We have to-day a public artistic life, and if we think that all this is, so to speak, the fruit of the hard work of a few decades, we ought to look forward with confident hope to the future.

If we look back we find without difficulty the signposts that have marked our newest artistic advance; for however short the time to which the era of artistic endeavour in Hungary is limited, the continuity of the advance has carried us along on quite natural grounds to a comparatively rapid prosperity.

It is peculiar and noteworthy for the quickness of our development, that some of the pioneers of art still remain among us, who have seen the dawn of the palmy days and have directed the hard work of the beginning. Only from their descriptions can we form an approximative idea how

modest and simple was our artistic condition when a third of this century had come to an end.

It is natural that the development which showed itself in the increasing numbers of producers and consumers could not be independent and self-sufficient in a strict artistic sense. Our artists fetched their knowledge and also their inspiration in a great part from abroad, so we cannot wonder that the artistic tendencies which achieved supremacy in foreign centres found their representatives in the creations of Hungarian artists almost without exception.

At the same time the effort after independence was not absent. It seemed a seductive task to oppose the ideal of a special Hungarian school to the different tendencies of foreign countries. The attempts in this direction did not lead to the establishment of any particular school of art taken in the aesthetic sense, but led, and it was at that time a very lucky phenomenon, to a general desire in the fifth and sixth decades of the century to undertake and achieve monumental works.

The treatment of historical subjects was then the order of the day. Most of our young painters painted only history, and created chiefly, nay almost exclusively, the works from the important moments of our national history.

This was an exceptional epoch, in which owing to our peculiar political situation the tendency of the works was valuable on their own account as an aesthetic merit, at any rate in the judgment of the public. Our still young art which yielded always to public opinion produced quite a number of more or less successful historical pictures, which being full of political allusions and inspiring reminiscences of the days of the nation's glory never failed to have their effect.

The art union of that time caused the multiplication of most of the pictures of this category, and in the form of prize-engravings many thousand copies were spread through the land. The original works on the contrary were either bought by the art union or by means of subscription by individual societies, and were presented to the picture gallery of the national museum.

All these pictures agreed only in the nature of their tendency, while individually they more or less reflected the peculiarities of individual foreign painters, that is to say, of those schools in which our younger generation of artists had received their education.

Some of these had entrusted themselves to the guidance of the renowned Viennese artist Charles *Rahl*, when he left his professorship in the Vienna academy and opened a private school of painting. Others began their studies at the Vienna Academy, and afterwards went to Munich in order to continue their education in the finishing school of Charles *Piloty*.

Those admirable characteristics are well known through which the school of art named after Rahl differs from the character of the Munich school, which under the direction of its honoured master Charles Piloty, has reared so many distinguished artists. The former cultivated by preference allegory; the charm of line and buoyancy of composition, the play of colours tinged with a golden hue which was the feature of the old masters, served as the chief aim. In the latter on the contrary a certain realism in the choice and treatment of the subject was the ruling element with a certain flavour of romanticism, but in connection with greater authenticity of costume and archaeological detail.

Among the artists belonging to the first group Maurice *Than* and Charles *Lotz* were prominent. Lotz remained longer under the influence of his Vienna master; Than stayed many years in Paris, later in Rome. Both remained true to the style of their master, who inspiring himself with the pomp of form and colour from the masterpieces of the renaissance, sought to realise his artistic ideal on the lines of the old masters.

Than and Lotz are among our first painters at the present day. For a long time their names were only mentioned together, for these two were long the only representatives in the country of any capacity for high artistic problems, and for many years they shared as inseparable comrades, related in their style, the successful execution of those scarce tasks

which in the last thirty years have been given for large frescoes in Hungary.

Among the long rank of their creations we must mention the gigantic ceiling-painting of Lotz in the Buda-Pesth opera-house, which not only owing to its extraordinary size but to its artistic perfection with justice ought to be ranked among the most eminent productions of this style, and on account of which not only the public opinion of Hungary but also of the foreign artistic world have crowned the modest painter with the laurel of the fullest recognition.

Among Than's works the most accessible are the frescoes in the Central railway-station of Buda-Pesth in the great vestibule, among which the allegory of »Traffic« is equally preeminent for its size and its artistic merit.

The most illustrious representatives of the school of Piloty in our land are Alexander *Wagner*, Alexander *Lietzenmayer*, Julius *Benczur*, and Bartholomew *Székely*. These followed the general tendency by exhibiting to their countrymen some pictures out of Hungarian history. The most celebrated of these are the Baptism of St. Stephen by Benczur, and a picture of Székely's which represents The Finding of the body of the unfortunate King of Hungary Lewis II. who perished at Mohács. Both pictures are housed in the picture gallery of the National museum.

Wagner and Lietzenmayer settled later at Munich, as professors of the academy there. Benczur worked a long time also at Munich, as the favourite painter of the Bavarian king Lewis II. who met with so lamentable a death. Then he returned to his own country and assumed the headship of the School of painters which he still controls. Székely is up till the present a disciple and a master of monumental painting. Of late years he was also greatly occupied in the province of fresco-painting, and with reason, for along with Lotz and Than he is a worthy exponent of this style as his elaborate and splendid frescoes in the basilica of Pécs, and more recently in the Matthias' church at Buda amply testify.

The Austrian painters celebrated before 1848 have left few traces in the style of art of their Hungarian pupils. A proof of this is *Waldmüller*, the talented pioneer of realism in Austria, whose Hungarian pupil Michael *Zichy* the renowned and distinguished artist, has so entirely emancipated himself from the influence of his master that in his most elaborate works he has undertaken the representation of abstract ideas. However the impressive effect of his works can only be ascribed to the strict realistic school in which he laid the foundation of his talent as a painter, which afterwards so highly developed. This skill in drawing raises *Zichy* high above his contemporaries, and to this must be attributed the fact that *Zichy*, although he lives as Russian court-painter at St.-Petersburg, nevertheless enjoys universal popularity among the Hungarian public. For the patriotism of the distinguished artist so worthy of imitation, who adorns the works of Hungarian poets with his peerless illustrations, annihilates distance and brings him nearer to our eyes. With his illustrations to Madách's »Tragedy of Man« and more recently to the ballads of John Arany, he has hit off the inner beauties of these works that up till the present have remained hidden from the superficial reader. For he is no servile copist of the written thought of the poet, but in his soul himself a poet, he shares as the professional interpreter of his poetic companion with justice some of the latter's popularity.

One of the most conspicuous exponents of our grand painting is without doubt Michael *Munkácsy*, who out of a labyrinth of social obstacles has raised himself to such a height of artistic fame that for the last twenty years he has been an ornament of Hungary. When he had overcome the difficulties of commencing his career Anthony *Ligeti* the distinguished landscape painter was his first furtherer. He recommended the young *Munkácsy* to Lewis *Knaus*, the distinguished genre painter at Düsseldorf. As the scholar of this man *Munkácsy* painted the »The Convict's last day«, his first picture which made a deep impression, awoke extraordinary enthusiasm in the Paris Salon, and won great recognition.

Henceforward the brilliant talents of Munkácsy developed themselves before the eyes of the whole of cultivated Europe, and it would be a superfluous task to set down in detail in the frame of this short sketch the wellknown points of his brilliant career. It is sufficient to point to the success acknowledged by the whole world which his genre pictures taken from familiar life have won such as »The Night Ramblers«, »In The Pawnbroker's«, »Recruits«, »Milton's Daughters«, »Mozart's Last Moments«, and later his great ecclesiastical pictures such as »Christ Before Pilate«, and »Golgotha«, where we have the artist in all his greatness before us. He entered on a new province of national historical painting with his great picture »The Conquest of The Land«. He exhibited the many-sidedness of his illustrious talents in the allegorical wall-picture of large dimensions in the Vienna Historical museum, whose subject is the glorification of the art of the renaissance.

Munkácsy is still in the fulness of his powers. He just completed his third religious picture »Ecce Homo«, and we hope that this will not be the last on the list of his masterpieces which at all times will remain testimonies and signs of his extraordinary talent.

So far as the younger generation of artists are concerned they are acquiring in ever greater numbers the skill necessary to their profession, and there are at present professional representatives of every style of art, nay, there is even the appearance of a small group of specialists to be noted. Generally speaking they adhere to modern influences, while the purely national element and in particular the more ambitious tasks have given comparatively slight inspiration to artists. This is intelligible at a time in which in the desire for change pushed to extremities has led to weakness and often finds repose only in the production of the strange and extraordinary. To this must be added that fermentation which is connected with the peculiar relations of enlivened Hungarian art life and draws its stimulating elements from the necessary

emulation of our younger artistic culture with the art of foreign lands progressing on a foundation laid down many centuries ago. None the less the older masters of monumental painting have very promising descendants. Among these Árpád Feszli can look back on splendid successes, who with his picture of 1890, »Mary and Magdalen at the grave of Christ«, and later with the frescoes in the Palace of Justice, and more recently with his »Entry of the Hungarians under Árpád«, a colossal panorama, has made himself conspicuous, further, Ignace Roskovics who excels with his elaborate religious paintings.

Passing over to the other forms of art we must first of all think of portrait-painting, which has already attained a high level. The impulse to the more earnest cultivation of this branch of art has been given by the increase of the country's resources, the cordial encouragement of the Minister Trefort, the example of foreign lands where talented portrait painters enjoy high esteem, and finally the fact that some specialists of this branch, particularly Julius Benczur, have settled at Buda-Pesth. The preeminent talents of the latter in portrait-painting were first manifested in all their greatness in his own country. One of the causes which have unfolded this branch of art to its prime is also the entire intellectual tendency of our time, which aims at the depiction of human character and the outward manifestations of that character with as great a truth and in such plastic style as possible.

Besides our popular portrait-painters Julius Benczur and Henry Angeli who is settled in Vienna, we must mention Leopold Horowitz, Nicholas Barabás, the much esteemed and meritorious veteran George Vastagh, Julius Stetka, Edward Balló, Berthold Karlowszky, Philip László, and others.

The greatest renown in art has been won in Hungary by the genre style which is unlimited in its extent and inexhaustible in its subjects.

Our artists turn by preference to common life, and this is perhaps the only sphere in which special Hungarian themes are frequent. There are many who have done excellently in

this field, such as Alexander *Bihari* who in his picture »Before The Judge«, has achieved the finest effect; also Paul *Vágó* with his beautiful genre pictures, in which he introduces the world of animals in all their variety. In this province Ladislaus *Pataky* also paints with excellent results. Tihamér *Margittay* has won the hearts of a large and thankful public by his humourous or striking embodiment of episodes taken from modern social life and piquant individual figures. Nearly the whole of our painters work in the province of genre painting. Among them we must mention Lewis *Ebner*, Eugene *Jendrasiák*, Robert *Nadler*, Otto *Badicz*, Stephen *Csók*, John *Jankó*, among the orientalisists Francis *Paczka*, Francis *Eisenhut*, and Julius *Tornay*.

In the domain of landscape-painting Hungary can boast of one widely known artist, Charles *Markó*. He began his career as engineer but soon turned to a career of art. As the state of things which prevailed here seemed to be in conflict with his studies and his career, he went to Italy where until his death he developed a very fertile and successful genius and enjoyed great esteem. He has left behind him numerous masterpieces which entertain us even at the present day. A member of the older generation was Anthony *Ligeti* who has made himself particularly popular with his eastern pictures. Similar to him are Alexander *Brodszky*, Joseph *Molnár*, and others. The last named and Charles *Telepy* cultivate the portraiture of Hungarian mountain scenery with success.

Our modern landscape-painting has reached its climax under Géza *Mészöly* whose landscapes of Lake Balaton with their peculiar melancholy and their poetical seductiveness are up till now nearly unparalleled.*

Landscape-painting is in other respects the ambition of many excellent artists and stands generally speaking on a

* The author of this chapter, Gustavus *Keleti*, is also one of our best landscape-painters. His paintings show great poetical sentiment, and reflect often gleams of true poetical thought. Such for example is the picture "The park of the exile", impressed with the sombre melancholy of the period subsequent to the war of Independence. (*Báitor*).

high level. Its representatives in addition to the preceding are Béla *Spányi*, Ladislaus *Mednyánszky*, Arthur *Tölgyessy*, Julius *Aggházy* and a reputable company of younger artists.

To speak of the other branches of art we must introduce here from the number of architectural painters Lewis *Rauscher*, Theodore *Dörre*, Robert *Nadler*, and Albert *Schickedanz*; of animal painters Béla *Pállik*, and Géza *Vastagh*, of painters of still-life Francis *Ujházy*, Francis *Komlóssy*, Julius *Kardos*, who is also a painter of several biblical and religious subjects, and Gisella *Csányi*, the latter being a proof that of recent times we have female painters also and that too in fair abundance. In order to secure their professional education a special course has been created under the direction of government and under the superintendence first of Charles *Lotz*, secondly of Géza *Mészöly*, next of Lewis *Ebner*, which for some years past has been attached to the drawing-school as a special division. Of our female painters those who have attained the greatest success are the Countess Eliza *Nemess*, Ida *Konek*, Wilhelmina *Parlaghy*, who lives at Berlin, and others.

Our art of illustration is carried on by Michael *Zichy*, Julius *Benczur*, Alexander *Wagner*, Alexander *Liezenmayer*, Julius *Háry*, Lewis *Rauscher*, Ladislaus *Pataky*, Theodore *Dörre*, Ladislaus *Kimmach*, Charles *Cserna*, Béla *Benczur*, and others.

The art of engraving has also several eminent representatives; at their head being the wood-engraver Gustavus *Morelli*, and the steel-engraver Eugene *Doby*, who have educated many prominent and talented scholars as ordinary professors in their department at the Royal Hungarian Art School, and who can point also as practical artists to many excellent works, and have made the supremacy of foreign lands for such work entirely questionable. Of Hungarian origin is Lewis *Michalek*, the excellent steel-engraver who is settled in Vienna, also Gabriel *Kádár*, who as a draftsman and a reproducer is preeminent and has recently achieved excellent results in the

domain of coloured reproduction ; also Béla *Krieger* in Paris, and among the younger generation Charles *Strossgürtl* in Berlin, who like Eugene *Doby* received his training in his native land.

Like plastic art in general, sculpture in particular has scarcely a past in the history of our land ; the little that existed is not communicated to us by any visible monument but by tradition and the records of chronicles. Those descriptions of the glory, the brilliancy and the pomp of vanished centuries which in old books we are wont to read, speak also of the plastic adornment of the buildings which are eulogised. In this respect the decorative effect of sculpture was particularly in request in the building of churches. There is scarcely anything that has survived except a few relics in the reliefs of the Gyulafehérvár cathedral and also in the primitive reliefs on the walls of the staircase which leads to the crypt of the cathedral of Pécs. These latter consist in some figures and groups loosely constructed, half life-size, and represent scenes out of the history of Samson and of Herod. Of newer origin and more noticeable than these is the rich ornamental sculpture of the abbey church of Ják, of which we have spoken already at the beginning of this sketch. In our churches built in the Pointed style plastic decoration though only in a slight degree and in limited range has naturally found room. Some remains are still to be seen to-day. In the fourteenth century we possess the first decided proof that there were artists among the Hungarians who were independently active in the domain of sculpture. These are the masters *Martin* and *George*, the sons of the Kolozsvár painter, *Nicholas*. Their statue of St. Ladislaus which stood in Nagyvárád has fallen to the ground, but in the cathedral square of Prague there stands up to the present day the bronze figure of St. George, which according to the inscription legible thereon is likewise their work, and despite its deficiencies can be pronounced a statue standing at the head of its epoch. In the time of king Matthias a great improvement is to be noticed in the province of sculpture. Nothing escaped the attention of that great king with which he could satisfy his feeling for the

beautiful and his love of display. Those works of sculpture which at that time arose in the land were naturally principally produced by foreigners, in a great measure, nay, almost exclusively Italiens.

A great part of these works of art have disappeared in the fights with the Turks, and what was still worse the favourable conditions for the development of art disappeared for a long time also, so that Hungarian sculpture first began about the middle of the nineteenth century to make its infant steps on the way of self-conscious advance. For those mythological and allegorical decorations to which the classical architecture at the beginning of this century gave rise, as for example the group which peoples the pediment of the Buda-Pesth national museum, can scarcely be considered in an artistic point of view.

The first notable Hungarian sculptures arose from the enthusiastic public feelings of 1840. Stephen *Ferenczy* had really to thank this public feeling for his rapid rise. For his capacities which moved in very narrow limits were sinking in despair when in consequence of the impulse given by the county of Pesth, the plan was brought forward of immortalising king Matthias in a monumental statue. A more fortunate contemporary of Ferenczy in many respects was Joseph *Engel*, whose genius principally lay in the genre style of sculpturing female figures from mythology. But in his monument to Széchenyi which was erected in the year 1880, in front of the palace of the Academy of Sciences, he could not satisfy higher aspirations any more. The artistic conception of this work is obsolete, the figures are stiff.

The country lost a really excellent artist in Nicholas *Izsó*, who in the palmy days of his activity was suddenly snatched away. The most popular proof of the greatness of our loss is his »Mourning Shepherd«, that poetical and original product of Hungarian genius which still holds a foremost place among the best efforts of our aspiring art, and of itself alone would be sufficient to secure to its author an enduring name in the history of our art, even if he had not left behind him

more elaborate works such as the monument of the poet Michael Csokonai Vitéz in Debreczen, that of the author Andreas Dugonics in Szeged, and that of General Bem in Maros-Vásárhely.

At that time the growing tendencies in every direction which sought to fill the yawning gaps as far as possible which were noticeable in the domain of culture made their effect ever more and more felt.

This energy was altogether surprising for our sculpture, and led to this result that when Izsó had suddenly been carried off by inflammation of the lungs, the ever increasing artistical tasks devolved entirely upon Adolphus *Huszár*, Izsó's successor in the National School of Design.

The nation hastened to remedy what it had neglected. One after another the erection of monuments to Baron Eötvös, Petőfy, John Arany, and the Arad martyrs was called for. Fine Art would have attempted these tasks without adequate means, since Adolphus Huszár had died prematurely of heart disease, if the genius of the nation had not furnished Hungarian sculpture with two powerful young exponents who were already sufficiently developed to undertake Huszár's heritage and to give reasonable hope that they would satisfactorily solve the problems of the future.

Alois *Strobl* and George *Zala* both applied themselves comparatively young to great undertakings yet proved themselves excellent artists. They are mounting at present to the very summit of Hungarian sculpture and are creating a number of masterpieces which bear artistic comparison to the productions of Europe at large. Strobl's talent has reached its climax in the Arany monument, Zala's in the monument of the Arad Martyrs. The latter at present is working on a monument of count Julius Andrássy, the former on a sculpture of our first king St. Stephen.

The tasks of plastic art, thanks to the healthy progress and the spirit of the time, have increased so much that at the present day there is a whole generation of sculptors in the service of Hungarian Art.

The most noticeable of these are John *Fadrusz* (monuments of Maria Theresa and King Matthias), George *Kiss*, Julius *Donath*, Anthony *Loránfy*, Joseph *Róna*, Charles *Senyei*, Anthony *Szécsi*, Julius *Bezerédy*, Lewis *Mátrai*; among the younger ones Nicholas *Köllö*, George *Vastagh* Jun., Julius *Jankovics* and others.

In one word the healthy effect of the fresh and vitalising air of modern Hungary, is felt as much by sculpture as by painting and architecture. The latter art, except in the scanty cases already mentioned, was compelled to limit itself to the satisfaction of imperative need in past centuries and even at the beginning of the present one. Only churches and other public buildings offered the rare opportunity in the eighteenth century where the then rococo architecture could find expression in the work of a *Martinelli* or a *Hillebrand*. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the classical tendency is exhibited by Michael *Pollák*, Joseph *Hild*, Matthias *Zitterbarth* and Francis *Kasselik*. The first style is exhibited in the churches, the Royal Palace and the Charles barracks at Buda-Pesth, the latter in the National Museum and the Pesth County house.

Architecture like all intellectual life takes its tone from the capital, Buda-Pesth.

Since the beginning of the century when the enthusiastic encouragement and care of the Palatine Archduke Joseph, and Count Stephen Széchenyi so greatly improved the capital in its restoration and buildings, there was no lack of great opportunities for architecture, and it was shown that necessity itself creates the condition of satisfaction. In the last fifty years Nicholas *Ybl* was the most eminent architect of our land; his renown rests upon the Buda-Pesth Leopold Basilica, the Royal Opera House, the Custom House, and the Bazar of the fortress at Buda. After the death of Ybl which occurred in the year 1891, the leading rôle fell to Emerich *Steindl*, Alois *Hausmann*, and Victor *Czigler*. Along with whom quite a long line of architects find occupation owing to the surprisingly quick development of the capital.

In the field of architecture Fredrick *Schulek* takes commanding place, whose excellent creation is the Buda church of the Holy Virgin (King Matthias' church) which has been just re-constructed according to his plans.

Perhaps it is owing to this very quick production that so far as style is concerned an independent line in modern architecture cannot be predicated, but more or less successful attempts are made in the most diverse directions.

Among the large buildings which are at present in progress the Parliament-house which is in the Pointed style occupies the first rank of which Emerich Steindl is the architect. Likewise the Palace of the Supreme Court of Justice which is built by Hauszmann, the Royal Palace of Buda, which was begun by Nicholas Ybl and will be brought to completion by Hauszmann in the near future. Finally we must mention that the government have appointed a special commission for preserving old works of art in various parts of the land, which by the modest means that are placed at its disposal occupies itself chiefly with the preservation occasionally also with the restoration of architectural monuments.

Hand in hand with architecture, industrial art is developing—the youngest scion in our national art. The difficult task of pioneering has been in progress for some time, though it receives very little support from tradition which is elsewhere of such fertile effect.

We do not say that no traces of industrial art from former centuries have come to hand. On the contrary, all these monuments of which we spoke at the beginning of this chapter are also monuments of industrial art in so far as the latter was used in the interior of costly buildings or as ornamental plastic art. And if we are not able to point with complete certainty to the fact that the relics of the goldsmith's art, the arms, the ornaments, the wall decorations and other industrial products are the work of Hungarian masters, it is probable nevertheless that in the primitive relations of early centuries the Hungarians who are fond of show

satisfied their wants in the case of industrial art products by native craftsmen. In the course of our history those epochs which were favourable to art have also exercised a beneficial effect on industrial art. We cannot speak however of any systematic development in this sphere, and when the nation at the beginning of this century awoke to the consciousness of its duties in respect of culture, all branches of industry and especially art-industry offered as sorry a picture as the rest of our social life.

When our nobility, owing to the development of means of communication, were brought into closer connection with foreign countries and at the same time foreign production was brought nearer our own doors, the consequence was that foreign markets overwhelmed Hungary with works of art-industry, and diffident people did not dare to defy the prejudice that industry which aimed at noble forms had neither any roots here or any nursing ground. If under such circumstances we waited until the ordinary demand woke native productions into life, we should probably have no art-industry, at least not under the present ever more developing conditions.

Fortunately among the leaders of our public life there were men who saw clearly that the naturalisation of an industry which satisfies higher demands should not be left to chance, and so they took up as serious government business the support, the stimulation and the furthering of art-industry.

One of the most enthusiastic and owing to his position the most powerful representatives of this feeling was the Minister of Culture and public education, Augustus *Trefort* who lent his powerful protection to the establishment and development of native art-industry. Since he was convinced that it was not sufficient that articles of art-industry should be manufactured here by foreign workmen, he aimed at educating the native talent and thus bringing the Hungarian race and with it a Hungarian style into industrial art productions.

In this way there arose about 1870, the Public Industrial Art School at Buda-Pesth, for the cultivation of individual

branches of industry which satisfy higher demands, and the Royal Hungarian Art Industry School, which has the task of preparing pupils for industrial branches of purely artistic tendency; further as complements to both institutes the Technological Museum and the Industrial Art Museum.

In the latter were and are at present collected not only foreign but also native antiquities, and along with these collected by careful researches, articles of domestic industry in which original Hungarian subjects are employed, and which therefore show the straining after independent national development. On the basis of these arrangements and these aims, for some decades past interesting and partly successful attempts at the creation of a Hungarian style in art industry have taken place. Examples of conscious artistic effort, and the efforts which are continued with enthusiastic zeal in individual departments promise soon earnest results. In later times in several parts of the land and in the capital quite a number of industrial schools and schools of design are concerned with increasing the ranks of Hungarian art-workers, and furnishing them with new powers suitable for their profession.

This attention on the part of the government and the evermore lively sympathies of society, influenced by a more strengthened public opinion in the last decades, which in other respects attempts to remedy the neglect of centuries, has snatched our art-industry from its lethargy. There is at present scarcely any branch of art-industry which is not practised in our country, nay, in some branches, as our success in domestic and foreign exhibitions proves, the work is carried on with the cordial approval of the more developed western nations. To give an example we may point to the productions of the Pécs majolica and porcelain manufactory of William *Zsolnay*, which are familiar everywhere and are all masterpieces. Hungarian culture has much before it in this branch, but the ground is prepared, the seed has come to ripeness, and here and there the fruit

is already mature. It can from all this be gathered that Hungarian art although it cannot boast of a brilliant past yet in the last decades has retrieved itself greatly, and has created a public art life, and the ground and the means for the development of art. Penetrated with confidence for a fair future it steers with swelling sails to the unknown regions of its second thousand years.



The Constitution of Hungary.

The present constitution of Hungary is the result of the development of a thousand years. History slowly places stone on stone, but in this great work of political building the foundation remains always the same. We can expose the main traits of the gradual development in our constitutional institutions: individual points alter according to the changes of the time but the great principles which sustain the whole never change.

The king is the head of state, the personification of its unity and sovereignty. But power is not placed unlimited in the hands of the king: only conformably to the constitution, with the co-operation of the constitutional functionaries and the participation of the people can the king's power be exercised.

The inheritance of the kingly power is regulated in S. C. 1, 2, 3, of the year 1723, in the so called Hungarian Pragmatic Sanction. Agreeably to these statutes the succession belongs to the female line of the ruling house of Habsburg, and in the first instance to the daughters of Charles III. then of Joseph I. and lastly of Leopold I. that is, to the offspring springing from them of male and female sex according to the principles of lineal succession and according to the order of primogeniture. In case of the extinction of these female lines the right of election falls again back to the nation.

The ruling principle is that so long as there is a male heir alive in the ruling main-line the succession of the female

descendants is excluded, that is, only with the extinction of male descendants the succession of females comes on; and even then the males who have descended from them carry on the succession, and in case there are none, the females. Every heir to the throne is required to be a blood relation of the founder of the main line, on legal succession, proceeding from equal and lawful wedlock, an Austrian archduke (archduchess), and of the Roman Catholic religion.

The laws of succession also assert the maintainance of the constitutional rights of Hungary consequently its individuality and independence, and regard it as a condition that the ruler who ascends the throne by virtue of the law of succession should cause himself to be crowned by Act of Parliament within the boundaries of the land within six months (S. C. 3, of 1791.) on this occasion should take an oath upon the Constitution and to secure this oath issue a deed of coronation. Coronation is in the Hungarian constitution no simple symbolical ceremony but a highly significant political act so to say a consecrated conclusion of the accession. Agreeably to this the king can only exert his full power after coronation, in particular in sanctioning laws and conferring privileges.

In our literature the rights which belong to the king according as they proceed from and represent the imperial position and dignity or refer to the upholding of the public power are divided into rights of honour and political rights.

In S. C. 3 of 1848, the old principle is asserted that the person of the king is sacred and inviolable. According to this he cannot be personally cited before a court, no criminal or judicial complaints can be made against him, he is under special protection as to criminal law.

His title is Royal Majesty, to which the title Apostolic was added as a permanent one, since the times of Maria Theresa, he calls himself king of Hungary and of the lands belonging to it as well as of some lands which formerly used to belong to it, and the arms and banners of which are carried before him at his coronation, so that the full title of the king of



Hungary resting upon historical basis reads »Apostolical King of Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Galicia, Lodomeria, Rama, Servia, Koumania and Bulgaria, Grand Duke of Transylvania, Count Palatine of the Siculians.« This title is used along with the titles of the Emperor of Austria, but as we shall see with regard to the independence of Hungary. The king has a brilliant court-state corresponding to his high position. Buda-Pesth is to be regarded as his residence in Hungary, which town for this reason has the title Capital and Residential city. In fact the royal Hungarian court is not separated from the imperial Austrian court. Yet the keeping of the court is no common business between Hungary and Austria, and the cost of keeping the royal Hungarian court (4.650,000 florins yearly) is voted separately by the Hungarian Parliament, a proceeding which, as is noticed in S. C. 12 of 1867, corresponds better to the independence of the state and to the dignity of the king of Hungary. The dignitaries of the Hungarian court are regularly nominated, and when the king of Hungary appears in public to perform his political duties (coronation, opening of Parliament, etc.) he is surrounded exclusively by Hungarian court dignitaries.

To the king belongs the highest military dignities. He is prayed for in the churches; his birth-day and his name-day are commemorated, at his death the whole land goes into mourning.

So far as the management of public power is concerned *legislation* is a joint right of the king and of the Parliament. The king summons the Parliament for a term of five years, which is divided into five sessions to be held as far as possible in the winter months. The king opens and shuts the Parliament ceremoniously with a speech from the throne. The closing of the sessions takes place by means of a royal rescript, which as a rule includes the date of the opening of the new session. The king can postpone the Parliament and can dissolve it before its time. But in this case the new Parliament must be summoned within three months, or if the

dissolution occurs at such a time when the budget of the future year is not yet fixed and the accounts of the past year not yet audited, at such a time that the business mentioned may be discussed till the end of the year.

The king finally sanctions the laws in lending by his imperial assent the force of law to the bills adopted by both houses and submitted by the minister president, which law then becomes binding after the promulgation in the Digest of laws, and if no clause to the contrary is included in the law within fifteen days from this promulgation.

The ruling (executive) power belongs to the king in all its fulness who exercises it personally through the responsible ministry which he names: the minister president generally with the counter-signature of the retiring minister president, the other cabinet ministers on the proposal and with the countersignature of the new minister president.

To the king belongs the highest power of control which extends to public business in general and to everything which affects public interest. This right he also exercises through his responsible ministry but in individual or extraordinary cases royal commissaries are appointed, while the immediate control over municipal administration is given to the counts palatine (főispán) who are named by the king. It is an old constitutional principle that the king is the source of all public offices, dignities and distinctions. Agreeably to this the king confers the right of nobility, state-titles, dignity and orders. He names the higher officers of the state; he can within the limits of the constitution create offices, abolish them, and give them instructions. And since the king is the source of every public distinction, Hungarian citizens can only assume a title or order from a foreign state if the king permits it.

With regard to single branches of public administration the right of coining and circulating money is a right of the king's, with the restriction however that the form, material, value and weight of the coin and the amount of money to be put in circulation must be regulated by law.

The king of Hungary possesses important rights in respect to the churches. He has the supreme control, he is likewise the highest protector of the received and acknowledged churches. In particular he possesses the highest rights of patronage in the catholic churches of the Latin and Greek rite, in consequence of the zeal for the faith shown by the first king and his successors who founded the catholic church in Hungary and endowed it with benefices.

The king also possesses the power of assent (*jus placeti*), in virtue of which the resolutions and orders of foreign church dignitaries, in particular those of the papacy, cannot be published without permission of the king.

The king as the highest military officer disposes of the army and is its supreme commander, that is, everything which relates to the leading, the command and the inner organisation is by S. C. 12, of 1867 arranged by the king. This is true likewise of the Honvéd army organised by S. C. 41, of 1868, only that here a part of the internal organisation is laid down by law. The army takes the oath of fidelity to the king. The business of the joint army and marine his majesty manages along with the common war-minister; the business of the Honvéd army with the Hungarian minister of war.

To the royal rights of the king belongs also the conduct of foreign affairs through the common minister of foreign affairs. The king names the ambassadors and envoys which are to be sent to foreign states, he receives also the foreign ambassadors, he gives instructions to the ambassadors generally by means of the minister of foreign affairs, which however does not exclude the fact (since he represents the state in foreign affairs) that he can personally come into contact with the foreign powers and their representants. International treaties are concluded by that is to say in the name of the king, he has the right of declaring war and concluding peace. International treaties however must be communicated to the Hungarian Parliament while for the validity of economic treaties the assent of the Hungarian Parliament is necessary.

In foreign business concerning both parts of the Monarchy the influence of the Hungarian state further comes into force in the fact that the king in the address from the throne to the Parliament touches on foreign affairs and the Parliament answers him. Further it is the right and duty of the Hungarian minister president to emphasize Hungarian interests in the joint conduct of foreign affairs, of which follows that he has to answer the questions and interpellations on foreign affairs which are made in the Hungarian Parliament. The joint foreign minister is responsible to the »Delegation«.

The source of *justice* is likewise the king. This does not mean nowadays that the king sits personally in court or can summon, dissolve or influence courts, but that justice is delivered in the name of the king, that the king names the royal judges, watches over the administration of justice, delegates judges (*delegatio judicis*) and exercises the power of pardon.

The *Parliament* is developed from the national assembly of our ancestors who founded the state, in which every free Hungarian and afterwards every nobleman could personally appear. In the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Parliament was divided into two chambers according to certain organisation of the classes. In the upper chamber the prelates and the secular magnates as the members of the two higher classes retained the right of personal appearance, while in the lower chamber only the representatives of the nobility and the royal free towns appeared. The organisation of the lower house was reformed by S. C. 5, of 1848 on the basis of the present representative system with election by districts. The upper house was reorganised by S. C. 7, of 1885.

The *House of Commons* consists of 413 representatives chosen by Hungarian districts, and of 40 deputies of the Croatian-Slavonian Diet, altogether of 453 members. The Croatian-Slavonian deputies can only take part in the discussion of such business as concerns Croatia-Slavonia.

In Hungary the suffrage in virtue S. C. 33. of 1874, is dependent on certain general conditions:— citizenship, sex, age, civil independence — and on strictly established qualifications with respect to property, income, education. At present those citizens take part in the election of members of Parliament who have completed their 20th year, are of male sex, and do not stand under the administration of father, or trustee, nor are employed as servants.

Further, in royal free towns and in towns with organised magistracy, those people are so entitled who possess a house as their own property or shares with their wives, or with their minor children, which contains at the least three rooms liable to taxation, or a field paying land-tax on a net income of 16 florins. In other parts of the land, except in Transylvania, the suffrage is obtained from the possession of a quarter of a fief, or of a piece of land of similar size, or like character. In old Transylvania those persons possess the suffrage who on the land register of 1874 pay land-tax on a net income of 84 florins: if they have a house liable to the first class of taxation, on a net income of 79 florins 80 kreuzer; if they have a house liable to a higher class of taxation, on a net income of 72 florins 80 kr. Further, every parish which numbers a hundred dwellings, apart from the noble proprietors authorised to vote by the S. C. of Transylvania 12 of 1791, reckons as two voters for the Parliament, smaller parishes as one.

The suffrage is possessed further by all those who pay state-taxes on an income of at least 105 florins, (on house property, landed property, as merchants and manufacturers), tradesmen in large and small parishes, if they are taxed for at least one assistant. Further the state, municipal, and parish officers, if they pay state-taxes on at least a salary of 500 florins, or private officials and other persons in receipt of salary or an income of 700 florins.

The following voters are such without regard to income:— The members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Pro-

fessors, Academic Artists, Doctors, Advocates, public notaries, Engineers, Surgeons, Apothecaries, diplomaed economic officials, forest officials, mining officials, clergy, assistant clergy, parish notaries, teachers, diplomaed guardians of the young. In the case of the last six, and of Professors, it is necessary that they should occupy an official position.

The suffrage is also possessed by those who have been enrolled in any list of voters (S. C. 33 of 1874) in virtue of the old right of the nobility, within the interval of 1848 to 1872.

The franchise cannot be exercised by soldiers on service in the army, the personnel of the finance, tax, and custom services, gendarms, and the policemen of the state, country or parish police; or by those who for some crime or offence have been sentenced to imprisonment, during the duration of that punishment; by those who are arrested on inquest or have been sentenced to the loss of their right of franchise, during the term of such punishment, by those who have become bankrupt, during the time of such bankruptcy, or finally by those who have not paid the direct taxes in their district within the appointed time.

A permanent list of voters is made, which every year is revised. All those possess the franchise who have been admitted into the list of voters made in the past year.

As member of Parliament a candidate can be chosen who has completed his 24th year, and is a voter that is to say has been entered in any of the lists of the Country. Yet there are several exceptions to this rule.

He cannot be chosen as member of Parliament who is not generally proficient in the Hungarian tongue, so as to be able to take part in the debates in the Parliament conducted in the Hungarian tongue. Judges, members of the Board of public prosecutors, the president and officials of the public Chamber of accounts, cannot be deputies. A Member of Parliament cannot fill any office which depends on the nomination of the crown, the government, or their functionaries,

and is connected with any pay or honorary. Exceptions to this are ministers, one Secretary of State of every ministry, the Directors of the Budapest National institutes, the President and members of Council of the Budapest Board of Works, the Professors of the Budapest University and of the Budapest Polytechnic, the members of the Board of public education and of Health, finally Commissaries and Delegates, if their term of absence is not longer than a year, and the House of Commons approve their leave of absence.

Incompatible with the position of a Member of Parliament are the posts of Municipal and Parish officers, Professors of the Grammar Schools and Teachers of National Elementary and Higher Grade Schools; the posts of members of religious orders, with the exception of the Praemonstratensians, Cistercians, Benedictines, and Piarists.

A Member of Parliament cannot be a person who holds a pension from the crown; a contractor who stands in any contractual relation to the Government as well as the officials of such contractor, in so far as the contract is connected with gain and loss; further the president, the Council and officials of any bank, which stands in virtue of a contract in any permanent relation to the Government, with the exception of the Board of directors of the Hungarian Hypothecary Institute; the President, Directors and officials of a railway or canal concessioned by the state so long as the railway or canal is not opened for traffic, and the accounts are not definitely regulated.

No one can be chosen a Member of Parliament, who since the passing of the Election Law (S. C. 33. of 1874.) has been condemned on a charge of murder, theft, robbery, arson, fraud, forgery, perjury, bankruptcy or reset of theft; nor a citizen who has received naturalisation, until ten years after naturalisation; nor one whose mandate as deputy has been annulled on the ground that he has not presented it within the necessary time, for three years from that date.

One, against whom a bankruptcy has been definitively opened, is not eligible for the Parliament.

Members of the *House of Magnates* sit there at present in virtue of inherited right, office, or dignity, by means of nomination or election.

In virtue of inherited right the following are members of the House of Magnates: — 1. The major Archdukes of the royal house: — 2. Those male members of the families of princes, counts, and barons who have completed their 24th year, who alone or with their wife and legitimate children are the proprietors and tenants of real estate in Hungary, or the possessors of a fee tail paying, on the new registers of 1885, along with the House tax on the houses and buildings upon it, a land-tax of at least 3000 florins.

In virtue of their rank or their office the following: — 1. The bannerets of the Realm, the Count of Pozsony, the two Keepers of the Crown, the Governor of Fiume the president and vice-president of the royal Supreme Court of Justice, the president of the Budapest Court of Appeal. 2. The Roman Catholic prelates of the Latin and Greek creeds in the lands of the Hungarian Crown, i. e. the Prince Primate; the Archbishops, the Diocesan bishops, the suffragan Bishops of Belgrad and Tinnin who derive their appointment from the King, the Mitred Abbot of Pannonhalma, the Provost of Jászó, the Prior of Aurania. 3. The Prelates of the Greek Orthodox Church, the Servian Patriarch, the Roumanian Archbishop, and the Diocesan Bishops. 4. The three senior Bishops of the Evangelical Reformed and Evangelical Lutheran Church and the three senior lay dignitaries. Further, the senior president of the Unitarian Church, either the bishop or the senior curator.

Life members of the House of Magnates are those whom His Majesty the King names from the Hungarian citizens. The numbers of nominations cannot be yearly more than five, the number of all the members more than 50. Further, those who were chosen by the members of the House of

Magnates organized on the old basis (before 1885) from among the members of the latter, who had lost their right of membership in the newly organized House of Magnates. The number of these latters is also 50, but if their right of membership ceases, their place cannot any more be filled up. Finally the three deputies elected by the Croatian-Slavonian Diet are members of the House of Magnates.

The fact of any one being connected with the army, or holding an ecclesiastical or civil office, is no bar to him exercising his rights as member of the House of Magnates. There are also here certain exceptions however. The president and the officials of the state Chamber of Accounts cannot be also members of the Parliament. The same holds good of naturalised citizens until ten years after the naturalisation.

Members of the House of Magnates lose their seats in the following cases:— 1. A member who holds his seat in virtue of an office or a dignity if he ceases to fill that office or hold that dignity. 2. One who is nominated or chosen for life, if he renounces to his right. 3. The Croatian Slavonian deputies, if their mandate expires. 4. Without regard to legal title, every member who has been sentenced by an ordinary court to imprisonment in a jail or for any offence or crime committed in view of lucre, or who has lost his citizenship.

There are certain other cases in which the right does not cease but lies dormant. This is the case with all members during the time for which they are condemned to a suspension of their political rights; further, with those members, who are under trusteeship or bankruptcy, excepting cases of absence or prodigality; further, with the members by right of birth, at the end of any session in which they have lost their qualification as to property.

Both houses of the Parliament deliberate separately, agreeably to the principles of the two chamber system, and communicate their resolutions to one another by means of writing. The deliberations are always public. The deputies, like the

members of the House of Magnates are protected by immunity. For a valid resolution the presence of 100 members is necessary in the House of Commons, of 50 in the House of Magnates. The initiative in legislation rests with the House of Commons. A bill rejected here cannot be introduced again in the same session, but if it is rejected by the House of Magnates, the Lower House can bring it forward again, i. e. can send it up to the Upper House for new consideration. There are exceptional cases in which both Houses hold mixed sessions. This does not occur however in connection with legislation, but only to perform certain business which falls to the province of both houses. The Palatine and the Keepers of the crown, from among those who are nominated for election by the King, are chosen and sworn in a mixed sitting. The opening and closing of the Parliament and the coronation take place in presence of the members of both houses.

The organisation of a *responsible Ministry* was called into being by S. C. 3. of 1848 which lays down that in all business which up till then belonged or ought to have belonged to the royal Chancery, the royal Gubernium, and the royal Court Chamber, as to the highest government institutions of the state, or generally speaking in all civil and military business and in matters of land defence, his majesty should exercise the executive power by means of a Hungarian ministry resident in Budapest, and that every order, every command, every resolution, and every nomination of his majesty should only be valid, if one of the ministers residing in Budapest has signed it. Every member of the ministry is responsible for his entire official actions. These regulations of the law were only so far changed as in terms of S. C. 12 of 1867, which regulates the relation between Austria and Hungary, foreign and military matters in a certain sense and the finance business in reference to the same was subjected to joint ministries of both states. Also in virtue of S. C. 30 of 1868 the conduct of the autonomous business of Croatia-Slavonia belongs to the government of the Banus, who how-

ever can communicate with his majesty only by the mediation of the Royal Hungarian ministry, by way of one of its members, i. e. the Minister for Croatia-Slavonia, without however being subordinated to this ministry.

The royal Hungarian cabinet consists at present of the president of the council and of nine ministries: the ministry a latere, the ministry of Home affairs, of Finance, of Agriculture, of Commerce, of Public Education, of Justice, of National Defence, and the Croatian-Slavonian Ministry without a portfolio.

The idea of the responsibility of the government is not new in our constitution. S. C. 23 of 1298, indicates it, and S. C. 5 and 7 of 1507 bring the thought to full expression. These laws could not however owing to political relations attain realisation until S. C. 3 of 1848 regulated the responsibility again agreeably to the needs of the time. In virtue of this law ministers are to be called to account for every official act or order which affects the independence of the state, the guarantees of the constitution, the existing laws, individual freedom and the sacredness of property: further, for the illegal application of money entrusted to them, or of other valuables, and finally for such neglect as may have occurred in the execution of the laws and the maintenance of public order and security.

The principle of legal responsibility is thus established, but as to political responsibility, our laws do not express themselves clearly, the ruling conception however regards this as existent, since it flows out of the nature of parliamentary government. The control of the ministry is partly exercised by the Parliament directly, since it submits the actions of the ministers to criticism, requires explanations from them and directs interpellations to them; partly, in relation to finance, indirectly through the public Chamber of accounts organized by S. C. 18 of 1870.

An impeachment can be made by the House of Commons by an absolute majority of votes. In this case the house

chooses commissaries to carry on the process. The court is formed by the House of Magnates which for this purpose elects 36 members by ballot of whom 12 can be rejected by the commissaries of the house of Commons and 12 by the minister who is impeached. The remaining 12 members form the court which finally decides. The royal mercy can be shown to one who was found guilty only in case of a general amnesty.



The Political Position of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia in the Kingdom of Hungary.

In political point of view the territory of the Hungarian state consists of three main divisions, — Hungary in the narrowest sense, Fiume, and Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia.

The object of this section of the work is to explain the political position of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia.

Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, form together inside the dominion of Hungary a political unity furnished with territorial autonomy, and on that account bear the name of »Borderlands« (Partes adnexae).

Despite this legal and correct triple designation the Dalmatia which at the beginning of the 12th century was united to Hungary by King Kálmán now belong only de jure to Hungary and the Borderlands, while de facto it is united to Austria.

In C. 65 of Act. 30. of 1868 the right of Hungary over Dalmatia is plainly reserved. It is stated there that »Hungary in the future in virtue of the holy Hungarian crown will demand the attachment of Dalmatia and the connection of it with Croatia.«

In spite of official and legal denomination, and despite political position the territory of the Borderlands at present consists only of Croatia and Slavonia.

Old Croatia, *i.e.* the territory lying between the Kulpa

and the upper Verbász, was united to Hungary under Kings Ladislaus and Kalmán, and King Kalmán was the first, who in the year 1102 was crowned King of Croatia and Dalmatia. Since that time Croatia figured until the catastrophe of Mohács as an incorporated part of Hungary with a definite autonomy, and with a Banus nominated by the King of Hungary at the head of its government. This autonomy however was of much more scanty scope than at present. After the battle of Mohács old Croatia came for the greater part under the dominion of the Turks, and the name of Croatia — since the territory corresponding to it existed no longer — was gradually applied to old Slavonia while the name Slavonia spread gradually over that original district of Hungary, which consisted of the counties of Szerém, Pozsega, and Verőcze.

Under the designation *Old Slavonia*, we must understand that original Hungarian territory, which embraced a part of modern Croatia and the northern quarter of Bosnia. This district had no special autonomy from the time of the conquest till the 18th century, but formed really a component part of Hungary.

Wladislaus II. was the first king who gave to Slavonia the title of a kingdom. As we mentioned before, after the battle of Mohács the name of Croatia contrary to the constitution gradually spread over this district; the designation Slavonia on the contrary over the Hungarian counties Pozsega, Verőcze, and Szerém. Nay, along with the name the privileges connected with it changed their quarters likewise. This change of name, deficient in all legal justification and opposed diametrically to the Hungarian constitution, was from opportunist motives fully sanctioned by the A. 30 of 1868 C. C. 15 and 66). — On the basis of this so called Croatian Compromise law that part of the Hungarian dominions was named Croatia-Slavonia, whose boundaries on the north are the counties of Zala, Somogy, Baranya and Bács-Bodrog; on the east the county of Torontál, on the south Servia, Bosnia and Dalmatia, on the west, the Adriatic, Fiume, Krain and Styria. This

territory of Croatia-Slavonia was divided under the law of the said Compromise into 7 counties, and 11 boundary districts. This territorial division was only after repeated changes finally fixed, and principally by the autonomous law of Croatia, sanctioned the 5th of February 1886, was so far modified, that it is at present exclusively divided into municipalities, to wit, 8 County municipalities (zsupanja) namely: 1. Lika-Krbava. 2. Modrus-Fiume. 3. Zágráb (Agram). 4. Varasd. 5. Belovár-Kőrös 6. Veröcze. 7. Szerém. 8. Pozsega; and two town municipalities viz. Zágráb and Eszék. The County municipalities are divided into districts (cotar) and town-communities (gradske obcine). The Districts are separated into communities.

The Autonomy of Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia. It is plain from what has been said which part of Hungary has the designations »Borderlands« and »Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia.« We have also pointed out that this part of Hungary forms a separate political division with a separate territorial autonomy.

That this autonomy is not a simple municipal autonomy, but a wider, a territorial autonomy, is plain from A. 30 of 1868. Many paragraphs of this Statute name Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia a Land, their autonomy, Territorial Autonomy, and the totality of those legal rules which govern this autonomy, the *autonomous constitution* (see particularly C. 2). The essence of this territorial autonomy consists partly in this, that with respect to individual branches of public business, to individual objects of the state's supremacy, — apart from the general arrangement of the state — the right of disposition is attached to the special autonomous powers of the Borderlands, always saving and without prejudice to the unity of the state. It consists on the other hand in this, that certain privileges and exceptions are secured also in relation to the non-autonomous, *i.e.* the common business of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia. *Matters of autonomy* are in the terms of Act. 30. of 1838, home affairs, the affairs of Religious service and Public instruction and the conduct of Justice.

However it is only the affairs of Religious service and Public instruction which in their fullest extent belong to the province of territorial autonomy whereas in the province of home affairs with regard to questions of association, of passports, of police supervision over foreigners, of the rights of citizenship, and of naturalisation, the executive only belongs to the autonomy; while the legislation on these subjects is a common one. For this reason there is also no separate Croatian citizenship.

In the province of the administration of justice the limitation is still greater. In matters of marine, exchange, commerce and mining legislation does not rest in the province of the autonomy — nay, in the case of marine not even the conduct of justice.

On the other hand *the common matters and institutions not belonging to autonomy*, are in the terms of the above-cited law the following:

1. *All those state affairs which are common with Austria*, viz. foreign affairs, part of the military affairs, and finance so far as it relates to the foregoing.

2. *Of the affairs not common with Austria: the power of the King of Hungary*, and as pertaining to the unity and identity of this, the acquirement of royal power, the possession of the throne, the coronation, the coronation oath, and the coronation deed, only with the exception that the deed of coronation is also engrossed in the Croatian language; the royal Hungarian household, the army in its entirety, that is to say also that division of it which is not common with Austria; finance, the greater part of the business pertaining to the department of the ministry of commerce and agriculture, the donation of patents of nobility, of orders, and other distinctions and rewards; finally, in the province of home business and the conduct of justice the business excepted from the power of autonomy and already mentioned above.

Also in respect of common affairs numerous privileges are accorded to Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia. These pri-

vileges, as well as the influence constitutionally secured to Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia on common affairs, we may group together as follows:

Touching the use of the insignia of state it is asserted that the symbol of the common affairs of the lands of the Hungarian crown is the united coat of arms of Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia; further that on the buildings of the united Parliament when common subjects come under consideration the Croatian, Slavonian, Dalmatian flag must be hoisted along with the Hungarian flag, and finally that on the coins the title »King of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia« must be added to the royal title.

In the united Hungarian Parliament Croatia-Slavonia is represented by forty members sent from its own Diet in the House of Commons, and 3 members in the House of Magnates. This representation is accordingly different from the general representation obtained from the electoral districts. This representation is also different on this account, that it is a doubly indirect representation. The legal position of the Croatian-Slavonian deputies is in so far different that they can use the Croatian speech in the Hungarian Parliament where they are only members when subjects of common interest are discussed.

The common laws are to be sanctioned also in the Croatian language, and then in this original text to be transmitted to the autonomous Diet.

In the Delegation appointed for the settlement of the business common to Hungary and Austria, Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia are represented by six members, viz. from the House of Magnates by two, and from the House of Commons by four, with the privilege that here also they may use the Croatian language.

In the exercise of the common executive powers the privileged political position of Croatia-Slavonia is seen in the appointment of the Croatian minister without a portfolio, in the establishment of special Croatian sections in the common ministries, further in the expressed condition that

on the territory of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia the official language of the common administration is the Croatian, and that the common ministries have to accept written memorials also in the Croatian language and to settle them in the same language.

Very important privileges are secured to Croatia-Slavonia also in respect of *Finance*. The financial relations between Hungary and the borderlands rest chiefly on two leading principles, which are expressed in the Compromise and since then have been constantly repeated: —

(a) One leading principle is the acknowledgement of the fact that Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia would be obliged to contribute to the cost of common affairs in proportion to their liability to taxes.

(b) The other leading principle is the declaration that Hungary nevertheless is willing that out of the revenues of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia a certain sum, from time to time to be settled by way of special treaty, should be set aside for the autonomous demands, and only after the elimination of that should the remaining sum be applied to the common demands. On the ground of these principles the financial agreement which is at present valid and is contained in A. 40 of 1889 has been brought to pass, which consists actually in this, that 44 per cent of the direct and indirect taxes and other public revenues of Croatia, Slavonia be applied to autonomous purposes, 56 per cent to common expenses.

How essential is the privilege which is secured to Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia by this financial agreement is evident from the minutes of the last financial transactions, according to which the sum which the Borderlands contribute to common expenses is less by nearly 4 million florins than they would have contributed according to the proportion of their liability to taxation; and while Hungary, in the limited sense, in order to meet its demands in internal administration, in the departments of Culture and Education, and in the payment of the magistracy, can only devote 19 per cent of its

public revenues, the Borderlands can assign to this purpose 44 per cent.

The autonomous legislative power. As we have already seen when explaining the main features of the autonomy, Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia in all business pertaining to their autonomy, with the exception of internal administration and the conduct of justice, possess the right of legislation.

One factor of the legislative which extends to autonomous matters is the King of Hungary, the other factor is the autonomous National Assembly. The unity of the state is accordingly not loosened through the autonomous legislative power, for one factor of it is here also the King of Hungary. The individual rights contained in the legislative administration are essentially so divided between these two factors as in the legislative administration of the Hungarian state, that is to say, the King of Hungary possesses the royal rights of convoking, opening, postponing and closing the Parliament, besides possessing the legislative right of sanction and promulgation. The guidance of the legislation thus rests in the hand of the King of Hungary. On the other hand, the Croatian, Slavonian, and Dalmatian Diet are in that degree participators in legislation, as it is required by the essence of the constitutional system. Yet so far as its sphere is concerned a great difference exists, in so far as the scope of this Diet only extends to a smaller portion of public business.

The Organisation of the Croatia-Slavonian-Dalmatian National Assembly is on the basis of the one chamber system and the principle of indirect votes for the greater part:

The National Assembly consists (a) of 90 elected deputies (b) of personal voters, whose number cannot exceed half of that of the elected deputies. The personal voting privilege is possessed (that is, the Magnate element is represented) by —

(a) The archbishop of Zágráb, the Metropolitan of Karlócza, and the Servian patriarch, the diocesan bishops, and the prior of Aurania; (b) the prefects who are at the head of the

counties and the count of Turopolje; (c) princes, counts and barons if they completed their 24th year, are acquainted with the Croatian language and possess in the territory of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia such landed property as is assessed at 1000 florins land-tax, in which is reckoned the house-tax on the buildings erected on the property.

Deputies are chosen according to districts, i.e. every district chooses a deputy. The conditions for voting are of two kinds — immediate and mediate. The general conditions for the possession of a vote are (a) Hungarian citizenship; (b) the fact of belonging to a Croatian-Slavonian community; (c) the male sex; (d) the fact of having reached the age of 24. In the 21 largest towns there is only an immediate suffrage belonging first to members of the liberal professions, next to those who pay 15 fl. direct taxes. In all the other communities of the land there is mediate and immediate suffrage. Besides the preceding conditions the immediate suffrage belongs to members of the liberal professions and to those who pay 30 fl. direct taxes. The mediate suffrage belongs to those who pay at least 5 fl. direct taxes. Every 50 mediate voters choose an immediate voter who participates in the election of the deputy.

Members of the National Assembly are possessed of the legislative initiative right, immunity and the right of interpellation. They are not amenable to instructions.

Besides autonomous legislation the National Assembly undertake the settling of the autonomous budget, the auditing of accounts, the right of calling the autonomous government to account, and of electing from their midst 40 deputies for the House of Commons and 3 deputies for the House of Magnates for the Hungarian Parliament.

With regard to the constitutional position of the Croatian diet, the important condition is maintained that the contact of the diet with the king is not an immediate one but is mediated in common by the functionaries of the common and of the autonomous executive administration, (through the Hungarian ministry and the Banus). The laws made in common by the

Diet and the king of Hungary are real laws (not statutes) provided with real royal sanction. These autonomous laws are written in the Croatian language and sanctioned by the king of Hungary on the counter-signature of the Croatian minister and the Banus. With regard to their difference from the Hungarian laws these laws since 1873 are not cited by any number but the date of the sanction.

The Exercise of the Autonomous Executive. That the autonomous executive extends to more business and therefore has a greater scope than the autonomous legislative power we have already mentioned before. One principle of this part of the constitution is this, that the Croatian-Slavonian and Dalmatian executive administration like the executive power generally belongs to the king of Hungary, in the whole extent of the Hungarian state and that only the exercise of the same is assigned to autonomous officers. This is plain from the Croatian Act. 2, of 1869 art. 3 and from the Hungarian C. A. 30, of 1868 (art. 51). The systematised functionaries for the execution of this autonomous executive belonging to the king are of two kinds, central functionaries and provincial.

The central i. e. the real governmental functionary is the Croatian-Slavonian and Dalmatian government with the Banus at their head, the other central authorities being subordinate to them, namely, the central treasury, the Account office, the archives, the board of works and the committee for the redemption of land-burdens.

The provincial i. e. the real administrative functionaries are: the county and town municipalities, the county prefects, the districts, the town and village communities, and the municipal district, and parish officers.

The Croatian-Slavonian and Dalmatian government has three departments; for the interior and finances, culture and education and for justice. To the first belong besides the affairs of real internal administration also those affairs which do not expressly belong to the other two divisions, particularly

the budget, the auditing of accounts and generally those affairs of financial manipulation connected with the sums contributed to the Borderlands in proportion to the quota.

At the head of each of these three divisions stands a chief; at the head of the whole government, the Banus.

The *legal position* and *scope of the Banus* of Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia are as follows:

The king of Hungary nominates him at the proposal and with the counter-signature of the Royal Hungarian Minister President. The Banus can have no military power. In virtue of his office he is a member of the Hungarian House of Magnates, yet he is not a member of the Croatian Diet for the same reason; but he can be so as a deputy or as a magnate. Among the Hungarian bannerets he takes third place. He is legally and politically responsible to the Croatian-Slavonian and Dalmatian National assembly. He has the right and the duty to appear in the autonomous National assembly. He can speak when he likes there, he is obliged to answer interpellations. Yet he holds the right of voting only when he is member of the National assembly under some other title. Finally the right of counter-signature belongs to him, inasmuch as every royal resolution in the province of the autonomy, every order or appointment is only valid when the Banus of Croatia and a member of the Hungarian government, the Croatian minister, have signed it together. If one of these counter-signatures is wanting the order is valueless.

He possesses an extensive right of nomination in the administration, and it is specially characteristic that the Banus can make his application to the king only mediately, that is, by means of the Croatian minister who is responsible to the Hungarian Parliament.

This essential condition of the constitution upholds the unity of the state and brings the autonomy into harmony with that condition of A. 3, of 1848, whereby to the validity of every royal order without exception the counter-signature of a Hungarian Minister is necessary. On the other

side it realises the principle that the autonomous executive power must be exercised by the king of Hungary by means of the autonomous local government.

Particularly this is a convincing proof that Hungary Proper forms along with the Borderlands the indivisible Hungarian state.

From the same point of view the legal relation of the Croatian-Slavonian and Dalmatian government to the common Hungarian government has great significance. The essence of this legal relation lies in the fact that the Croatian-Slavonian and Dalmatian government is obliged to support the Hungarian Ministry not only in its actions but also to execute its orders. Accordingly the autonomous functionaries of administration are also factors in the Hungarian Ministry.

With this discussion of the power of the Croatian Banus, we have also shown *the legal position of the Croatian Minister*, in stating that the Croatian Minister is a member of the Hungarian ministry, therefore a Hungarian Minister without portfolio, a member of the Ministerial Council, and not responsible to the autonomous Diet but to the Hungarian Parliament. His task is to represent the interests of Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia, to uphold the contact and union between the king on one side and the autonomous Diet and government on the other. This functionary at the same time serves to the maintenance of the unity of the state, in so far as without his counter-signature no royal order can come into the scope of the autonomy.

The Administration of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia. — The administration is under the guidance and supervision of the Banus, and of the government by means of the municipalities, under whom are the officials of districts and communities. As we have mentioned before there are eight county municipalities, and two town ones — ten altogether.

The organisation of the municipalities is in many respects similar to that in Hungary proper, but exhibits the essential difference that the autonomous rights in the borderlands are

limited to a much narrower circle than in the mother country, particularly in consequence of the principle, that the engagement of officers does not depend on votes but on nomination; that the affairs concerning orphans are not conducted by the municipalities, but by the courts of justice; and that the supreme supervision over the business of the community and that business generally belongs in Hungary to the county councils, in Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia to boards of administration.

The functionaries of the administration are the Council, the board of administration, and the individual officials.

The council consists half of those who pay the highest taxes, and half of elected members. Their resolutions can be appealed from to the government.

The board of administration consists of 14 members, the prefect, six nominated officials, six members chosen by the council, and in matters of taxation, of the Director of Finances likewise. The board of administration shares matters of administration with the council, as officials of discipline, appeal, and supervision. An appeal from its decisions can be made to the government.

The individual officers are the Vice prefect, the Secretary, the editors, the chief forester, chief engineer, inspector of schools, chief doctor and veterinary surgeon, in the centre; the chiefs of district, assistants, and clerks in the districts.

The Vice prefect and the secretary are nominated by the King of Hungary, the other personnel by the Banus, the assistants and attendants by the prefect.

In the municipalities the prefect is the representative of the executive power, and is the right-hand man of the government.

The prefect is nominated by the King on the proposal of the Banus. He is in virtue of his office member of the autonomous National assembly and President of the council and the board of administration.

The organisation of both civic municipalities differs from

that of the counties in this, that in them officials are nominated by vote, that all the members of the town representation are voted for; that at the head of Zágráb there is not a prefect but a chief burgomaster, and that the administrative board of the towns consists of only nine members.

With regard to the organisation of communities there are four kinds of communities, namely, municipal communities (2 of these), town communities, individual communities and district (united) communities.

To the communities belong the maintenance of autonomy and the mediation of the public and autonomous administration.

The organisation of municipal communities were before discussed.

The organisation of town communities is very peculiar. They form to some extent a transition from town municipalities to communities, and are so to say ranged on a level with the parishes. There are nineteen such town communities. Their position is characterised by the following: They have no particular board of administration but are subjected to the county board of administration, and they are also represented in the county council. At their head stand town-prefects, who have no salary and are not members of the National assembly. Their functionaries are the town-council the board of aldermen and the burgomaster.

The other communities are either individual or district communities according as they are formed of several places and villages or independently form one united administration. While in Hungary the small communities have each a representative, these district communities have only one common representative.

The officials of the community are the representatives — 12 to 24 elected members, — the judge or mayor with his notary and assistants. The notary is elected for life and the other officers for 3 years by the representative body.

The Autonomous Judicial Administration. — The Judicature belongs as we have already said generally to autonomous

business. An exception is the judicature of Marine which falls in the scope of the common Tribunals, i. e. to that of the court of Fiume in the first instance, to the royal court of appeal of Buda-Pesth in the second and to the royal Hungarian supreme court in the third instance. The autonomous judicial power also belongs to the King of Hungary, with the only difference that the King exercises this judicial power by means of such judges as are nominated with the counter-signature of the Banus and the Croatian Minister. In Croatia Slavonia and Dalmatia there are also three courts of instance. Courts of the first instance are the royal Tribunals, the royal district courts, of which six are competent in matters of commerce and exchange, and the courts of the community.

The court of the second instance is the Banal court in Zágráb. The court of the third instance is the Septemviral court in Zágráb. In Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia too the law guarantees that the judges shall be independent, permanent and unchangeable, and not superannuated against their will. The organisation of the courts, their circuits, their competence and the fixation of the appointments of their members belong to the scope of autonomous legislation.



Hungary's political relation to Austria.

Hungary before the catastrophe of Mohács under kings Albert and Ladislaus the V. had come into temporary union with Austria in consequence of the historical fact that the same monarch was chosen king of Hungary, who wore the crown of Austria. Afterwards from the time of Ferdinand till 1753, the union became a permanent one, but in its essential character suffered no change. Hungary is independent of Austria, one country foreign to the other only the person of the common ruler of both forms the connection between them.

A closer relation arose in respect of Hungary through the Statute Clauses 1, 2, 3, of 1723, called the Hungarian Pragmatic Sanction which while it enacted the succession as belonging to the female line of the house of the Habsburg, in favour of the three female lines, just as in the Austrian Pragmatic Sanction already accepted in the other lands and provinces of His Majesty, it at the same time laid down that the lands of the Hungarian Holy Crown and the other lands of His Majesty must be inseparable and indissoluble in the possession of one common ruler. These laws of inheritance secure expressly the ancient constitution, the independence and individuality of Hungary in this political alliance, as later laws secure it, particularly Statute Clauses 8 and 12, of 1741, and 10, of 1791, which latter asserts definitely that Hungary

along with the *Partes Adnexae* is an independent and free land subject to no other land nor people.

By the Pragmatic Sanction Hungary's connection with Austria attains a legal foundation. From this time forward mutual protection (the protection of the undivided property of the dynasty, the common safety) is regarded as the protection proceeding from the Pragmatic Sanction; which the forecited Hungarian laws also mention without treating at any detail in this respect. The community of the factors of protection (army, foreign affairs) is not clearly expressed legally, although the development yea the confirmation of this relation is evident.

The great constitutional reform of 1848 expresses itself only generally also in this respect. Statute Clause 3, recognises such relationships which affect Hungary and Austria in common without however specifying them nor the method of procedure to be noticed later. In 1867 Austria had a constitution, and while up till now the king of Hungary and the Hungarian Parliament in relation to common points of business could arrange in agreement, because the common ruler represents his hereditary lands with absolute power, henceforward the constitutional adhesion of Austria was necessary. Exact definition of the relationship between Austria and Hungary as well as of the method of procedure thus became indispensable. This was effected by the Compromise of 1867, when both states settled their mutual relations according to the purport of essentially similar laws, Hungary in S. C. 12 of 1867, Austria in the law of 21st December 1867.

In pursuance of the S. C. 12 of 1867, a ground principle of the compromise is the unimpaired upholding of the connection reposing on the Pragmatic Sanction, while preserving the independence and individuality of Hungary. In reality no new relation is created between the two states, but only the old relation is properly determined. Legally this relation is an alliance between two states who have completely preserved their own sovereignty. Each has its particular territory, its particular

nationality, its separate and independent state administration. The alliance does not extend over the states so as to form one higher state, neither of the two parts incorporates the other. In the person of the common ruler two political persons meet, the Emperor of Austria and the King of Hungary. Corresponding to this is the resolution of his Majesty of the 14th of November 1868, passed with regard to the relation existing between the two states, according to which the regular royal title is Emperor of Austria, King of Bohemia &c., and Apostolic King of Hungary: in the text of international treaties however, Emperor of Austria and Apostolic King of Hungary.

In virtue of S. C. 12, of 1867, there result from the Pragmatic Sanction recognised as a basis of the Compromise, the personal identity of the ruler, the mutual and common protection of the common safety: and further on political grounds, for the more easy attainment of the object, the means of the mutual and simultaneous protection, accordingly foreign affairs and in a certain sense military matters, and financial matters so far as they concern these matters are designated as *common business* of the two states, which are administered by common functionaries. The law cited lays it down in detail as follows:

One means of common and simultaneous defence according to the Pragmatic Sanction, is the rational conduct of foreign affairs. This requires community in respect to those foreign affairs which concern in common all the lands that are under the sceptre of His Majesty. Accordingly the diplomatic and commercial representation of the monarchy, the arrangements in respect of international treaties concern the common minister of foreign affairs with co-operation and agreement in the ministries of both states. International treaties are announced by each ministry to its own legislature.

Another means of common defence is the army and the matters which relate to it, namely, military affairs. With regard to the latter, in consequence of the constitutional rights of

his Majesty, all which relates to the united conduct, the command, and the internal organisation of the whole army and consequently also of the Hungarian army, as a complement of the means of defence, is determined by his Majesty.

The periodic enlargement of the Hungarian army, however, the right of levy, the fixation of the time of service, the location of the military, the business of the Honvéds, of the levy en masse (S. C. 41, of 1868 and S. C. 20, of 1886) and all arrangements belonging thereto within the scope of legislation and administration the state has reserved for itself. Further the establishment or reformation of the system of defence in relation to Hungary can only take place with the assent of the Hungarian legislature. But since such an establishment or reformation can only take place agreeably to equal principles between Austria and Hungary, drafts of bills proceeding from equal principles, after a preceding agreement between both ministries, in all such cases are submitted to both legislatures.

In case of any difference of opinion between both legislatures, they commune by means of special deputations with one another. With regard to the civil rights and duties of individual members of the Hungarian army the Hungarian legislature and government arrange.

The financial business is in so far common as the costs and expenses are common which are applied for the common business. But we must understand that common costs are arranged in common, while for the assessment, collection and transmission to the common Finance Minister of the part of the contribution which falls to the lot of Hungary the Hungarian Parliament and the Hungarian responsible minister take measures.

The quota for defraying the common expenses is arranged by Hungary and Austria by means of mutual transactions and agreement. For this purpose the Hungarian Parliament on one side and the Austrian Parliament on the other choose a deputation, and these come into communication with one another under the supervision of the responsible ministers,

elaborate a draft on the ground of the capacity of both states to taxation, and when both deputations come to an agreement in reference to the contents of the draft, then the draft measure is brought before both legislatures. But if both deputations cannot come to an agreement, then are the drafts of both deputations submitted to the legislatures. If the Hungarian Parliament and the Austrian Parliament come to an agreement in respect of the quota then this is submitted to his Majesty for sanction, and if this is secured it is separately embodied in a law and becomes compulsory for both states. If both legislatures can come to no agreement, then his Majesty decides. The Hungarian Parliament and the Austrian Parliament communicate their decisions in this matter by means of the competent ministers.

This Compromise however can only last for a certain time. At its cessation a new settlement must be drawn up or the old one extended. The first Compromise, which is concluded for ten years, is found in S. C. 14, of 1867, and has been extended, with certain changes entered in S. C. 4, of 1872., by S. C. 19, of 1870 and similarly 23, of 1887, from ten years to ten years till the end of December 1897. On the ground of these agreements, 2 per cent are reckoned as the impost of the Hungarian state from the unsecured part of the common expenses (Precipuum) having regard to the incorporation of the Military Confines and of the remaining sum 30 per cent falls on Hungary and 70 per cent on Austria. The unsecured part is to be understood thus, that for common expenses the net income of the common custom duties, and some other sources of common revenue are employed e. g., from the manufacture and the monopoly of powder from the common actives; and only the remaining part of the contribution is divided in the proportion mentioned.

For the management of common business i. e. of that part of the common business which does not belong exclusively to the control of the executive, Hungary recognises according to the clear expression of S. C. 12, of 1867, neither a

Reichsrath nor a body having the name of the common or central parliament but holds to the accepted Pragmatic Sanction as its basis of action according to which the united lands of the Hungarian crown on the one side and the other lands of his Majesty together on the other are to be regarded as two separate and perfectly equal parts. In the administration on common business, equality is a necessary condition.

According to this the Hungarian Parliament chooses out of its midst a commission consisting of 60 members, 40 members from the House of Deputies, 20 members from the Magnates. The Austrian Parliament chooses a similar commission with an equal number of members. This commission exercises the powers belonging to the Parliament as delegated powers, and in this relation it represents the Hungarian Parliament in respect to the other lands of his Majesty, but is not amenable to instructions.

Every commission (delegation) is only elected for one year, that is to say, for one session, but its members can be re-elected. In the case of his Majesty dissolving a Parliament, the delegation is likewise dissolved, and the new Parliament chooses a new delegation. The delegations are on each occasion summoned by his Majesty for a definite time, and to that place where the king happens to be. The Hungarian legislature wishes that the delegations should hold their sittings in turn at Budapest and at Vienna, which is as a matter of fact the case.

Every delegation chooses from its midst its president, secretary and other functionaries, and likewise arranges its matters of business. It holds its sittings independently, and comes to a decision by the absolute majority of all the delegates. The delegations inform one another by writing of their resolutions. In case of differences of opinion they try to arrive at agreement by written messages. If this does not succeed and a threefold exchange of messages remains without effect, one delegation is authorised to invite the other to a common sitting, exclusively with the object

of voting: for a consultation would not be appropriate here. In every common sitting the presidents of both delegations preside alternately. A resolution can only be come to by an absolute majority, and only if two thirds of the delegates are present. But since the practical application of the principle of equality is most important in respect to voting, in case one of the delegations has not its full complement of members, the other delegation must so diminish its numbers by means of ballot, that at the voting both delegations may be present with an equal number of members. The members of the committees enjoy the protection of the same immunity which belongs to members of the Parliament.

Before the committees only those subjects come on for treatment, which the laws of both states expressly indicate to — in particular, the arrangement of the common budget, the auditing of the common accounts, the constitutional control of the administration of common affairs, the inpeachment of the common government, and in such a case the constitution of the courts. Further, the establishment of the conditions of a common loan, after both legislatures have decided first on this loan.

The business which comes before the delegations is submitted by the common ministry to each committee separately. The committees can ask questions, and direct interpellations to the common ministers. The common ministers are authorised, nay, on summons are compelled, to appear before one commission and likewise before the other: and to answer, nay, if this can be done without prejudice — to furnish the necessary documents for a full explanation. The delegations possess also the right of initiative.

The joint finance minister submits the common budget every year to the committees separately. The budget when accepted by the delegation cannot be discussed any more by the legislatures of either of the two states. But since in such established charges in so far as they concern Hungary the assessment, collection and transmission fall to the depart-

ment of the Hungarian Parliament and the Hungarian ministry, the Hungarian government takes into the year's budget to be submitted to the Parliament the part of the common expenses which falls on Hungary. Only these sums cannot form the subject of a debate in the Hungarian Parliament. The royal Hungarian finance minister discharges this sum in monthly instalments to the joint finance minister.

The rule is generally valid that the resolutions of the delegations, in so far as they are submitted to the confirmation of the king, possess a binding power after the confirmation is completed. These resolutions however his Majesty communicates to each parliament separately by means of the proper responsible minister and they can only be executed in Hungary by the Hungarian ministry after the Parliament has taken cognisance of them.

At the head of the conduct of common business stands the king of Hungary and Emperor of Austria, as the common ruler of both states. He rules in virtue of the agreement of both states (in which agreement his imperial will is also retained) and by means of the common ministry. The three principal branches of common business, foreign affairs, army and finance, have correspondingly the common ministry of foreign affairs, the common war-ministry and the common finance-ministry, which forms the common government. To their sphere of influence belongs that business which as being essentially common is administered neither by the government of the lands of the Holy Hungarian Crown nor by that of the other lands of his Majesty. Yet the joint ministers can conduct no business which is reserved for the sphere of both realms nor can they exercise any influence on it, while the Hungarian government and the Austrian have a constitutional influence on the conduct of joint business. To make this influence valid on the side of Hungary is the task of the Hungarian Minister President as chief of the cabinet.

The king names the members of the joint ministry. Its president is generally the foreign minister, who exercises the

right of counter-signature on the nomination of the joint ministers. The retiring minister of foreign affairs countersigns the nomination of the joint minister of foreign affairs and president of the joint ministerial council. Yet the Minister Presidents of both states, are informed separately of the nominations, and this information is published with the counter-signatures of the respective minister president. In joint offices the citizens of both states are to be employed and these officers bear the title, imperial and royal. The joint foreign minister conducts the foreign affairs of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. He keeps up a regular communication with foreign states; with regard to foreign lands he watches over the interests which concern both states and their subjects. To his sphere belong international treaties, the business of foreign commerce and international communication.

To the sphere of the joint war minister belong the affairs of the joint army and the marine. To him are subordinated the joint military officers, the joint military schools, sanitary institutions and the affairs of the joint military judicature. The Hungarian *Honvéd* (National army) is however subordinated to the Hungarian Minister of National Defence, except in mobilising for purposes of war, in which case the Honvéd is placed under the Commander in Chief named by the King. The expenses fall in such a case on the joint military budget.

The joint Finance Minister has the task of preparing yearly the draft of the joint budget and submitting it to the Delegations; of assessing the sum of the joint budget as voted, in the legal established proportions to both states, receiving the corresponding instalments, and paying them to the proper place; of administering the business of the fluctuating national debt which stands under joint security, and of taking the chief part in contracting a joint loan, if the legislatures of both states have decided on such a loan. Finally the finance minister stands at the head of the administration of the occupied lands (Bosnia and Herzegovina).

Each of the joint ministers is responsible for the business belonging to his sphere. The whole ministry is responsible for all those official arrangements which they have made in common. Each delegation is authorised, in such a case, if it seems necessary on account of the violation of the constitutional laws, to demand the impeachment of the joint ministry or of a member of the same, and to communicate this fact in writing to the other committee. If the other committee has also decided on impeaching, or if this has been decided in a joint sitting by a majority of votes, then this decision must be regarded as valid, and the committees proceed to constitute the courts. For this object each committee proposes 24 citizens of independent position and acquainted with the law, belonging to that state which it represents. Each committee can strike out of the list of members proposed by the other, 12 members without assigning a reason. The minister or ministers impeached can also strike out 12, provided that in the number of the members who remain the number of judges chosen by each of committee is an equal one; and these form the court. If the commission appointed for the control of the fluctuating national debt raises an indictment against the joint finance minister, and on that account both parliaments resolve on an indictment, the committees are informed of it, and they then proceed without any discussion to constitute the court. As a body of control over the joint finance administration the joint court of Public Accounts exists.

Besides the joint business mentioned above, there are other business of the highest importance, whose joint nature does not flow out of the Pragmatic Sanction, nor do they constitute in the strict sense joint business at all, but they arise from political considerations, viz. that owing to the identity of the interests of both states they can be settled more effectually in joint transaction than separately. The most important of the *business to be settled in joint transaction*, is the Union of Customs and Trade.

With regard to customs and commerce, S. C. 12, of 1867.

declares that Hungary as an independent state from Austria can arrange its affairs in this business through its own legislature and through its own government, yet from the preceding reasons it professes itself ready to contract a customs and commercial union with the other lands of His Majesty from time to time. The conclusion of this contract is to take place in the same way as similar contracts are accustomed to be made between two legally independent states. In this way the league of customs and commerce was brought about, which is contained in S. C. 16. of 1867, 20. of 1878, 34. of 1887, and is valid for every ten years, and at present stands good till the end of December 1897.

We must however remark that for the legality of economic treaties formed with foreign nations, as the treaties for Customs, Marine, Post, and Telegraph &c., the constitutional agreement of the legislatures of both states is necessary.

With regard to the old Austrian public debt, the Hungarian state declares in S. C. 12. of 1867. that it cannot burden itself owing to its independent and constitutional position with debts that have been contracted without its consent. If however the real constitutional life were to be introduced in our country as well as in the other dominions of His Majesty, Hungary is ready to do what it can without prejudice to its independence, even beyond the demands of its legal duties, on the basis of equity and of political regards, in order that the well-being of the other countries of His Majesty and of Hungary among them may not be impaired by the heavy burdens which Absolutism has heaped upon them. For this reason and for no other the country is ready to undertake a part of the burden of public debt, and to find a basis of agreement in this respect with the other lands of His Majesty as one free nation with another.

For the purpose of the allotment of the Austrian public debt, the Hungarian Parliament and the Austrian Parliament elected each a commission. The proposal of these commissions made in agreement with the ministers of the two states was

accepted by the legislatures, and incorporated in S. C. 15. of 1867. In the terms of this statute Hungary pays from the 1st of January 1868. for the extinction of the interest of the national debt an unchangeable and yearly contribution of 29,188.000 florins, out of which 11,776.000 florins are payable in specie.

In S. C. 12. of 1867 it is further declared that in future the land cannot bear such a debt, and that therefore it will not recognise any debt as binding to which it has not legally consented. If the time ever comes when the Hungarian state cannot defray its expenses out of its ordinary resources, it will apply to extraordinary resources on its own credit. And if it is necessary in the interest of both states to procure a joint loan, — to defray such demands as concern joint business — this can be done on the part of Hungary only with the consent of the Hungarian legislature.

The fluctuating public debt consisting of state bonds and notes, is placed under the joint security of both states, and any increase of this debt can only take place with the mutual agreement of both legislatures. The administration of the fluctuating public debt belongs to the sphere of the joint Finance minister. For the control of this administration the Hungarian Parliament and the Austrian Parliament delegate independently a commission consisting of six ordinary and three supplementary members, which makes a yearly report to each of both Parliaments.

With S. C. 26. of 1878 the Hungarian state took over a part of the debt of 80 millions, which belonged to the old Austrian national bank. In this statute it is likewise laid down that according to the clear expression of S. C. 12. of 1867, this debt cannot legally burden the state. Yet with the object that the arrangement of the fluctuating financial and economic questions between Hungary and Austria should suffer no delay, the Hungarian government was empowered to conclude a convention with the Austrian government, which was incorporated in S. C. 26. of 1878, and 27.

of 1887. The sums accruing to both states from the net income of the Austro-Hungarian bank, serve principally for the liquidation of this debt. Of the residue of this debt which will be still undischarged at the close of 1897, the Hungarian state will undertake 30 percent, on the condition that this 30 percent shall be paid to Austria in 50 equal yearly instalments without interest.

The S. C. 28. of 1878, settles matters in relation to the Joint bank of issue, seeing that Hungary and Austria did not wish to claim their undoubted right of creating independent separate banks of issue. The contract was valid for ten years, and by S. C. 26. of 1887, was extended to another 10 years, till the end of the year 1897.

The Treaty of Berlin of the year 1878, (incorporated in S. C. 8. of 1879.) committed the occupation and administration of the two Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The agreement come to between the two states in this relation, is in respect of Hungary incorporated in S. C. 6. of 1880. According to this statute, the Hungarian ministry was directed in the spirit of the statutes relating to joint business, to make its influence felt with constitutional responsibility on the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is to be conducted through the joint government. Agreeably to this the Ministry takes part in all deliberations, which are held by the joint ministry, in respect of the establishment of the direction and the principles of this administration. The expenses of administration of these provinces are to be defrayed as far as possible from their own receipts. If this cannot be completely done, the proposals which concern the sum to be defrayed through the ordinary administration are to be decided on with the consent of the governments of both states. In so far as the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina should claim the financial assistance of the monarchy for permanent investments, which do not lie within the scope of the ordinary administration (for railways

and public buildings &c.), this can only be determined by laws, which are passed in both states unanimously. Similarly are the principles to be determined which are to be applied in 1. Customs questions. 2. Indirect taxes. 3. The money system. All changes of the relation in which these provinces stand to the monarchy require the assent of the legislatures of both states.



The Administration.

In Hungary, government reposing on the principle of parliamentary responsibility can be regarded as embodied only since the year 1867, in spite of our ancient constitution, if we except the short period from 1848—9.

The government in our country, with the exception of a few unfortunate epochs, was from the oldest times neither *de jure* nor *de facto* absolute, for the sovereignty could only be exercised by the laws passed with the approval of the nation, by means of Hungarian »Guberniums«, by the preservation of the privileges assured to the nobility. Of equal age with the Hungarian kingdom is the institution of the royal chancery which finally received a legal form under Matthias I., and served as the basis of the later government court, whose influence extended also to Croatia, and to whom also the Governor of Fiume was subordinated. The scope of this government was, as its name imparts, only of a representative character and dependent on the king. (*Consilium Locumtenentiale Regium.*) According to law it was only and alone subject to the king and to no one else, which was an axiom of the independence of the land. For this reason all its representations and proposals were directed immediately to the king though by means of the royal Chancery, and by the same means the king's answer came back.

When after the catastrophe at Mohács, Vienna became the residence of the Hungarian kings, the royal Hungarian chancery following the king, settled there likewise. Its power and independence was subjected to many changes in course of time, until, under Matthias II., the legal enactment was made with respect to the Hungarian chancery that people of a foreign nationality should exercise no influence on the Hungarian government, and that his Majesty in Hungarian affairs should only take account of the advice of Hungarian counsellors, and every order which was given by any other court officer shall be of no value. On these and many other laws rested the organisation and arrangement of the Chancery and its independence of all other officials, while it was alone and immediately subject to the king.

The Court Chancery residing at Vienna and the Gubernial court residing at Buda exercised however only the central conduct of affairs, and only the general disposition of them, for the real executive was exclusively placed in the hands of the organised authorities of the counties, which through their own chosen functionaries worked in so wide and autonomous a range as we scarcely find anywhere else. The importance of the autonomous administration of these authorities was elevated by their political position, on the strength of which they exercised decisive influence on the Parliament by means of their power of nomination and instruction, in consequence of which they were enabled to exercise an active control in opposition to the oft renewed anti-national efforts of the administration at Vienna, which was scarcely inferior to the control of modern parliaments based on party government.

Chiefly his political position of the municipalities (counties) gained for them the name par excellence of »Bulwarks of Constitutionalism«, which name is piously preserved till the present day. At the same time it serves as the basis of deep-rooted errors and misunderstandings. With the transformation of 1848 the state constitution of both the Parliament and of the counties was based on popular representation, i. e. the political sphere

formerly exercised by the nobility alone was handed over to the committee men of the Counties, and thus the right of choosing their officers passed likewise to the elected representative bodies of the counties. The government responsible to parliament is thence compelled not to rule with its own immediate functionaries, but to a great degree with officers chosen by the county's representative bodies, and only the professional functionaries of individual branches of the administration, as of Education, Finance administration, Public buildings, (with highroads and navigation). Medical and Veterinary service (with the exception of the Communal), and the police*) are under the immediate control of the government. Of late times the sphere of public administration has increased owing to the creation of civil marriage under the control of the civil registrars. In the beginning, agreeably to the first establishment, the number of register districts was set down as 4,948.

The influence of the state government on our administration shows itself, over and above the sphere which is placed at its control by individual laws, principally in its competent sphere as an instance of appeal. The political position of the administration was chiefly asserted in Act. 33 of 1891, though the regulation of the administration on those grounds has not been organised to up till now, and therefore the political administration consists actually only in the exercise of the right of control over county and town municipalities.

As a rule every administrative decision can be appealed against within 15 days »intra dominium«. An exception takes place if a special law orders it, or if it appears necessary on account of an important interest or the averting of a public danger, in which case the possibility of appeal »extra dominium« is clearly to be stated in the decision itself. The government has besides, in relation to any proceeding which is suspected to be incompetent ex officio or which contravenes the law, a

*) With the exception of the police of Municipal towns, of which in the meantime only that of the city of Budapest alone is administered by Government.

very extensive power of annulment, by means of which it can order a new proceeding, nay, can actually decide in matters of general interest. Finally the government in respect of any proceeding within the autonomous sphere of the municipalities can cause account to be given through its own functionaries of the internal conduct of business and the condition of the finances.

This extensive sphere of power of the government secures, despite the extensive autonomy of the municipalities, the efficiency of the administration; and the close relationship which therefore exists between the public administration and our municipal autonomy finds its organic expression in the institution of prefects (*főispán*).

The prefect stands at the head of the county and town municipalities, is the representative of the executive power, and as such along with his political responsibility (as functionary supported by the parliamentary government) is invested with an extensive sphere of power, in virtue of which, except in the case of the functionaries of justice, he exercises super-control over the acts of all central and county officials.

Within this province of control and superinspection, he can communicate instructions to the municipal and communal functionaries, he can order disciplinary inquests against the officers, can suspend them from their office, and he exercises the right of candidature to fill up the official places dependent on election.

Only in the province of finance administration is the power of the parliamentary government limited by the court of financial administration which as a last instance decides with independent judicial authority in cases of direct taxation, immunity from taxation, rectification or cancelling of taxes, liberation from Taxes in consequence of elementary accidents, the cancelling of fees and fines &c. In the other branches of the administration we are deficient in a court of administrative justice, but with the increasing parliamentary control an almost unlimited publicity, full freedom of the press, and the still

existing right of representation and remonstrance granted to the municipalities, we acquire such guarantees that our laws and our liberties can suffer no injury

Municipalities, towns, nay, all individual large communities in their autonomous sphere, attend to the duties of trusteeship and in connection therewith the administration of the property of orphans, and exercise their rights of trusteeship by means of chambers of orphans as tribunals of first instance. The court of appeal in matters of trusteeship is the Trustee Deputation of the administrative council of the individual municipalities, while as the final court the Ministry of the Interior acts.

In the department of administrative police their powers are laid down by different special laws. Besides the administrative police however the administrative officials act as police courts. The highest court of appeal is the Minister of the interior.

The position of the officers in the service of the state is, with the exception of the law-courts, neither assured by a disciplinary law nor by any regulation of service. On the contrary a law regulates their claims to pensions, according to which they receive 40 per cent of their income as pension after 10 years' service, and after every additional year 2 per cent, so that state officers after 40 years of service (professors after 30 years) can enjoy their full income as a pension. With regard to the elected municipal officers who do not rank in the service of the state, the matter is exactly contrary, since their position is secured by a disciplinary law, though they do not enjoy any pension. Most municipalities however have framed a Pension statute in their autonomous province and have created a pension fund by the application of an extra tax.*

The pay of state-officers, with the exception of the ministerial posts, civil secretaries and a few higher officers varies from 500 to 5000 florins, to which must be added a sum for House rent from 150 fl. to 1000 florins. The pay of the

* This extra-tax has been established in 27 counties.

Municipal officers corresponds in a great degree with that of the state-officers. In other respects, apart from the towns which pay their own officers, the payment of those appointed by county election is provided for by a subsidy furnished to the individual counties by the state, which makes for the 63 counties 4,947,500 florins.** The capital Budapest, the town of Fiume, whose organisations rest on a special law and a special statute respectively and the 24 towns invested with municipal rights do not participate in this subsidy: while the towns with organised magistracy, as well as the large and small communities in their autonomous sphere, have to bear a considerable burden.

The state endowment of county municipalities does not cover their expenses of administration, for which purpose the imposition of an additional county tax is necessary, which is raised and manipulated in the manner of the state taxes. The manner of voting the extra tax is regulated by law, according to which a special invitation is to be sent to every member of the municipal council 15 days before, inviting them to a general meeting, with the intimation that the imposition of an extra tax is contemplated, and for what object. For forming a valid resolution the consent of two thirds of those present is necessary, voting personally. According to this law the ratio of 5 per cent of the state taxes at the most can be applied to purposes of administration, traffic, economic, educational and benevolent purposes. Yet the counties bear considerable burdens in virtue of special laws, thus under the title of road dues all municipalities are burdened with 6—10 per cent, and for hospital purposes with 1—8 per cent. For quartering the military and building barracks some counties bear an extraordinary burden of 14—18 per cent, and to this we must add that of late years in consequence of the making of local railroads some counties pay an extraordinary tax up to 5 per cent, so that all the counties

** Opposite this Subsidy of the State, the actual expenses of the counties mounted to 5,898,997 florins according to the budget of 1895.

are burdened with an extra tax reaching from 10 to 40 per cent of the state taxes. The principal cause of this disproportion lies in the disproportion of the territorial divisions of the counties, in consequence of which the largest and most wealthy of the counties (Bács and Torontál) have comparatively the smallest burdens.

In towns invested with municipal rights this burden assumes still greater dimensions and reaches from 10 per cent to (Fiume) 80 and 82 per cent. To explain this we must remark that in the expenses of the municipalities the communal expenses are included, which for the towns in the district with organised magistracy and for large and small parishes are defrayed by means of a special communal extra tax, which is proportioned to the state taxes on an average from 7 to 74 per cent.

According to the budget of 1895, for the free royal towns and the towns possessing municipal rights, 28,350.530 florins of income and 36,456.620 florins of expenses were computed in the 26 towns. Those towns whose income and expenditure reaches the highest figures are: the capital, Budapest (15,800.000 florins income, 21,600.000 expenses), Nagyvárad (1,276.000 florins income, 1,448.000 florins expenses), Szeged (1,104.000 florins income, 1,311.000 florins expenses), Debreczen (972.000 florins income, 1,014.000 expenses) and Temesvár (810.000 florins income, 948.000 florins expenses).

The County. The county is a component part of our specific constitution. It can make statutes in the province of its autonomy, which along with its share in public administration it executes through its own chosen functionaries.

The statutes of the counties can also mete out punishments. But these statutes cannot conflict with the law and the orders of government nor infringe the autonomous rights of parishes. The county settles the costs of its autonomy, treats with the government, executes the laws and government orders in the province of the county. Against the order of the government however it can appeal before the execution of it, if it

regards this as clashing with the law or inopportune on account of local relations. If however the minister despite the reasons adduced demands the execution, the government order is unconditional and imperative. Such an order as well as orders calling out of the military or other government order which in orders not to imperil the interests of the state require execution without delay, can only after their accomplishment serve as the subject of a debate and resolution in the general meeting, the municipality on that account is entitled to appeal to the House of Commons. If the immediate execution of an arrangement is demanded on account of the jeopardized interests of the state, this must be particularly brought forward in the government order. The collection of a tax not voted in the Parliament or orders relating to the impressment of recruits not voted therein are excepted from the rule of obligatory execution. The preliminary measures however are none the less to be carried through.

The organisation of the county consists of two main divisions — the municipal council and the administrative committee, as advising and deciding body: under them the county officers as the executive.

The members of the council consist in one half of the highest ratepayers of the citizens in the county, and in the other half of citizens chosen by lot. With regard to the number of members the rule holds good, that a councillor be reckoned for every 500 inhabitants, but the number of highest ratepayers and chosen members must amount to not less than 120 nor more than 600. The election of members is managed in divisions. In one division there cannot be more than 200 nor less than 600 electors. Every inhabitant is an elector who is incorporated in the list of those authorized to vote for the Parliament. The councillors are chosen every 5 years for 10 years, while half of them resign office every 5 years. The President of the council is the prefect who can call an extraordinary assembly whenever necessary. The subjects for discussion in the council are arranged beforehand by a standing committee.

To the duties of the council belong among other things the election of officers, the exercise of the right of representation, in virtue of which they may also concern themselves with the business of the land, discuss these, and communicate their decisions to the other counties and the government, and can even bring them before the House of Commons in the form of a petition. In parish business it decides in the second instance, and thus the confirmation of the parish statutes depends on it, likewise the settlement, the assessment and the collection of the parish taxes. It cannot refuse its assent however to the parish budget, if the total expenses without communal tax are covered by the income of the parish property, and no objection is raised against the budget. It audits the accounts of the parish, whether objection or complaint has been made against them or not, and it has to discharge this task within the year. For the discharge of the administrative spheres of business it chooses the members of the various professional commissions, among them ten members of the council.

The *administrative committee* is a new institution introduced in 1876, in which the 5 members named by the government represent the branches of state administration which do not belong to the sphere of the municipality, and thus it is the duty of this committee to secure the harmonious cooperation of the functionaries of the municipal and state administrations, under the presidency and conduct of the prefect. Its members are, besides the upper officers of the county or the town municipality, the royal finance director, the chief of the royal public works office, the royal school inspector the attorney general, and the economic referendary named by the government, along with 10 members chosen by the council, so that the autonomous element forms three quarters of the committee. The official members of this committee act in the business belonging to their department as referendaries. The sittings of the committee are open and are generally held in the first half of the month. In pressing circum-

tances an extraordinary sitting can be held, nay, in certain cases which do not admit delay, the prefect or instead of him the first officer of the municipality can on the information of the referendary of the special branch of administration act on his own responsibility : but he is obliged to bring this to the notice of the next sitting and to give his reasons. The representatives of the individual branches of administration, if they regard the decisions or arrangements of the committee burdensome or injurious to their branch of administration, can appeal to the proper minister, to whom they must despatch the business within 24 hours. The same privilege belongs to the prefect, generally speaking. The power of the committee must be particularly noticed in taxation business. 1. It orders the cancelling of taxes which cannot be collected. It determines the application of responsibility to those employers who neglect to collect the taxes, maintains the duties of reimbursement on the part of the finance functionaries, and determines the damage due to parties injured by illegal expenses. 2. It forms the court of appeal against the excess of the taxes assessed by the parish functionaries with respect to land tax, house tax, trade tax, additional income tax, and arms tax, as likewise against the excess of the income tax, the tax on the interest of capital, and the military tax assessed by the royal finance director. These decisions of the 1st and 2nd. instance of the administrative committee can be appealed against partly to the court of finance administration, partly to the finance minister.

From the administrative committee several commissions are formed, with corresponding powers: the Trustee, Prison inspection, Forest, and Disciplinary commissions, the latter of which exercises the powers of the disciplinary court. Its president is the prefect, its four members are chosen by the committee in such a way that two are taken from the appointed state functionaries, two from the elected members of the committee.

The *Executive functionaries of the county* are : 1. Central

officers: the deputy prefect (alispán), upper notary, vice-notary, upper fiscal and vice-fiscal, president and assessors of the court of orphans, head physician, veterinary surgeon, cashier, head bookkeeper and vice bookkeeper, archivist, and attendants. 2. Local officers: The district chief captain, the captain, the district physician, the district veterinary surgeon, the district bookkeeper. 3. The mayors of the town with organised magistracy, who have similar powers to those of the district chief captain. The powers of these functionaries is only laid down in general outline by the law, while the detailed settlement of the administrative organisation of the county belongs to the scope of the statutes made by the county. The head of county administration is the deputy prefect, who is invested with remarkable power, by which if he thinks an order of the government to clash with the law or to be injurious or impracticable in relation to local requirements, he lays an information to the prefect within 24 hours at the most, or in his absence appeals to the government. If the minister maintains his order, and the deputy prefect considers he is not obliged to execute it after the ministerial rescript; he lays an information immediately to the prefect, summons by his order or, if he is not present, in his name an extraordinary meeting for 8 days later, and submits the order to the meeting, which is obliged at once to discuss it. He executes the orders of the government which are noted as to be unconditionally executed on account of peril to the interests of the state, and gives information of his action to the next general meeting. He executes the measures of the prefect, but may protest against them, if he directs a representation to the minister within 24 hours by means of the prefect, which the latter must transmit within another 24 hours. The deputy prefect also forms a court of appeal, against the chief district captains, e.g. in urgent parochial affairs, in police and trade matters, in police jurisdictional business etc. At the head of the district administration is the chief captain, who exercises review over the parishes entrusted to

him. We have no special district representative body. The municipalities settle the compass of the administrative districts. At present the extent of the 63 counties is divided into 412 districts of chief captains. The number of towns with organised magistracy is 107.

Croatia-Slavonia numbers 8 counties, which are divided into 69 districts. The number of its towns consists of 21. We must remark, that in Croatia-Slavonia the official appointments in the county are not filled by means of election but by appointment.

The Parish. With regard to parishes, a special law arranges the parish officers, their powers in the parish, the rights and duties of parishes, the organisation and the budget of the parish, the responsibility of the magistrates and the representatives. This law classifies the parishes as follows: *Small parishes* which because of their limited relations cannot control the business committed to them by their own power and for this reason must associate themselves with other parishes. The number of these amounts to 10,677, not reckoning in Croatia-Slavonia: *Large parishes* which have no ordered magistracy but perform the communal tasks by their own resources. Their number is 1875. *Towns* which have ordered magistracy but are subject to the county. Their number is 107. They are to be distinguished from towns invested with municipal rights, the number of which, reckoning in Buda-Pesth and Fiume, is 26.

In Croatia Slavonia the parishes are grouped into 471 political parishes, and the 21 towns are so classified that two towns possess municipal right and are immediately subjected to the government of the land, the other 19 towns are subordinated to the officers of the county. The autonomy of parishes exceeds ordinary parish autonomy in so far as it reaches from the discharge of parish business in a narrow sense to the execution of many public tasks. e. g., sanitary matters, tax, school and military matters. The power of towns with ordered magistrates is naturally much wider,

since they manage market, mining, building and sanitary police matters, exercise the right of trustees and are authorised to make statutes, in which they may declare certain actions as offences and can impose punishments on them.

All territories must, either as a complementary part of a parish precinct or as a *Puszt*a (a vast pasture ground) connected to a parish in an administrative way, belong to a parish. Of such *Puszt*a (hamlets or farms) there are 18,400. To which neighbourhood such a *Puszt*a belongs the deputy prefect decides in the first instance; against his decision there can be an appeal to the county and from thence to the minister of the interior.

Each citizen must belong to a parish and can belong to only one parish. Foreigners can obtain admission into a parish only on condition of naturalisation.

The two main parts of *parish organisation* are the advising and the deciding body, the parish council and the organs of the executive, the parish authorities. The parish council exercises the right of review and control over the parish authorities. It has no disciplinary control. This power only belongs to the representative bodies of towns with organised magistracies.

Of what members the parish council consists, who can be its member, out of how many members it should consist, how the list of names is to be made of those who pay the highest taxes, what procedure must be observed in the election of the parish representative, how long the mandate of the parish representative lasts — this is determined law, and we only mention here that a parish representative is reckoned for every hundred souls and that the number of them in small parishes cannot be less than ten and more than twenty, in large parishes not less than twenty nor more than forty, in towns with organized magistracy not less than 48 and more than 200, and that half the representatives must consist of the highest rate payers. The right of superintendence over large and small parishes, beside the exercise of

the disciplinar administration, belongs to the chief captain, in towns with ordered magistracy to the deputy prefect. The minister of the interior, if the actions of the representatives are such that the interest of the state or the well-being of the community is imperilled, can dismiss the representative body at the proposal of or after having consulted the county and discharge temporarily by means of the county, all business which concerns the parish.

The organisation of the authorities of the parish is all the more simple the smaller the parish and the simpler the relations of life in it. The larger and more developed it is, the more functionaries are necessary, the greater is the division of labour and all the more necessary is the appointing of special functionaries; and the law makes possible in this respect an accommodation to the individuality of the parish, and merely insists on the minimum which is indispensable that the parish may fulfil its duties. According to this the parish authorities consist in small parishes of the judge and his representative, at the least two assessors, the notary, the guardian of orphans and the doctor; in large parishes of the provost and his substitute, at the least 4 assessors, the cashier, the parish notary, the guardian of orphans, the permanent parish or district doctor.

The duties and the pay of these are settled by the parish by a statute having reference to the wealth of the parish and the business of the officers. An exception in this respect is the pay of the notary whose minimum, 400 florins and house, is settled by law and is determined by the county with the approval of the parish in question. Against the decision of the county the right of appeal to the minister of the interior is open. The soul of parish administration is the parish notary, an institution which forms one of the most characteristic and advantageous parts of our institutions of administration. The parish and district notaryship is dependent on qualifications laid down by law, and is conferred for life by means of election, the right of candidature being possessed by the superior captain.

In towns with organised magistracy, the members of the magistracy form the authorities. The place of captain of police is given by nomination, but in general official posts in parishes are obtained by election, except that the law has not reserved for the authority which exercises the right of supervision the power of confirmation. The right of voting in small and great parishes for part of the authorities and in towns with ordered magistracy for all the officers belongs to the representative body. The parish provost, the deputy provost, and the assessors are chosen in large and small parishes by all the electors. The members of the authorities in large and small parishes, with the above exceptions, are chosen for three years, in towns with organised magistracy for six years. It is noticeable that in large and small parishes the person chosen for the office of provost is compelled to accept it on a fine of 100 florins and carry it on for at least a year.

In so far as the expenses of the parish are not defrayed by the income of the parish property the parish can impose a tax on the inhabitants and landowners of the parish, which is imposed, for expenses of administration of common interest, on every member of the parish proportionately to land, house, income and rent-tax, for expenses however which are only required in the interests of landed property, only proportionately to the land-tax of the interested landowner.

The Puszta, glaciers and forests which are attached to the administration of the parish can only be subjected to half the amount of the direct communal taxes nay, the owners of property connected with the parish who make no use of such expenses and superintend their own lands have nothing at all to contribute to the expenses of economic and rural inspection. With regard to the additional tax to be added to the indirect state-taxes by the parish the approval of the government is necessary.

The budget of the parish is prepared by the general meeting. It must be exposed to public inspection for 15 days

and every payer of taxes can make his remarks upon it, which the general meeting is compelled to discuss and to submit along with the separate opinions of the minority to the county. The parish must take care of all the poor which belong to its district who cannot maintain themselves without public support. They can in exceptional cases claim the support of the county and in case of need that of the state. The county can for this purpose establish a united poors fund.

In police matters small and large parishes have neither a right to make statutes nor the right of jurisdiction. The parish council is therefore in large and small parishes an organ exclusively provided with executive but not with penal power. As such in judicial and administrative police matters it must take all those preventive measures of security which the executive police is entitled to take e. g., the gendarmes or the city police. The superior captain exercises the jurisdiction in cases of trespass, and the only exception is in field police offences, in which, when the damage does not exceed the value of 40 crowns, the jurisdiction in the first instance belongs to the parish council.

We can only give general outlines of the acts in individual branches of the administration which are carried on by the parishes in delegated spheres. Such is the assessment and collection of direct public taxes. The parish functionaries impose the land tax, the house tax, the trade tax of the first and second class, income tax and arms tax. They effect the registration of people's property and of articles liable to duty and collect the statements for those classes of taxation the assessment of which belongs to the finance department. They send two deputies to the tax assessment commission. The parish notaries record and keep evidence of the direct taxes of individuals liable to taxation, under strict responsibility. They collect the taxes, give receipts for them and hand them over to the royal revenue offices, for which the parish provost takes first rank in responsibility, the parishes with their property the second. They give the superior captain a monthly account

as to how the levying of the taxes is proceeding, and publish annually a list of incollectable taxes. In *military business* the parish council takes over the extracts of registers from the registrars. It enrolls those liable to military service and produces them under responsibility for their identity. It keeps a list of those on leave and the reserve men; it takes measures for quartering the military, their feeding, and in case of mobilising discharges all the tasks that fall to it; it keeps in evidence the levy en masse and assigns the dates for the rectification of the levy en masse lists. In the province of *sanitary matters* the parish authorities perform the local police business. Generally each community with 6000 inhabitants has to provide one doctor and each community with 1500 inhabitants has to provide a qualified midwife. In the province of *veterinary surgery* a special law lays down the police powers of the authorities and authorises the government to decide which community ought to have a veterinary surgeon. In the province of *road and traffic* affairs communities cannot only compel their inhabitants to pay taxes for the preservation of their roads, but since the paying of public road duties is in one way allowed in kind, the joint action and the execution in this respect falls likewise to the province of the parish given to authorities; also in case of a guarantee extending over ten years or other subvention, local railways, the assessment and collection of the same by an additional tax on the community.

The towns with an organised magistracy naturally in all these matters go to still greater lengths. For apart from the fact that they are authorised to make statutes which can assign punishments they exercise jurisdiction of the first instance and perform all those acts which the existing laws and orders intrust to the parishes and the officers of the district captains.

* * *

This sketch is no complete clue to the labyrinth of our

administration, but is sufficient to show that Hungarian administration is a living organism, which is all the more difficult for this reason to modify, but which assures to our public life that vitality manifested by our millennial existence as a state, and enables our country to advance without the danger of precipitate action in its historical development which is a guarantee of its national integrity.



Justice.

Custom was for centuries the principal source of Justice in Hungary. At first Legislation interfered but rarely and only occasionally with legal life. Our first laws originate from our first king St. Stephen, and until the end of the 13th century among the subsequent 23 kings only St. Ladislaus, Colomannus (Kálmán), Andreas II., Béla IV. and Andreas III. had left laws behind them. But from the 15th century laws begin to be frequent.

Our old legislation merely concerns questions of public law. It regulates some topics connected with the kingdom and church, it contains the punishments of certain crimes, extends to judicature, but rarely touches common law.

Custom and laws are followed by royal Privileges, later by the Statutes of towns, counties and single territories, which Statutes play up to the latest period an important part in the legal life of our Country.

Nor is ample legislation supplied by the reception of some foreign laws, for although the study of Roman Law and Canon Law were early begun in Hungary and although these sources of law did not fail to have an influence upon the legislation of the country, nevertheless foreign laws could not directly attain a practical effect in our lay-courts. Only the towns established by German settlers and the Saxons of Transylvania, and the County of Szepes brought their own laws with them which were later comprised in their Statutes.

The laws passed from time to time under several kings were at first compiled by private persons in the manner of foreign, especially of French codes of laws. Later we find also some kings collect them in their own Decrees when confirming the Decrees of earlier kings.

The 15th century first gave rise to the idea of properly regulating legal matters by written laws and compiling earlier laws and customs after a preceding revision and amendment. Particularly king Corvin Mátyás (Matthias) was led by this idea to the creation of his so called *Decretum majus* of the year 1486 which afterwards originated the *Tripartitum* (*Tripartitum opus, juris consuetudinarii incltyti regni Hungariae*) made by the Prothonotary of the *Judex Curiae* Stephen Werbőczy, by order of King Wladislas II., which in the year 1514 was also approved by Parliament and sanctioned by the King, yet never obtained force of law by want of the royal seal. Nevertheless this work which is one of the most eminent European law-books, was acknowledged as a written law by custom and also by later laws, in Transylvania it was even ranked among the laws of the Country by the *Diploma Leopoldinum* of the year 1691.

In the 16th century and — after a delay caused by religious and political movements — also in the 18th century there was a continually growing effort again to gather and to amend legal norms by way of legislation. But it was in vain. The *Quadripartitum* finished in 1552 never obtained the sanction of the king in spite of the repeated petitions of the Parliament, nor were the committees, appointed in the years 1715, 1723, 1751, 1765 and 1768, able to solve that task. In the meantime Parliament gained always more and more importance and tried to satisfy the requirement of Justice by a greater number of special laws. These are particularly the laws from the years 1715 and 1723 which contain important reforms.

From the end of the 16th century the use of laws was made easier by the circumstance that private persons made

chronological bodies of laws which they edited in print. The first *Collectio Decretorum* of this kind was edited by Joannes Zsámboki (*Sambucus*) in the year 1581 in Francfort, and in the year 1584 in Nagy-Szombat. This collection — extended by Werbőczy's *Tripartitum*, and other sources of law — was, in the year 1696, continued by others under the title of »*Corpus juris hungarici*« and obtained general authority so that even the laws referred to it.

The history of codification taken in the modern sense of the word only begins at the end of the 18th century. Queen Maria Theresa gave even in 1779 order for making a law of commerce and exchange, which order however remained without result. The Civil Procedure Law brought in by Joseph II. in an unconstitutional way had but an ephemeral importance and he himself revoked it before his death together with the greatest part of his other reforms. But in the Parliament of 1791 works of codification began to move in a wider groove. Nine Parliamentary-Committees were established to prepare systematical works respecting all the circumstances of the country, one of which, the »*Deputatio Juridica*« was entrusted with making propositions concerning legal procedure, penal law, commercial- and exchange-law, the regulation of the affairs relating to orphans, and practical civil-laws. But neither the works of this Committee nor of the one constituted in the year 1827 were discussed by the Parliament. Although some of our laws keep in the line of their time, still the first success was achieved only by the Parliament of 1839/40.

Transylvania had its special legislation from 1540, when this country became separated, up to the time of the reunion with the mother country (1848). Of the laws passed in great numbers two systematical compilations were made and endowed with force of law; the one under Prince George Rákoczy II. under the title »*Approbatæ constitutiones*«, the other under Prince Michael Apafi I. under the title »*Compilatæ constitutiones*«.

The first compilation contained the laws made from the

year 1540 to the year 1653, the latter those made from 1654 to 1669 revised and amended. To these are added later the laws made from 1669 to 1848 (*Articuli novellares*).

The Diet of Kolozsvár of the year 1791 began codification in Transylvania as did the Hungarian Parliament of the same year. But neither the Committee constituted in that year, nor the one appointed at the end of the year 1841 proved of any utility.

The Countries Croatia and Slavonia had previous to the year 1849, a common legislation with Hungary, although the Congregations of those countries passed far extending Statutes within the limits of the law. From the year 1849 constitutional legislation within the countries of the Hungarian crown, was replaced by laws and decrees passed by the absolute government.

In Hungary Proper, Hungarian Laws were restored from the 23th July 1851 with supplements and modifications required by the time, by the Provisory Procedure Regulations by the Judex Curial Conference convened on the basis of the Diplome of the 20th October 1860. But in the Transylvanian districts of the country the Austrian Laws continued to remain in force and became only partly and gradually invalidated by the different laws passed after the re-establishment of the constitution (1865/8).

The legislation of Croatia and Slavonia remains separated from that of Hungary also after the re-establishment of the constitution. The arrangement, made with that country as incorporated in the XXXth Law of 1868, included also Justice within those questions which are disposed of by the autonomous legislation of Croatia-Slavonia, and only some branches of justice were reserved for the common parliament. These latters referred especially to maritime, commercial, exchange- and mining-law, to maritime jurisdiction, to laws concerning authors and patents and to the protection of trade marks and patterns.

The XVth law of 1847 was the first which had in view a full codification of *Civil Law*.

The order given to the government by this law could not be executed in consequence of the political transformations which supervened, and the absolute era brought the Austrian Civil Code in force among us, which was followed by the Patents concerning Aviticity, Registers (urbarium) and Redemption of landed property. But since the year 1861 the Austrian Civil Code has lost its validity in Hungary proper, with the exception of the dispositions which were in connexion with the institution of the Registers of landed property. On the other side the Austrian Civil Code, only amended by some later legal regulations, is even now in force in the Transylvanian parts, in the late Military Boundaries, in the town and district of Fiume as well as in Croatia-Slavonia.

As the most important of the later civil laws, besides the laws concerning questions of regulation of landed property (procedures respecting old Registers, segregations, proportioning and survey), we may quote the following: the XLI. law of 1881 of Expropriation, the XXIII. law of 1885 respecting water rights, the laws concerning interests viz: XXXI. of 1868, VIII. of 1877, XXV. of 1883, XXXV. of 1895 and XXXVI. of 1895, the XVIII. law of 1874 respecting the responsibility for death or injuries caused by railways; the XIII. law of 1876 regulating the relation between master and servant, and the questions concerning agricultural labourers and daylabourers; the XX. law of 1877, and the VI. of 1885 regulating questions of tutorship and curatorship; the XVI. law of 1876 concerning the formalities of testaments, hereditary deeds and donations for death cases, finally the marriage law (XXXI. of 1894).

In this place we must also mention the institution of the Cadaster (Public Register of landed properties) introduced by the Cadaster-Decree of the 15th December 1855, which the Hungarian government at the beginning of the seventies extended also to the Transylvanian parts of the country, trying their best to introduce it on the whole territory of the country with the aid of Parliament.

Besides the introduction of the fore-mentioned partial regulations relating to civil law the Ministry of Justice was busy with the preliminaries of a General Civil Code, entrusting from time to time professional men with the elaboration of special parts of that Code.

From the projects finished in that way, the general part and the sections respecting hereditary and marriage law have already passed the discussions of Special Committees, the hereditary law even came repeatedly before the House of Commons, but did not attain force of law. But the marriage law, regulating the obligatory civil-marriage, was enacted in the XXXI. law of 1894.

Besides the aforesaid projects there are drafts at the disposition of the Ministry of Justice also for the other parts of the Civil Code, especially with respect to realright, the obligation-right, the marriage and property right, to the rights of parents and children as well as to pupillary right, but these projects are still left in a state of initiation through the want of an undivided permanent organisation of the authorship.

The present Ministry of Justice is now preparing to create an organisation which will have to work permanently at the creation of the Civil Code thus to afford a surebasis for on organic work.

As to *Civil Procedure*, the old Hungarian procedure, based upon parliamentary laws, upon Werbőczy's »Tripartitum«, upon general customs, upon decisions of the Curia (Supreme Court of Justice) and upon royal decrees was, during the absolute period, replaced by the courts-organisation and Procedure Act of the year 1849, and later by the Provisory Civil Procedure Act of 1854 and other regulations concerning civil procedure. The regulations of Civil Procedure originating from the absolute period, though modified by later laws, are still in force in the town and district of Fiume and in Croatia-Slavonia.

In Hungary Proper the Judex-Curiae-Conference of 1861, making use of the earlier Hungarian rules of proced-

ure fixed newer rules of procedure, which however soon lost their value, as by the LIV. law of 1868, civil procedure together with the procedure concerning executions, was newly established in 594 articles. This law was greatly amended by the LIX. law of 1881 while the procedure concerning execution was quite newly codified by the LX. law of the same year.

Our procedure became still more modified by the XVIII. law of 1893 respecting the Summary Procedure which introduced the principle of a verbal and direct procedure in the lower as well as higher degrees of certain judicial proceedings, and radically transformed the system of evidence in accordance with the principle of a free consideration of evidence not only in the lawsuits carried on before district courts but also before tribunals. A draft project of an entire Procedure Act reposing on the same principles has been ready ever since 1893 and is just passing arbitration.

We may mention also the procedure concerning the so called Bagatelle cases (XXII. law of 1877) which at present only is maintained with respect to communal jurisdiction with the change brought to bear by the XVIII. law of 1893, and the XIX. law of 1893 concerning orders of payment facilitating the recovery of claims under 1000 crowns.

Finally we may notice the XVI. law of 1894 regulating hereditary proceedings, which became valid on the 1st of January 1896, together with the execution clause issued on the 11st of October 1895 under number 43.194 and with the decrees thereto relating.

Criminal Codes. On the abovementioned basis contained in the LXVII. law of 1791 and in the VIII. law of 1827, a Parliamentary Committee was appointed in virtue of the V. law of 1840 for the elaboration of a penal and correctional system. This Committee compiled the excellent work known under the name of »Penal Project of 1843« which embraced the material penal laws, the criminal procedure,

the question of prisons and the police laws together with police courts proceedings. This Project of 1843 however could never become a law as the two houses of Parliament could not agree upon it. The Austrian Criminal Code of the 27th May 1852 has been promulgated also in Hungary. In Croatia-Slavonia this law is still valid with the amendments made by later laws, whereas in the Transylvanian parts of the country and in Fiume it only remained in force till the 1st September 1880.

But in Hungary Proper the old Hungarian Criminal laws together with the legal customs were restored in the year 1861.

After the restoration of the constitution at first there prevailed a tendency to create a criminal code on the basis of the principles laid down in the Draft of 1841, but in June 1870 the Minister of Justice gave order for the elaboration of a newer work, and a few years after the »Hungarian Criminal Code of Crimes and Misdemeanours« (V. law of the year 1878) was ready made, worked out with the aid of the experiences of foreign legislations and the results of scientific research. This Criminal Code is completed by the XL. law of 1879 which treats about smaller offences. Both these Codes are valid for the whole territory of the Hungarian State excepting that of Croatia-Slavonia. The Hungarian Criminal Code of 1878 gave a modern penal system to the country while it chose the Irish or the progressive system as a model with respect to the execution of punishments of imprisonment. The following are the gradations as to the execution of punishment of confinement: 1o single confinement, 2o working in common with separation at night, 3o intermediary institution, 4o conditional releasing.

Criminal procedure. On the territory where the Hungarian Criminal Codes of the year 1878 and 1879 are valid, the criminal procedure before district courts is universally regulated by the Decree issued by the Minister of Justice on the 5th of August 1880 under No. 2265, whereas with respect to

the procedure to be observed before tribunals, the Transylvanian parts and the town and district of Fiume are still under the force of the Austrian Criminal Procedure of the 27th July 1853, while in the other parts of the country where the Hungarian Criminal Codes are in force the Minister of Justice intended to Act by the Procedure Act passed in the year 1872, but this project never attained force of law, and is only so far valid as it was accepted by judicial practice. But on the territory of the late Hungarian Military-Boundaries these rules have the character of written law. Offences committed by the press are decided upon by a jury, except in the district of the Fiume royal tribunal and of the late Hungarian Military Boundary.

In the year 1895 the Minister of Justice laid before the House of Commons a general criminal procedure Bill commenced in 1882. This Bill is at present under discussion in the House of Commons.

In Croatia-Slavonia the criminal procedure, the use of the press, the preparing of the list of jurors and the procedure respecting press-cases are regulated by the laws of the 17th May 1875 in which the criminal procedure was amended and completed by the laws of the 6th July 1888, and of the 3rd March and the press-procedure by the law of the 28th Decembr 1889.

After the earlier bootless attempts to codify commercial and exchange law as well as bankruptcy law in Hungary Proper, the committee appointed by the Parliament opened in 1839 presented Bills respecting a Code of change, merchants, the legal relations of factories and of companies formed for common gain, commercial corporations and agents, carters, the registration for priority of money claims, and respecting bankruptcy, which were discussed by both Houses of Parliament and attained legal force as the XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. XIX. XX. XXI. and XXII. laws of 1840, to which were added the VI. and VII. law of 1844, partly amending the exchange and bankruptcy law.

The above mentioned Hungarian laws remained in force also during the period of absolutism, with the exception of the exchange and bankruptcy laws. With regard to these questions the General Austrian (German) Exchange Regulation, the Procedure of Change comprised in the Decree of the 25th January 1880 of the Minister of Justice, and the Provisional Bankruptcy Procedure of the 18th July 1853 were introduced in Hungary and remained in force until the introduction of the Exchange Act of 1876 and of the Bankruptcy Act of 1881 respectively, in the Transylvanian parts, in the town and district of Fiume and in Croatia-Slavonia, while the Provisional Bankruptcy Procedure of 1853 is even now in force in Croatia-Slavonia.

At present commercial law and exchange law are regulated by the XXXVII. law of 1875 and the XXVII. law of 1876 respectively, on the whole territory of Hungary including Croatia-Slavonia. These two laws belong to the class of German commercial and exchange law, the commercial procedure is regulated by Decree No 3269 of the 1st Nov. 1881, and the procedure of exchange by Decree No 2851 of the 1st Nov. 1881 of the Minister of Justice, with the exception of Fiume and of Croatia-Slavonia, where the said procedures are governed by regulations originating from the times of absolutism with the modifications contained in the later laws, especially in Croatia-Slavonia in the Autonomy-laws of the 3rd October 1876.

By the XVII. law of 1881 also the bankruptcy cases were newly regulated on a modern basis, which law is valid for the whole country with the exception of Croatia-Slavonia.

Our *maritime law* is regulated by the Austrian »Editto politico di navigazione mercantile Austriaca« of the year 1774, and supplementarily by the French code de commerce.

Hungarian legislation only disposed of the registration of Merchant-Vessels by the XVI. law of 1879 and of port-duties by the XXXII. law of 1883. But in 1894 a Draft project was made respecting maritime law in general, which project is awaiting further discussion.

With respect to the *Author's right* a bill was voted by Parliament in 1844, which however was not sanctioned by the crown.

When the Austrian Civil Code was introduced in Hungary, the law of the 19th Oct. 1846 passed the protection of literary and artistic property against unauthorised publication, imitation or reproduction, stood in force also in Hungary, but when in 1861 the Austrian Civil Code ceased to be in force, the Author's right in Hungary was long protected by the disposition contained in art. 23 Section I. of the Provisory Procedure Regulations of 1861, declaring mental products to stand equally under the protection of law.

When the happy development of national literature and art made an exhaustive regulation of author's rights necessary, the Hungarian legislature passed the XVI. law of 1884 of author's right which is valid on the whole territory of Hungary, Croatia-Slavonia included.

Our Mining right, upon the formation of which the Mining Decree issued by King Maximilian in the year 1791 had the greatest influence, was already taken into the program of the reform works of the Special Committees constituted by virtue of the LXVII. law of 1791, and of the VIII. law of 1827, while the Parliament of 1844 nominated a committee for the making of a Mining law, but this project although voted by Parliament never attained the sanction of the crown.

The Austrian General Mining Law of the 23th May 1854 was introduced also in our country and is still in force together with the corresponding decrees and with the amendments contained in the later legal regulations.

Having thus sketched the history of our *national codification*, we shall now give a short description of the development and present organisation of our *administration of justice*.

In the tribal period (progeny) the administration of justice in Hungary was carried on by the tribes and branches and

afterwards by the whole nation; the Gyulas and Carchas together with the Great Carchas performing the function of judges.

After the establishment of the Kingdom the King has become the Chief Judge who in his royal court (*curia*) and later in the state assemblies (court-days) held for that purpose administered justice with or by his court dignitaries. From the original court-dignitaries, who later became state-dignitaries, the Palatine, the *Judex Curiae* and the *Personalis Regis*, as chief or regular judges of the country had up to the latest time an important part in the administration of justice in Hungary.

A judicial authority very much like that of the great judges of the mother country belonged to the Voyvode in Transylvania, to the Count of the *Siculi*, and to the Count of *Szeben*, and to the Banus of Croatia and Slavonia.

Towards the end of the 11th century progeny-jurisdiction ceased and jurisdiction concerning noblemen was besides the *Curia Regis*, henceforth exercised by commissioned royal chief officers in their district sessions. Afterwards when fortress-districts — where likewise royal officers held court upon fortress-bondmen — were transformed into autonomous Counties (*Comitatus*) we see the County-courts developing with a continually increasing influence, at the head of which stood the Vice-count (*Vice Comes*) nominated at the beginning and elected since the middle of the XVIth Century, and the members of which were the district-judge and the jurors who were elected ever since the formation of County-courts. Simultaneously with the dissolution of fortress-districts, towns and their autonomous courts began their development together with the seigneurial rights of the landlords over their bondmen, including judicial authority. This seigneurial jurisdiction — which afterwards was exercised in the so called *sedes dominales* — was kept up till 1848, whereas the jurisdiction exercised in the lower autonomous instances of the counties and towns remained in force till 1849 in Croatia-Slavonia and till 1872 in Hungary, with the exception of the absolute period (1849—1861).

An important reform was made as to the administration of law when by the laws of 1715 and 1723 the Royal Tabula Septemviralis as supreme court of justice and the Royal Court of Appeal (Tabula Regia) and in Croatia-Slavonia the Banal Court, as courts of second and partly of first instance were newly organized and made permanent. The Royal Court of Appeal and the Tabula Septemviralis together formed formerly our Supreme court of Justice. It was likewise by the law of 1723 that the four district courts were established in Hungary as tribunals of first instance.

Royal Courts were also established by the Exchange law of 1840 which organized seven courts of exchange, having jurisdiction also for Croatia-Slavonia and the high court of Exchange as Court of appeal. (The eighth court of exchange in Fiume has existed since the year 1886).

When Transylvania became separated from the motherland, the Transylvanian Tabula Regia served there as a court of appeal and for some special cases as a court of first instance, while in the districts inhabited by the Saxons it was the University of the Saxon nation which served as a court of appeal. The supreme jurisdiction was exercised since 1691 by the so called Gubernium, while the jurisdiction in the first instance was due to the Counties, the Sedia of the Siculi, the Sedia and districts of the Saxons, the royal free towns and other privileged towns, and finally to the courts of the landlords.

According to the present administration of justice the royal Hungarian Minister of Justice stands at the head of this branch according to the III. law of 1848, whereas in Croatia-Slavonia legal administration is led by the section of justice of the provincial government.

The supreme court of justice in Hungary is the royal »Curia« in Budapest, and in Croatia-Slavonia the royal Tabula Septemviralis in Zagreb.

The XXV. law of 1890 established eleven courts of appeal for Hungary, with their seats in Budapest, Debreczen,

Győr, Kassa, Kolozsvár, Marosvásárhely, Nagyvárad, Pécs, Pozsony, Szeged and Temesvár respectively.

In Croatia-Slavonia, which — with the exception of marine jurisdiction — has an autonomy as to jurisdiction, there is but one court of second instance, namely the Tabula Banalis at Zagreb.

The courts of first instance in Hungary ever since their reorganization in the year 1871, are without exception royal courts, viz. either royal tribunals as collegiate courts or royal district courts passing sentences by single judges. In Hungary there are 65 royal tribunals, not including the Royal Tribunal of Commerce and of Exchange of Budapest, and the Criminal Court of Budapest created as a separate tribunal in 1869, and 385 royal district-courts.

In Croatia-Slavonia there are 9 royal Tribunals and 67 District-courts.

In 1871 also the institution of public prosecution passed to the State in Hungary. At first two offices of royal Public accuser were created corresponding to the two then existing districts of courts of appeal, afterwards at the decentralisation of the Courts of Appeal five like offices were established, each of which included several courts of appeal in its dominion. There is a public accuser's office in every royal tribunal, consequently their number is likewise 65. In Croatia-Slavonia there is one office of royal Attorney General with nine offices of royal attorney.

The houses of correction in Hungary are *a)* general prisons in Illava, Lipótvár, Munkács, Nagyenyed, Sopron, Szamosujvár and Vác for men alone, and in Marianostra for women alone, *b)* State-prisons in Szeged and in Vác, *c)* district-jail in Szeged, *d)* intermediary institutes in Kis-Harta, Lipótvár and Vác, *e)* simple prisons near the royal tribunals and district-courts. As a complement to our prisons we may mention the reformatories. These are in Aszód, Kolozsvár and Székesfejérvár for boys, and in Rákospalota for girls. These institutes are less designed for punishment

than for correction. In Croatia-Slavonia there are jails in Lepoglava, Gospic and in Mitrovicz.

Finally we must add a few words concerning the organisation of royal notaries and of lawyers.

There are 10 chambers of royal notaries in Hungary with 205 notarial seats, including the town of Fiume with two royal notaries which however do not belong to any chamber of notaries but stand under the supervision of the Royal Tribunal of Fiume. In Croatia-Slavonia the royal tribunals perform the functions of chambers of royal notaries; there the number of notarial seats was 25 at the end of the year 1895.

In Hungary there are now 27 chambers of lawyers — as the chamber of Gyulafehérvár was dissolved by the Minister of Justice after the 1st of January 1896 — and in Croatia-Slavonia there are two. At the end of 1894 there were 4601 lawyers in Hungary and 170 in Croatia-Slavonia.



Ecclesiastical Organisation.

Until the thousandth anniversary of the conquest of the land, Hungary acted on the basis of the received and acknowledged churches and confessions, and when Act. 43 of the year 1895 incorporated in law the recognition of free exercise of religion, it only expressed therewith the principle that the existing ecclesiastical organisations have grown from the historic development of one thousand years.

This development is not only different in relation to the different churches and confessions, but it is not the same even in relation to one and the same church and confession in every land of St. Stephen's crown.

Only the Roman Catholic church formed for the whole kingdom of Hungary a ruling church (*Ecclesia Dominans*). She acquired this position at the time when St. Stephen became a disciple of the Western Church and received from the Pope a crown and extensive privileges in relation to the church.

However the Roman Catholic church does not remain the ruling church. With the development and extension of the legal position of the other churches which were received later, it lost some of its exclusiveness.

In Transylvania in the 16th century, owing to the decree which made the four received religions equal in Hungary

proper in the year 1848, it lost this position and differs from the other churches which are invested with all the rights of public corporations only on this ground that it is endowed with some other special and historically developed privileges, as for instance: The king must belong to the Roman Catholic faith, the coronation is conducted by the Roman Catholic pontificate according to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic church; and the Roman Catholic pontificate holds the first rank in the House of Magnates.

The first trophy of the conflicts carried on by both the Protestant churches in Hungary, was the Peace of Vienna which came to pass in the year 1606, which under Matthias II. in the year 1608, was made law as the first article before the coronation.

This Act allows the free practice of religion to the nobility, to towns, to villages, to soldiers on the border-lands; to bondmen and peasants this right is granted only in virtue of the Lords of the Manor who were invested with the *jus reformandi*. The jurisdiction of the Catholic bishops over the disciples of the new religions was not abolished.

The Peace of Linz concluded in the year 1645, and incorporated in Act. 5. of the year 1647 assigned this right also to retainers, independently of the Lords of the Manor.

In Act. 5 of the year 1647 the principle was acted upon that if the Catholic and Protestant communities could not arrive at a friendly unanimity in religious matters — *amicabilis compositio* — the right of settlement in the power of the king should be brought into play.

On the basis of this prerogative Leopold I. published in the year 1681 the so-called Explanatio Leopoldina, which makes a difference between public and private practice of religion — *exercitium religionis publicum et privatum* — while it allows the first only in the towns particularly mentioned in the Act.; on which account a difference between the towns included and not included in the Act is here firmly laid down — a difference which is also contained in Act 26, of the year 1681.

Joseph II, secured in his edict of toleration of the 29th October 1781, the free exercise of religion for the whole district of the land, but made still a difference between free and private religious exercises.

The A. 26, of the year 1791, put an end to this difference and also to the jurisdiction of Catholic Bishops, yet the limitation remained until the passing of Act. 111, in the year 1844, that in any change from the Catholic religion to one of the Protestant creeds the consent of the king is necessary,

A. 20 of the year 1848 asserted for the evangelical churches the principle of equality and identity with the other acknowledged churches: the details of this privilege were arranged for the whole district of the country, with the exception of the Balkan states by Act 53 of the year 1868.

In Transylvania the evangelic churches (Augsb. Confession) were acknowledged on the 1st of June 1557; the resolution concerning this was repeated by the Diet at Gyulafehérvár of the 10th of July 1559.

The evangelic reformed confession was acknowledged in the year 1564.

Yet there were at that time in Transylvania very many Unitarians whose recognition in the year 1568 was asserted by the Diet at Torda, and in the year 1571 by the Diet at Maros-Vásárhely.

On the basis of these legal conditions in the *Approbatae Constitutiones* Part I Chapter I Article II there appear along with the Roman Catholic religion the calvinistic, the lutheran, and the unitarian as the exclusively received religions *recepta religio* —, yet under the independent princes of Transylvania the fate of these acknowledged confessions was in no ways assured.

After the extinction of the independent princes of Transylvania Leopold I. in his Diploma of the 4th of December 1691, secured the free exercise of religion to the received confessions. It was also there asserted that if the states can

come to no friendly understanding in matters of religion the right of decision belongs to the King.

The edict of Toleration of Joseph II. gave validity in a greater measure to the free practice of religion which was repeatedly secured in Transylvania.

This is the case also in the Transylvanian statutes 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, in the year 1791.

Act. 9 of Transylvania in the year 1848 which was not sanctioned, purported to express the complete legal equality of the received confessions; this happened later in Act 44 of the year 1868; while the details of the agreement were arranged in the fore-mentioned Act. 53 of the year 1868.

So far as Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia are concerned Act. I passed by the Diet in the year 1604 banished the Protestants entirely from these countries. According to A. 10 of the year 1609 every one was authorised to seize a heretical clergyman and in case of his offering opposition to kill him.

According to the Hungarian Act 23 of 1667 and also in virtue of section 5 of Act 30 of 1715, and of Acts 125 : 1715, 86 : 1723 and 46 : 1741 only Catholics are authorised in acquiring property in Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia.

In virtue of section 14 of Act. 26, 1791, the privilege of free religion was only granted to the few Protestant congregations in Lower Slavonia where this otherwise existed at the time of the passing of the law.

In the other districts of Croatia and Slavonia they had neither a right to exercise their religion freely nor were they capable of holding an office nor could they inherit real property. It was at the utmost permitted to them to live in hired lodgings.

The eastern church had before the great unions disciples in Hungary, and among these there were some who already were settled in the land as eastern catholics, as for instance the Servians and Bounyevác settled in the county of Bácska.

The schismatic confessions which were found here united in the course of the 17th century with Rome.

The Servian schismatics who were settled in Croatia united themselves under Simon Vratanja, a monk of the order of St. Basil, with the Catholic church at the instance of the Bishop of Zágráb Peter Dimitrovics. Whereupon Pope Paul V. in his bull published on the 21st of November 1611, *Divinae Majestatis arbitrio*, named Simon Vratanja the first Bishop of the united Greek Catholic Servians with the title of Bishop of Svidnicza, and appointed the Bishop of Svidnicza as perpetual vicar of the Agram bishopric, which was also confirmed by Ferdinand II. in his diploma of the 10th of January 1612.

Maria Theresa in 1777, raised this vicariate into an independent catholic bishopric of Kőrös, to which arrangement Pope Pius VI. gave his consent in his bull »*Caritas Illa*« of the sixteenth of June 1777.

For the schismatics settled between the Danube and the Drave Leopold I. founded the Greek catholic bishopric of Szerém and named Longinus Raich (1688) as its first bishop.

These schismatics on January 18, 1690, swore to the catholic faith before the Szerém bishop Francis Jany, and signed the document effecting the union.

The Armenians who came in great numbers to Transylvania in 1672, under Michael Apaffy I. sent deputies to the Armenian archbishop of Lemberg Hunainan Vartan, owing to the good offices of Oxendius, and acknowledged in his presence the supremacy of the pope.

At their request Pope Innocent XI. named Oxendius Bishop of Alladia, and apostolic vicar for the Armenians. In Transylvania there are no non-united Armenians. Their efforts to create an independent Armenian Bishopric remained fruitless. They have become subject to the catholic bishop.

C. 14 of Act 43 of the year 1868 extends to the Armenian catholics the scope of the laws which secure to the received confessions that exist in Transylvania free religions, independent liberty and complete equality.

The Ruthenians who are settled at the foot of the Carpathians

lived in unity with the catholic church, and only at a date we do not know became perverts.

They contracted formally on the 23rd of April 1649, the regular union at the request of the bishop of Eger, Georg Jakusics, under the direction of Peter Parthenis, when the deputies of the counties Szepes, Zemplén, Ung, and Sáros, signed the document which was drawn up about the union.

The conditions of the union are : 1. that the ceremonies of the Eastern church remain unaltered. 2. That they have the privilege of electing their own bishops. 3. That the privileges of the Roman Catholic clergy should also be secured to the united Ruthenians.

The pope confirmed the union and also Parthenius who had been elected as bishop. Yet the united catholic bishopric of Munkács was not yet canonised. Therefore its bishops were always consecrated under another title, until Maria Theresa elevated it to an independent bishopric on the seventh November 1770, and Pope Clement XIV, canonised it with his bull published on the 19th September 1771, »Eximia Regalium Principum«.

For these united Ruthenians the Greek catholic bishopric of Eperjes was founded in 1816, and confirmed by Pope Pius VII, in 1818.

In Transylvania the non-united Wallachians who use a Slavic liturgy joined the union with Rome at the general synod of Gyulafehérvár in 1697.

Bishop Theophilus signed the document of union March 21st 1679. His successor Athanasius confirmed in the Gyulafehérvár synod of 1698, this union repeatedly and signed the necessary deed on the 7th October 1698.

Leopold I. confirmed on the 14th of April 1698, and afterwards repeated the privileges of the Roman catholic clergy for the united Roumanian clergy, and in his diploma of the 16th of February 1699 declared that equally with the Hungarian Ruthenians and the united sectaries settled in Croatia and Slavonia, those united in Transylvania should enjoy the same privileges which the Roman catholic church

enjoys &c. as to the church itself as much as ecclesiastical persons and effects.

On the fifth of September 1700. bishop Athanasius again confirmed the union, after which Leopold I, with the diploma of March 1701, named him bishop of the united of Transylvania.

Joseph I. confirmed likewise the union on the 30th March 1708. Charles III. founded for these united in 1721, the bishopric of Fogaras which Pope Innocent in the same year canonised.

The legislature of Transylvania incorporated this union in its laws in 1744.

For the bishopric of Fogaras, in 1786—7, the vicariates of Hátszeg, Fogaras, and Radna, were established. Pope Pius the ninth however founded with his bull of 23rd November 1853, the Greek united bishoprics of Szamos-Ujvár and Lugos, and made them suffragans of the archbishopric of Gyulafehérvár which had been founded from the bishopric of Fogaras, along with the Greek united bishopric of Nagyvárad which had been founded by Maria Theresa in 1777, and confirmed by Pope Pius VI, in his bull of the 23rd June the same year.

The founding of these bishoprics and the elevation of the bishopric of Fogaras to an archbishopric was after the reestablishment of the constitution incorporated in Act. 17, 1868. The non-united Eastern churches had before their reception a church organisation and their own bishops (Vladika), yet they were under the control of foreign ecclesiastical superiors.

In Transylvania the national princes tried to win over the non-united Roumanians to the reformation. For this purpose they caused the old Slavonian service books to be translated into Roumanian and introduced the Roumanian tongue into the liturgy instead of the Slavonian. At the same time certain privileges were secured them. None the less the faith of the non-united was only a tolerated one and formed a religion protected by the prince, touching which it was laid down in the *Approbatæ Constitutiones* part 1 chapter 8, that they can elect their own bishops and present them to the prince for

confirmation, that the bishops and seniors have the right of free visitation and that they can arrange their own service and their ecclesiastical administration. Act. 60. of Transylvania, 1791, secures to the non-united confession as a tolerated one, freedom of religion. Yet it was Act. 9. of 1848, which was not sanctioned, which determined to receive the non-united Greek church among the received confessions and to secure full equality to them, which the § 14 of Act. 43 of 1868 actually obtained for them.

In Hungary proper Eastern non-united Servians repeatedly settled. In this way we can only speak of an arrangement of their church organisation and of an ecclesiastical and confessional legislation since the settlement of Csernovics patriarch of Ipek, when pressed hard by the Turks he withdrew with about 38,000 Servian families at the invitation of Lepold I. from Servia to Hungary.

The proclamation of the sixth of April 1690 secured them freedom of religion. The diploma of the sixteenth of August 1690 asserts over and above that they have the power of choosing their bishops and attending to their spiritual welfare. The bishops can visit the churches and monasteries at any time. In ecclesiastical and secular matters the Servians depend on their Metropolitans. The property of those who die without issue or other blood relations falls to the church and the archbishop.

These assurances were confirmed by the diploma of the year 1690, and by that of the 20th of August 1691, which latter allows a so called national congress to be held and in it the Metropolitan to be chosen who is to have his residence in Karlovicz.

These privileges with the addition of a few new ones were confirmed by the diploma of the fourth of March 1695, and afterwards by Joseph I. in that of the 7th of August 1706, and by Maria Theresa in that of the 24th of April 1743.

In the year 1747 Maria Theresa arranged the Illyrian court deputation which had the task of administering the

affairs of all non-united Greek Christians, and therefore those of the Servians and Wallachians.

On the basis of the acts of this deputation she published on the 27th of September 1770, the *Regulamentum Constitutionis Nationis Illyricae*, which in the year 1777, was exchanged for a new and extensive *Regulamentum* by which the Illyrian court deputation was abolished and its agenda were handed over partly to the court chancery, partly to the Superior Council of war.

In consequence of the inconveniencies urged against this *Regulamentum* on the sixteenth of July 1779, the *Benignum Rescriptum Declaratorium Nationis Illyricae* was published in the Latin and German language which rules the whole organisation.

Agreeably to this the bishoprics of Arad, Bécs, Buda, Károlyváros, Pakrácz, Temesvár, and Versecz, are in the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Carlowitz. The same Metropolitan has jurisdiction in *Spiritualibus et Dogmaticis*, likewise in the point of view of canonical superintendence over the bishoprics of Gyulafehérvár and Bukovina on the basis of an imperial resolution of the 30th September 1783, and over the bishopric of Zara in virtue of an imperial resolution of the 19th of March 1839. At the present day however the bishoprics of Arad and Karansebes are suffragans of the Metropolitans of Nagy-Szeben.

The legislation incorporated the right of proprietorship and official status, the right of freedom of religion and other privileges of the non-united Greek christians, in Act. 27 of 1791, while Act 10 of 1792, grants to the archbishops and bishops of the Eastern church a seat and a vote in the Upper House. In Acts. 20, of 1848, and 53, of 1868, their relations with the other received confessions is asserted and laid down.

C 8. of A. 20, of 1848, and in completion of this A. 9, of 1868, lay down the legal elements for the organisation of the two equal Metropolitans of the Eastern church, the Servian and the Roumanian. They arrange the method of church

congresses and assert that the members of the Eastern church who are also of the Servian and Roumanian tongue should be left in possession of those privileges which they have always exercised in the administration of their clerical and scholastic matters, in the use of their liturgic speech, and in the management of their church properties and foundations.

The Jews have lived in this land from very early times and possessed a certain autonomy in the conduct of their affairs, but formed only a tolerated confession until recent times. Act. 29, 1840, recognises them only as such. A. 17, 1867, has equalised the Jews with other dwellers in the land only as touching their civic and political rights, and only the penal law, Act. 5, 1878, viewed them as an acknowledged confession, by placing the religious ceremonies of the Jews under a special penal protection.

The Croatian legislature has in the law of the 21st of October 1873, recognised the Jews touching the free exercise of their religion and also touching their enjoyment of civic and political rights as on an equal footing with the received confessions.

The Hungarian legislature for the first time in Act. 42, of 1895, has declared the Jewish religion a received confession.

As to what concerns individual sects in Hungary, as for example the Anabaptists, the Nazarenes, these enjoyed only an administrative toleration until Act. 43 of 1895 laid down the principles of their existence and the organisation of these and all the confessions satisfying the conditions of the law, so far that the members of each religion in so far as they do not constitute themselves as a received confession against the laws can as such acquire even corporative rights, if according to the authentication of legal demands their statutes of organisation have received ministerial approval. Until the passing of Act. 53 of 1895, everybody must belong to some received church or one that is recognised by the state, so far as his belief is concerned. But in the sense of

the Act we have just cited, it is at present quite possible for anybody to be outside all received confessions or those legally acknowledged.

The religion of children (Act. 23. 1858 and Acts. 32 1894, and 43, 1895), is legally determined in this way, that no private will or mere caprice can have any authority contrary to legal enactments it being determined by these laws that children of parents of a like creed follow the religion of their parents, while the children of such parents as belong to different received or acknowledged confessions follow according to their sex the religion of their parents. The children of parents who belong to no received or acknowledged confession follow in any case some received or acknowledged religion.

Parties who wish to contract a marriage can if they belong to different creeds, before the consummation of the marriage stipulate before the royal notary, district judge, burgomaster or superior district-captain in a form possessing legal credibility that they unite themselves on the understanding that the children of both sexes should follow the creed of only one of the parents. Of this resolution there is a variety which holds good only in the case when one of the pair goes over to the religion of the other; and the parents wish that the children to be born or those who have not completed their seventh year should follow the religion of both their parents. Children who have completed their seventh year can in such a case only by the consent of trustees pass over to the religion of their parents.

This is necessary also if parents adopt one and the same faith who in reference to the religion of their children have made no provision, so that these children according to their sex follow the religion of their parents and be compelled to obtain this consent if they have already completed their seventh year and then wish to pass over to the common religion of their parents. Formerly they could follow without the consent of the court of orphans the common religion of their parents.

After the completion of their eighteenth year, children of

both sexes, girls if they marry before reaching this year, pass over freely to any of the received or legally acknowledged confessions. Under these regulations of general interest we may touch on the regulation of marriage.

The chief principles of the law of marriage laid down by Act 31 of 1894, are the following: 1. A marriage can in a regular manner be contracted only before the public plenipotentiary civil magistrate.

2. Judicature connected with marriage is attached to the state, so that beginning from October 1st 1895 the clerical judicature »pro foro externo«, possesses no validity in matters of marriage.

3. The religious duties of the wedded pair the law leaves untouched (149), nay, in the sense of art. 67 of the ministerial order the civil officer has to make the bridal pair aware of the fact that with the wedding performed before him they have not yet satisfied their religious duties.

4. The person charged with the conduct of the church ceremony if he (always except in the case of sudden and fatal illness) intervenes in the church ceremony before the parties have proved that they have performed the marriage before the civil functionary, is for his offence to be punished with a fine of not more than a thousand crowns, in case of a repetition with imprisonment for not more than two months and a similar fine of not more than a thousand crowns. If the marriage was actually completed and the clerical authority has intervened without proof of this, then is the clerical authority to be punished with a fine of not more than three hundred crowns.

5. The obstacles to marriage are either such that by their existence the parties can contract no marriage or on account of which the contracting of marriage is forbidden. Invalid marriages are either null or disputable.

6. A valid marriage is dissoluble, but the severance from bed and board can be demanded instead.

In Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia clerical marriages are valid.

For the authentic evidence and intimation of births, deaths and marriages there are since the 1st of October 1895 public officials and public registers, and before that date ecclesiastical registers. The country is for this purpose divided into register districts.

The correction of the entries in the register is confided to the management of courts of justice.

The Roman catholics, the united Greek church and the Armenian catholics are in union with the pope of Rome and under his authority. With the rights which proceed from the superintendence of this primacy are connected those rights which belong to the apostolic king of Hungary in relation to the catholic church. This circle of right belonging to the apostolic king of Hungary forms an essential part of ecclesiastical organisation and within its province the autonomy of the Roman catholic diocese of Transylvania is a special part.

The pope exercises his rights with respect to Hungary personally and through his regular authorities; partly through the primates as his born legates, partly through the Vienna Nuncio and the authorities and officials appointed for several years (*Facultates septennales, quinquennales, triennales*) or delegated for special cases. The exercise of the rights belonging to the apostolic king of Hungary, does not exclude the assent of the pope in completing, confirming and canonising, or that of other ecclesiastical authorities, but it rather presupposes the same. On the ground of these rights the apostolic king of Hungary can found archbishoprics, bishoprics, chapters, abbeys and prebends, and can change their residences. He can vary them, divide them, unite them, incorporate them, abolish them. He nominates the archbishops and bishops with the right of »collatio«, the titular bishops, the secular abbots and abbots of orders, the titular abbots and prebends, real and titular canons with few exceptions, he assigns the right of patronage as a privilege, judges in matters of patronage and is possessed of the right of devolution also.

On the ground of his right of superintendence he supervises clerical and scholastic foundations. He is empowered to

sequester benefices that have gone to dilapidation, to give his assent to the impounding and abalienation of church goods, he administers intercalary incomes and arranges the goods and property of Hungarian churches and scholastic foundations and monasteries that have gone to ruin.

Along with this element of church organisation and the Roman catholic autonomy in Transylvania the organisation of the catholic church is as follows: At the head of the church stands the Primate of Hungary, the only primate in the whole church who still possesses real and active rights of jurisdiction, since he has the right to summon the national synod and to lead it. People can appeal against the judgment of all archbishop's consistories, with the exception of that of Kalocsa, to him. He has the right of visiting all bishoprics and all abbeys, prelacies and orders, with the exception of the abbey of Pannonhalma.

An exception is made from the regular hierarchical organisation for the army chaplaincies and for some orders, notably for the benefit of the abbey of Pannonhalma.

The regular hierarchical organisation is formed by

1. The archbishopric of Esztergom, founded by St. Stephen. Its suffragans are the bishoprics of Pécs, Veszprém, Győr, Nyitra, Székesfehérvár, Vác, Szombathely, Besztercebánya, and the Greek catholic bishoprics of Munkács, and Eperjes.

2. The archbishopric of Kalocsa, founded 1735. Its suffragans are, the bishoprics of Nagyvárad, Transylvania, and Csanád.

3. The archbishopric of Eger, founded 1804. Its suffragans are, the bishoprics of Szatmár, Kassa, Roznyó, Szepes.

4. The archbishopric of Zágráb (Agram), founded 1853. Its suffragans are, the bishoprics of Zengg-Modrus, Diakovár, and the Greek catholic bishopric of Kőrös.

5. The Greek archbishopric of Gyulafehérvár, founded 1850. Its suffragans are the Greek catholic bishoprics of Lugos, Szamos-Ujvár and Nagyvárad.

Along with these bishoprics the mitred abbot of Pannon-

halma, as one belonging to no other diocesan territory, and at the same time Praelatus Nullius vested with episcopal power, has his place in the organisation of the catholic church.

We must further remark that those Greek catholics who are of pure Hungarian language and nationality aim at the foundation of a bishopric of their own.

Along with every archbishopric and bishopric there is a chapter. It acts as an adviser of the bishop, in many circumstances is invested with the right of control, in other circumstances with the right of cooperation.

In case of the vacancy of a see or when the bishop is hindered in the exercise of his administrative rights the chapter exercises the rights laid down by the ordinary church laws. As an independent corporation it possesses autonomy and the right of disposition over its own property.

Along with the collegiate churches there are also collegiate chapters. These are in Pozsony, Nagyszombat, Sopron, Csaszma and Fiume.

The four first, that is to say, the Columnar-canonici, in the Hungarian chapters are the provost as superintendent of the chapter, the canonicus lector, the canonicus cantor and the canonicus custos; in the Greek catholic church the arch presbyter, the archdeacon, the primicerius and the ecclesiarch.

According to old custom a canonicus can only be a presbyter who has served ten years in the cure of souls or in some higher institute as teacher, and is conversant with the Hungarian language and Hungarian law.

The archbishops and bishops are supported in the exercise of their jurisdiction by a vicar designate or an appointed vicar: in actions connected with consecrations by a suffragan bishop.

The archbishop of Esztergom has three systematically ordered vicariates, those of Esztergom, Nagyszombat and Buda-Pesth. The Greek catholic bishop of Kőrös has a vicar in Eszék and one in Dalmatia.

The suffragan bishops, who before the year 1884 were named after dioceses in the hands of the infidels for which they were consecrated, (*episcopi in partibus infidelium*), are called at the present day *episcopi titulares*, that is to say, titular bishops.

From these we must distinguish those titular bishops who are named by the apostolic king of Hungary for those dioceses which in old times belonged to the Hungarian crown. Of these titular bishops those of Belgrade and Tinnin are only consecrated, the others remain priests with the title of bishop.

A bishop who through sickness or age is hindered in carrying on the acts connected with his office is allowed a coadjutor bishop. The archbishops and bishops are supported in the exercise of their duties and judicial functions by the consistory. In the exercise of their control over the clergy, over the cures of souls and over the faithful, and further in order to carry out the regulations of the bishop, to control the action of the clergy and to mediate between the clergy and the bishop, there are arch and vice deans, arch and vice archdeacons, among the Greek catholics arch and proto presbyters.

The archdean is generally a canon of a cathedral. In some dioceses, for instance in those of Eger, Kassa, Munkács, priests outside the chapter can also hold that office.

Vice deans in order to remain in communication with the clergy of their district hold generally two conferences yearly with the clergy of the district in which they preside.

The ordinary functionaries for the cure of souls are the vicars, the curates and the chaplains.

Along with the management of service, the administration of the sacraments and the preaching the word they had an important duty so far as national law is concerned, namely, intervening in the rite of marriage and drawing up the register, which two latter acts in consequence of clause 31 of Act. 33 of 1894, have lost their significance. The vicar has the

duty in the canon of the mass to mention the name of the king of Hungary after that of the pope and the diocesan bishop.

The vicars are represented and supported partly by the temporal and perpetual curates, partly by coadjutors, local chaplains, *capellani expositi*, and special assistants.

At the head of the army chaplaincies, which are exempt from this regular church organisation, there is an apostolic army chaplain who is a consecrated titular bishop, whom the king names and the pope confirms, and who is immediately subject to the pope. With him works the army consistory, whose director is his regular substitute.

The army chaplaincies are so organised that the whole monarchy is divided into seventeen parishes with one chaplain at the head of each. The official residences of army chaplains in Hungary are, Buda, Kassa, Nagy-Szeben, Pétervárad, Pozsony, Temesvár, and Zágráb.

Under their superintendence the Roman catholic, the Greek catholic, and the eastern Greek army chaplains are placed, and carry on the cure of souls in garrisons, military hospitals, and military institutions, and the army chaplains who carry on the cure of souls among the troops. In the case of war a superior chaplain is appointed out of the ranks of the chaplains.

Each division is supplied with a chaplain, each hospital with a clergyman.

For the Lutherans and Calvinists there is a chaplain who resides at Buda and is in communication with Pesth, to carry on the cure of souls. In time of war a chaplain is assigned to each army corps for these creeds, and a Rabbi for the Jews. In time of peace the local rabbi exercises the cure of souls for the Jews.

Chaplains are nominated from the diocesan clergy, from secular priests and priests of the orders., and after the cessation of their functions in the army return to the jurisdiction of their bishop.

Functionaries provided with more extended influence belonging to clerical law and forming a medium for the exposition of the legal rights of the ordinary are the synods.

In Hungary national synods were held at the summons and under the presidency of the primate, at which all archbishops and bishops of the land advise and decide about matters of common interest which affect the land.

The first was held under king Koloman in the year 1114 at Esztergom, under the presidency of primate Laurentius. Others were held in 1630 and 1633, under the primate Pázmány, in 1648 under Lippai, in 1682 under Georg Szelepcsényi in Nagyszombat. In 1822 the last synod was held under the primate Rudnay; for that which was summoned to Esztergom in 1848 by the archbishop of Kalocsa, Francis Nádasdy, on account of the vacancy of the primacy, could not be held on account of circumstances.

In the times of St. Stephen, St. Ladislaus and Koloman, mixed councils were held.

The provincial and county synods present no points of variance with ordinary church law.

The last provincial synods were those of Esztergom in 1885, of Kalocsa in 1863, of Gyulafehérvár and Fogaras in 1882.

Of the diocesan synods we must mention those of Esztergom in 1868, and of Pécs in 1863.

In the organisation of the Roman catholic diocese of Transylvania, special condition is attached to the autonomy of this diocese by which it administers definite clerical foundation and scholastic business by mediums chosen from ecclesiastics and the laity.

These mediums are the assembly of the state as the determinative medium and the board of directors as the administrative. Along with the ecclesiastical and secular presidents the districts are represented by ecclesiastical and secular delegates, the scholastic establishments through their directors or through delegates, courts of justice, municipalities, free towns and towns with a regular magistracy through catholic delegates also by patrons and benefactors.

In a lower sphere the autonomy is expressed by the medium of the general assembly of the congregation, the church and school board.

The basis of this autonomy is to be referred to reformation times when in consequence of the oppression of the catholic believers were compelled to safeguard their religious interests; and since according to the *approbatae constitutiones ecclesiasticae* could only decide in general assemblies on matters affecting them, clergy and laity held permanent assemblies as the Roman catholic state of Transylvania until Maria Theresa in 1767 assigned the conduct of ecclesiastical and scholastic matters and the administration of foundations to a catholic commission which was formed under the tutelage of the government. By imperial decree of the 19th of August 1867 the validity of state assemblies was again established. The permanent organisation was established in 1873.

The Lutherans finally arranged their constitution in the synods of 1891—93, which received imperial confirmation on the 18th of March 1894.

This church is divided into five districts, namely, the districts on this and on the other side of the Danube, the districts of Bányá, Tisza and Transylvania with the official seats in Liptó-Szt-Miklós, Győr, Pilis, Miskolcz and Nagy-Szeben.

Their autonomous corporations are, the parish, the seniorate, the church district and the united church. Their presidents are the highest functionaries. The decisive, administrative and representative organs of the parish are the parish meeting, the presbytery, and the officials of the parish, of whom the presidency is consisting of the guardian and the pastor.

In the seniorate is the seniorate's assembly, with the presidency consisting of the seniorate's inspector and the senior. In the church district is the district assembly and the presidency, which consists of the district inspector and the bishop.

The representative and ruling authority of the united church

as being the highest autonomous corporation, is the general assembly. Its ruling and representative functionary the general inspector of church and school.

There must be added to this all degrees of superior and assistant secretaries, solicitors, cashier, comptrollers, librarians and keepers of the archives.

The legislature and highest corporation of administration of the church is the synod, which can be held by permission of the king.

Tribunals are the seniorate, district and general consistories. The highest official functionary of the Transylvanian district is the supreme clerical council, the national consistory in N.-Szeben.

The reformed church in Hungary was organised according to the consistory system, and there were as many churches as districts.

However the national synod which was held at Debreczen in 1881/2, arranged for all five districts and also for the Transylvanian a common body of legislature, but allowed the constitution of the Transylvanian district and its privileges to continue undisturbed.

The autonomous bodies and their officials are organised as in the Lutheran church, with the exception that ministers instead of inspectors are the functionaries of administration. Instead of the general assembly the general convention is the body empowered to settle business that touches the united church. A functionary corresponding to the general church and school inspector does not exist.

In Transylvania there are the following functionaries: In the parish there is the parish church meeting. In the seniorate the general assembly and the presbytery. In the diocese the general assembly, uniting the old consistory and the general synod. The ruling functionary is the permanent adviser of the board.

The organisation of the unitarian churches is in church parishes, eight church districts and in the officials and assemblies which pertain to the united church.

The functionaries of the parish are the larger representative council, the presbytery and the smaller representative council. The officials of the seniorate division are the senioral assembly and as administrative functionary the senior with his secretary, the vicar with his church inspector. The highest central officials are the general meeting, which is generally held once every year, the synodal meeting which is held once every four years and the chief board of church representation which transfers the business from one general meeting to another, the president of which is the bishop and the superior minister.

So far as the exercise of the autonomous rights which belong to the non-united Greeks is concerned in religious and scholastic business, the legislature of 1848 (§ 8 of Act. 20) the ministry have directed that one congress should be called for all the non-united consisting of twenty five clerical and 75 lay members to be chosen by them. In consequence of the circumstances which occurred this permission had no practical results.

The national Servian congress which was held by imperial permission in 1864/5 at Carlowitz, laid down the basis of another quite new organisation.

This congress was expressly sanctioned by Act. 9 of 1868, and it was also legally asserted that the non-united eastern Greeks should form two archbishoprics of equal privileges, a Servian and a Roumanian. In this way those Greek orientals who either belonged to the Roumanian or the Servian race, were left in enjoyment of their autonomous privileges.

The archbishops settle and administer their church, school and endowment business partly at their congresses, partly by the statutes made in the congresses and approved by his Majesty.

The congress of the Servian national church consists, besides the archbishop and bishop, of twenty-five spiritual and fifty secular elected representatives. In the Roumanian national church this congress consists of thirty spiritual and sixty secular representatives.

The scope of the congress does not extend to dogmas,

religious instruction, liturgy and ecclesiastical discipline. On the contrary all church, school and endowment business belong to it, and further the questions of organisation and endowment of vicars, seniorates, church districts, archbishops' sees and monasteries, ultimately the election of patriarch and naturally of archbishops likewise. All this however demands the royal approval and subsequently confirmation.

The highest functionary in the Servian eastern church is the patriarch of Carlowitz under whose presidency a committee consisting of one bishop, two spiritual and five secular members, and further of the national secretary, conducts business, and exercises supervision over church property and funds and forms a court of appeal for the lower offices of administration. The highest court are the chancellor of the archbishop's see and the national legal council of education. The archbishop's see is divided into parishes, seniorates and church districts or bishoprics. The decisive and representative functionary of the parish is the church assembly, the administrative functionary is the board of direction and the church commission.

The functionary of the seniorate is the senior, as an external adjunct to the bishop.

The representatives of the church district are the district meeting, the functionaries of church administration are the district consistory for matters touching the cure of souls and the administration of justice, the district administration commission for administering, and the district school commission for school business.

The organisation of the eastern Greek Roumanian church shows the same grades and divisions in so far as it has at each step a decisive and administrative functionary, a representative body composed of clerical and lay members and several executive legal functionaries. Moreover the church has also legal officers of jurisdiction.

The functionaries of the parish are the parish synod and the parish commission. Seniorates have also functionaries, the seniorate synod the seniorate commission, and moreover as

judicial officers the seniorate session and the seniorate curatorium. The functionaries of the church district are the district synod and the consistory, which is a leading and judicial organ of the whole church district. Its president is the archbishop or bishop, its members are the legal advisers of the consistory. The consistory itself is divided into three senates, the real church senate, school council and council of trustees.

The functionaries of the archbishop's sees are the metropolitan consistory which like the district consistory is divided into three senates, and the bishops' synod i. e. the assembly of bishops held under the presidency of the archbishop in which church questions, questions of dogma, and matters relating to the cure of souls are treated.

The organisation of the Jews is partly according to the statutes established by the Jewish congress in the year 1868—69, partly to the statute promulgated by the Cultus Minister on the 5th of November 1871, and established by the orthodox Jews. Partly they are left in statu quo. A united organisation does not belong to them. Individual communities form the sole organised corporations of the Jews. These acquire their character as such owing to the fact that the Cultus Minister recognises those communities which possess confirmed statutes as legally organised communities.

Their leader and first officer is the Rabbi, who transacts the religious functions in the spirit of their religious laws, and controls the institutions of the community, of the service and also the officers of the community. These officers are the teacher of religion, and the circumciser.

The practical business is conducted by a committee of the community. Its officers are the president, the superintendent, the secretary and the cashier.

These communities are not only in a point of view of common law juridical persons; they have also the right to tax their members.



Instruction, Scientific and Philanthropic Institutions.

Since the time that St.-Stephen's kingdom was accomplished, during all the middle-ages, school, as well as all the other means of public instruction, in Hungary just as in most of the countries of Europe, was in the hands of the Church or at least under her direct influence. But even a long time after the middle-ages, the circumstances in the interior of the Church, especially the religious wars and troubles influenced most decisively the development of the whole intellectual culture.

The Clergy being justly considered during the middle-ages the depositaries of every science and culture, instruction, during a very long time, was nearly only in their hands, and consisted in the preparation for the service of the church. Those who chose another profession, obtained as an exception a more careful instruction ; but that which may be called common, public teaching, something like that which is called now »Elementary Education«, consisted chiefly only in religious teaching, and Theology was considered the real crown of scientific instruction.

- Throughout the middle-ages the schools of the parishes, convents, and metropolitan-churches were the types of the Hungarian schools, to which were added, only in the time

of the greater development of towns and cities, of industry and trade, the town-schools with their special character and their, for the greater part, laic teachers in contrary to the rest of the schools.

But all these schools together did not represent a gradual instructive organization; but each of them had its own special task, and it is very difficult to find therein even the germs of the later organization of schools. The parish-schools — which we know very little about — were probably most alike to our modern primary-schools; the convent-schools with their ordained clergymen as teachers cultivated under the name of »Trivium and Quadrivium« the so called seven free arts and contained rather the embryo of the colleges and lyceums of later times; the metropolitan-schools were the most important ones; their teachers were the canons, and the instruction generally surpassed the limits of the Quadrivium and contained also theology. The real importance of town-schools chiefly begins at the time of the Reformation.

Thus the history of our schools begins rather with the first convents of St. Benedict, established by St. Stephen at Pannonhalma, Pécsvárad, Zoborhegy and Bakonybél; but the most important school, our first king founded was at Székesfehérvár which only later was beaten by the school at Veszprém, which in the 13th century is told to have taught, besides the fine arts, theology and jurisprudence. Our real first university was established at Pécs in 1367 under the name of »Studium generale, and Lewis the Great, according to the customs of those times, obtained the sanction from Pope Urban the Fifth. Under the influence of the Italian revival arose and developed the academies of Nagyvárad and Esztergom; at the latter medical science was taught. King Matthias founded at Pozsony the »Academia Istropolitana«, with the privileges of the university of Bologna. He also began the organization of a very great university at Buda, where already since the time of King Sigismund an

academy existed, and where he established the first printing-house and his famous library; but his death caused the quick ruin of all these as well as of his other creations.

During the middle-ages the state of schools in Hungary had only a very little national character; certainly in the beginning on account of the propagation of the religion the Hungarian language was used in the schools; but later the Latin became the only language employed in the schools which taught after the scholastical method. The demonstrative unity of the language and method of teaching in all the civilized countries of Europe, which we remark since the 14th century, was the cause that towards the end of the middle-ages and the beginning of Modern Time a great many of Hungarian students went to the more celebrated universities of the foreign countries, which proves the thirst of science and the ambition especially of our higher classes. Paris, Bologna, Vicenza, Padua, Rome as well as Prague, Vienna, and Krakow became already in the 13th and 14th century the meeting-places of the Hungarian students, who formed at these cities complete clubs, called »bursae« and many of whom were assisted in their studies in the foreign country by the munificence of some Prelate or Magnate.

The great change in the Hungarian history, caused by the catastrophe of Mohács, was followed consequently by a very deep commotion of our intellectual life and became the beginning of quite new organizations as to general culture and especially in school-matters.

A great part of those schools, established by the kings of different dynasties, perished the concerning parts of the country being conquered by the Turks; the traces of the Italian revival, introduced into Hungary by King Matthias — anticipating in this regard even Germany — seemed to disappear entirely in our culture; the decay of the country caused also the decay of the church, and towards the end of the 15th century, learning amongst the clergy was so little that, at some synods it had to be ordered, as a kind

of reform, that the priests at least ought to know to read and to sing and that they ought to be familiar with the primary sciences. At the same time politic circumstances caused the separation of Transylvania, which ended the unity of the intellectual life and of the intellectual aims of both the parts of the country, of this side and the other side of the Királyhágó.

And most marvellously, the coincidence of all the circumstances with the events and the tide in Europe at that time caused a stirring, which at last produced a mighty flourishing of our general culture. The propagation of the doctrines of the Reformation in Hungary, brought about towards the beginning of the 16th century, as well as the already mentioned decay of learning of the Catholic Clergy were very much advanced by the politic circumstances and especially by the separation of Transylvania. With much energy Protestantism took school-matters into its hand whereby it was best able to work for its propagation. The effecting of the Revival concerning the system of teaching was carried through also in our country at first by Protestantism, and although its propagators brought many strange elements into the development of our civilization, they having for the greater part much intercourse with the academies of Germany and later with those of Holland, Switzerland and England, still they increased our culture undeniably in a most decisive manner.

The flourishing of the protestant schools and the quick propagation of the doctrines of the new religion awakened the imperiled Catholic Church from her indifferent repose, and whilst amongst the Protestants it were the Magnates, in Transylvania the Princes, sometimes the towns, rivaling in the best teachers, even the inferior nobility who by their zeal distinguished in the foundation of schools, in the catholic church it were chiefly the Prelates who since the second half of the 16th century tried to advance school-matters by important creations. It was the settling of the Jesuites which

caused the greatest improvement of the school-organization, and the members of this order obtained in 1561 from Primas Nicolaus Oláh their first academy and convent at Nagyszombat; from the beginning of the 17th until the beginning of the 18th century the education of the Hungarian Catholics was nearly completely in the hands of those priests, even in Transylvania, although there they could not settle down with as much independence.

During a certain time there was between the two parties a rather quiet combat, fought only with intellectual arms and which in the history of our civilization signifies an exceedingly fertile period; general education prospered, teachers became important persons in public life, the propagation of the religion and the religious disputations developed our national language and literature; the printing-offices established in the neighbourhood of the important schools sent forth the sciences into all the classes; schools increased extraordinarily, which only was accompanied by one drawback: at those places where the different religions made war against each other, schools were crowded, whilst other countries, especially those which had only one religion, remained without any schools.

This period of war shows us best in which way the manner of teaching in the two parties was alike or contrary. The Protestants as well as the Jesuites followed the traces of the system of teaching developed by the Humanists Agricola, Erasmus, Melancton, Sturm and Trozendorf; thus they began at the same origin, and fighting, they exchanged many of their weapons. Those exterior weapons: the animation of ambition, rivalry, by which the system of the Jesuites is so very well known and which amongst them is united with the rhetoric character of education, were also used amongst the Protestants, which is proved by their school-festivals and their theatrical performances. Here and there it was the custom to go to foreign countries; the Protestants went chiefly to Wittenberg, Tubingen, Jena, whilst

for the Catholic Clergy were established: at Vienna the Christ College and later the Pazmaneum and at Rome the «Collegium Germanica-Hungaricum». Also the national language was cultivated at both the parties in a rather equal manner; for although at some parts of the country where different languages were spoken, it was ordered decisively by the Protestants, that the Professor of this or that class was to know Hungarian or that the pupils at certain hours had to talk Hungarian, still on the other hand, at the most Hungarian places as Debreczen, the Hungarian conversation in school was forbidden on account of the complete learning of the Latin, which was the real language of instruction. The Jesuites however cared very much for the improvement of the Hungarian language, for instance at their college at Kassa about the middle of the 18th century, although most of their teachers were strangers and their language of instruction was the Latin.

But also great contrasts are to be seen. By the «Ratio studiorum» the method of teaching of the Jesuites was the same for all the world, amongst all the nations it was regulated equally, and thus also in their Hungarian schools, the same method was used even down to the most inferior details; as to the philosophic and theologic principles of their teaching, the absolute authority of the doctrines of St. Thomas of Aquino reigned. The schools of the Protestants were very different amongst each other as to the application of the teaching-method and as to the scientific opinion, in the same manner as the one or the other foreign academy had influenced their origin or as they formed the «Particula» of the one or the other mother-school in the own country; again it was the individuality of the different leaders which was to be seen in the direction and character of those schools; therefore the schools of the Protestants represent a great variety as to their pedagogic direction. But just this free authorization of personal influences made it possible that at certain times at these protestant schools new reformatory-ideas

could be introduced, as for instance by Sárospatak the intuitive principle of instruction of Comenius and the acknowledgment of the importance of the native language, by Pozsony (Pressburg) relatively by Matthias Bél the franconian pedagogic realism penetrated into our country. Though we appreciate very much the college-system of the Jesuites, which in many regards was an excellent one, still it cannot be denied that the schools of this order just on account of their universal, international character form much less the typic, national phasis in the history of our teaching-matters than the protestant academies with their individual autonomous school-life, their quarrels and wanderings, their begging and preaching students.

Speaking of the schools of the Jesuites and Protestants, we must remember some exceptions from the school-types of the 16th und 17th century which until now have not been mentioned. Such are firstly the schools of the Saxons in Transylvania with their special development and their great advance, reaching back already into the 15th century; their privileges and separation as well as their intimate foreign alliances put them in the way for Luthers doctrines a long time before the Hungarian schools; such are secondly, at the other party, although most of them only in the 18th century, the schools of the rest of the religious orders, especially those of the Piarists who at the beginning distinguished in the foundation of primary schools, as well as those of the Paulines and Minorites and the colleges, established by the Benedictines, Cistercians, Premonstrants and Franciscans.

The religious discord sharpened in the last decennaries of the 17th century, and the oppression of the power of the state, brought into the war by the stronger party, ended very soon the peaceful development and the thriving of school-matters. As about 1580 the Jesuites were persecuted in Transylvania, in Hungary the Protestants' right of the foundation of schools was restricted to the so called «Articular places»; the rank of their schools was degraded, the foundation of high schools was prevented by every means, and

about the time of the rebellion of Tököly and Rákóczy, with the ever changing luck of war, also the proprietors of the schools changed perpetually, which was an incalculable drawback for the continuity, the development and the strengthening of the institutions.

Amidst these religious quarrels, mixed with the wars for politic liberty, State himself became only slowly and difficultly aware of his own duties and rights, concerning the intellectual education of the people.

The first dispositions of our legislature, concerning school-matters and dating already from the 16th century; do not contain anything but petitions addressed to the king and requests addressed to the Prelates, containing, they should make use of the goods of the destroyed convents and churches for the foundation of schools. Later dispositions, dating from the beginning of the 18th century determine chiefly the king's privileges concerning the administration of pious legacies and the permission of foundations of schools, it is in Transylvania, we find some more detailed legislative measures, containing some meritorious directions. The legislative and governmental dispositions, as far as they concern teaching-matters, find at that time the duty of the State only in the restriction and control of the religious school-matters, and not as much for the profit of the State as for that of the reigning religion; until the second half of the 18th century, there is no trace to be found of that thought, that the State himself was to be active and effective concerning the department of general education or that the state himself was to try to determine the system of teaching.

The organization and order of schools published during the reign of Queen Maria Theresa the so called »Ratio educationis publicae« shows the important change with which the state begins to interfere in the matter of school-organization and teaching system, although in the beginning only in an administrative way.

The nobly thinking Queen who already in 1774 had proved

her great sympathy for educational matters, by regulating the schools of the reconquered Temes-Banát, now wished by the above mentioned great work, although only its first volume was published, to regulate the national education in her Hungarian kingdom entirely and in one manner by the authorization of all the requests, the state tended to, but at the same time corresponding with her own religious conviction, and thereby to raise the nation to a higher rank of intellectual education.

This »Ratio educationis publicae« fixes the gradual order of schools: the primary-schools corresponding with the claims of the villages, market-towns and cities; the latin schools which are divided into grammar-schools, colleges and academies, but superior to all these is the Royal University; the same law takes the charge of the preparation of teachers, establishing therefore model-schools in different parts of the country; it regulates the sphere of business of the school-magistrate, the organization of the different manners of schools, their rules of studies and discipline, speaks of the teaching institutions of the religious orders, of the archbishops and bishops, of the priests-seminaries, convents, of the survey of music-schools; it governs the matter of capacity, wages and retiring-allowance of teachers and mentions the funds, determined in the first place for school-expenses.

Wishing to show the character of the »Ratio educationis« we especially must mention that this law footed still in the ideas of the society of that time, which was divided into different ranks and stations; therefore it governs and organizes the education exactly answering the claims of the different classes of society; at the other hand, influenced by the encyclopedical tide of the 18th century, it grants a great space for physical and the so called useful sciences. Many important creations depend from the publishing of this law; for instance the foundation of the Country-University and of the studyfunds from the fortune of the order of the Jesuites, dissolved in 1787, to which were added royal and other be-

nefactions, and which until now represent considerable sources for the expences of the Hungarian instruction. From the publishing of the »Ratio educationis« also depend: the foundation of the royal academy; the removal of the university of Nagy-Szombat to Buda, established in 1635 by the Primas Peter Pázmány and enlarged by Maria-Theresa by a medical faculty; at Buda this university received its finishing organization; at the same time a mining-academy at Selmech was established. It must also be mentioned that the printing-office of the university had a very great importance on account of the editions, concerning the development of literature of teaching and education, which already in the first half of this century highly flourished.

The application of the orders of the »Ratio educationis« for the protestant schools was clearly expressed; but the Protestants appealing to their autonomy, refused these dispositions not created by the legislature and thus one of the chief aims of the »Ratio educationis«, the similar regularity of school-matters was not obtained.

A still greater reaction was caused by the dispositions of Joseph the Second, who, it must be said, was exceedingly tolerant with persons of another faith, but who wished to bring the school entirely into the province of the government; this being added by the experiment of a general extension of the German language in the Hungarian schools, these measures caused the opposition of the whole nation and had to be annulled even by their founder.

This reaction indicated the characteristic direction of the stirring of civilization in Hungary in the following period. From 1790—1792 the protestant communities obtained by means of laws warranties, concerning their school-autonomy, and at the other hand, laws and thereupon reposing governmental dispositions, secured the teaching of the Hungarian language in the school, although for a long time the Latin remained the language of teaching even in the middle-and high schools. And this national reaction gave the impulse for

the cultivating of the language, for the origin of the national stage, for the experiment of the formation of scientific societies, for the flourishing of literature and its propagation especially by means of magazines.

The work of the commission, ordered by the Parliament of the year 1791 created the second »Ratio educationis« that of the year 1806, which also extended upon the whole school-organization, following the traces of the first one and bearing the clear sign of the developments and experiences of the past; in several regards it reduces the demands of the »Ratio of 1777«; but at the other hand it gives a better view of the whole plan, it is clearer, plainer and more practical; it takes a special care of the education of girls, corresponds better with the national interests and appreciates especially the claims of the national language,

Although the Protestants did not acknowledge the obligatory effect of this »Ratio« neither, still they practised it nearly completely and in their didactic province it became in fact the code of the teaching-matters in Hungary until the great changings which happened about the middle of the present century; the efforts of the Parliament to create a common law at that time, were without any effect.

Of the long period of repose, concerning the development of our general education, we, in this short review, can only mention the following important facts: the establishment of the National-Museum in 1808 and of the Hungarian Academy of science in 1825 — both are closely joined with the name of Széchenyi, father and son — the introduction of systematic infant-schools in 1836, the establishment of forester-and agricultural academies and of a technological school; the foundation of the first public music-schools from 1807—1848, in 1846 the publishing of a new »Ratio« concerning the primary schools, by the chancellor Count Apponyi; and finally the most important fact: the declaration of the Hungarian language as the language of teaching in the middle and high schools by Act. II. of the year 1844.

The development of Transylvania, at this time still separated, as well as the laws of this country, concerning this matter, followed at this time the same direction as those of the mother-country.

The realization of the great principles with regard to instructive matters, proclaimed by the legislature of 1848, was prevented by the intervening sad events. During the period of the absolute government, the orders concerning the education and applied in Austria, were immediately introduced also into our country, and influenced in such a way that it was rather only society and the already strongly developed literature that cared for the keeping up of our national civilization. An important disposition, influencing for a long time the development of our school-organization, was the synchronous extension of the »Plan of organization of colleges and technic-schools« up to the Hungarian middle-schools, published in 1849 by Count Thun, minister of public instruction in Austria. Thus the former philosophic lectures (at the colleges) finished, and the Hungarian colleges were altered into middle-schools with eight classes; besides, there was introduced the system of professional teaching, the trial for going to universities and other similar institutions, and a new kind of middle-schools: the technic-school. The chief-principles of the orders of the »Plan of organization« remained in our present organization of middle-schools; the other dispositions of the absolute government however, especially those concerning the application of the German language as teaching-language did not last a long time, and when in 1867 Hungary completely reobtained the right of constitutional self-government, she immediately began most energetically to make up for the loss of time, also as to civilization, especially as to the progress of the education of the people and the teaching of technical objects, which, in contrary to the foreign countries, was only very little developed; in this work the state was highly supported in every regard by the municipal- and community-autonomy, as well as by the society, enthusiastic in the thriving of the nation.

As the development since that time shows itself in the present circumstances, which later will be spoken of, we finish this historical description, enumerating the most important works of legislature and government.

When Baron Joseph Eötvös for the second time took upon himself the leading of the public instruction in Hungary, he, by his high intelligence, knew as his most urgent duty the general regulation of the education of the people by the law XXXVIII. of the year 1868. This article affirms the general obligation to go to school and secures at the same time the liberty of the foundation of schools; it engages the communities to the establishing of primary-schools everywhere, where there are no other institutions for the teaching of the people; it regulates the preparation of teachers and the administration of the primary-schools — which has undergone a modification by a later law of the year 1876 — and creates the grammar-schools of towns and the high primary-schools. At the same time the legislature regulated the equality before the law of religions and nationalities, also concerning the influence in school-matters and provided the Greek-Oriental Churches with an extensive autonomy as to their religious as well as to their school-matters.

Soon after, the so called »Military-Frontier« became a Hungarian province, and as the inhabitants of this part of our country who had lived until that time in a quite military organization, now became regular citizens, also their school-matters were regulated correspondingly. About this time were established the Instructive-Senate and the second university of the country, at Kolozsvár, the former capital of Transylvania which now definitively was united with the mother-country.

During his long regime, Minister August Trefort has shown an indefatigable activity concerning the development of the already existing institutions as well as of the creation of new ones. In 1875 the national pension-institute for the teachers of primary-schools was founded, and at the

same time, Aladár Molnár established the first High-school for girls, a model-institution for the high education of women; for the progress of the primary school-pedagogic, the national-museum for means of instruction was established; the faculties of physical and medical-sciences of the university of Budapest obtained quite a new flourishing by great splendid buildings: the »Joseph's technological institution«, raised during the period of Absolutism to the rank of a Polytechnic-High-School, got an organization and a building corresponding with the development of technic sciences. During the seventh and eighth decennary, a great number of inferior and superior schools of agriculture, technic- and commercial sciences and of arts were founded, at the same time, the instruction in the houses of correction developed and the philanthropic institutions increased.

After a long fermentation and many ineffective experiments, at last also the regulation of the organization of our middle-schools was obtained by the XXX. law of the year 1883. With regard to the method, only the already existing circumstances were mentioned in that law: the Humanistic College and the technic-school, which in the meantime equally had been enlarged up to eight classes; at the same time the law regulated the most important questions of school-matters, ascertained the until that time always disputed limits of the governmental survey of the schools of the autonomous religions, put the preparation of teachers into the hand of the State and made it possible that the middle-schools of the different religions were supported by the State.

The obligatory introduction of the Hungarian language as national-language into the primary-schools in 1879, was in fact only the realization of elder laws and of the intention of the »Ratio educationis« of 1806. The State not only regulated the primary-schools, but showed a good example by establishing new ones; especially since 1884 many State-primary-schools were founded, the number of which, occasioned by the »Millenium« has increased by 400.

The successor of Trefort, Minister Count Albin Csáky has extended his reformatory activity by the way of legislature, to a just regulation of the pension of primary-school-teachers, to the general obligatory propagation of the organization of infant-schools, to the progress of some disadvanced primary-schools by the supplement of the salaries of teachers and to the preparatives for a pension-institute for middle-school-professors.

In the stirring of the modern time of our country and especially in the development of our school-matters, we see exactly the decisive direction, now cleared in the struggle of ideas, the first symptoms of which, we saw in the great works of the 18th century in the province of school-matters which however then could not yet be strengthened by the national idea, developed only in the course of the present century. This direction acknowledges equally that the calling of the school is to keep up the State and to form the nation. The state wants extraordinary good schools, but at the same time the liberty and the noble rivalry of the schools, for that reason that all intellectual capacities, hidden amongst the people may get to practise, to be developed and by their abilities advance the aims of the country; yet at the other hand, the ideas, traditions and aims of the State must be introduced into the school, which from the most inferior until the most superior grade must be convinced of the idea of the State; that the society parted by differences of race, religion and rank may be closely joined together and by this tie may be formed into a strong nation by the unity of the school.

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Having stated until now the historic development of the instructive organization and of the civilization of Hungary, we now pass over to the description of the present condition of Culture in Hungary, at which description just as in the historic statement we do not take any notice of the so called adjoining countries of Croatia and Slavonia, as these

countries have full autonomy concerning their school-matters and as their conditions in this regard are described in a special literary way; however we include Fiume, the instructive matters of this town belonging to the Hungarian central-government.

Stating with numbers, which allow a general conclusion for the intellectual culture of Hungary, considered in this regard, we are able to mention the following results of the last census in the country of the year 1890: 60·20 per cent of the male and 46·40% of the female population above the age of 6 years could write and read. At the right bank of the Danube the result was the most favourable: 76·21% of men and 62·04% of women as well as at Fiume 74·19% of men and 59·18% of women; the least favourable result was in Transylvania: 39·12% of men and 26·61% of women. Amongst the different nationalities we find, concerning the knowledge of writing and reading in the first place the Germans with 62·97%, in the second the Hungarians with 53·61%; the last are the Ruthenians with 9·88%. At the former census of the year 1880 only 41·25% of the population above the age of 6 years could read and write; thus the progress in these 10 years is remarkable.

We illustrate in a certain way the importance of these statistics, mentioning comparatively the following facts: while the whole number of the inhabitants of Hungary, being able to read and to write, amounts to 44·46%, in Austria it amounts to 55·92%, in Spain to only 28·6%, in Servia only to 10%; while in Hungary the number of analphabetes amongst the male population above the age of 6 years amounts to 37·90%, amongst the females above the age of 6 years amounts to 46·90%, in Italy for instance the number of the male Analphabetes above the age of 6 years amounts to 54·66%, of the female ones to 69·22%; in Belgium however the number of these who know neither to write nor to read amounts only to 26·7% of the population of the age between 7 and 50 years.

Those signs of the intellectual culture of Hungary concerning the state of language as well as those belonging into the department of science, literature and arts being spoken of in other chapters, we here must restrict ourselves to the condition of schools, the results of school-education as well as to the philanthropic institutions with pedagogic character and at last to the scientific institutions, concerning civilization.

High Instruction. Since the time that in Hungary the high instruction, — which in former periods had formed one idea with the latin grammar-school and was closely joined together with it in the philosophic lectures of the colleges of the Jesuites and Protestants, of the episcopal and archiepiscopal lyceums and of the royal academies — since the time that this high instruction had become the task of independent institutions, we can determine this task best in stating that it consisted in the further development of certain professions and in the cultivating of sciences upon the basis of the trial of leave of the middle-schools. The institutions of our country which accomplish such a task, are not to be comprehended under one system. There are above all the universities, — which upon the basis of the liberty of teaching, but still under the survey of a regulation of studies and examinations, fixed according to the claims of the different professions — educate for the career of jurists, physicians, middle-school-professors, and apothecaries, — the university of Budapest educates also for the catholic theology —; besides this, the universities of course offer the highest grade of instruction in all these faculties, which are to be chosen voluntarily, to all those, who wish to be acquainted with science only on account of cultivating science itself. Next to the university, concerning organization and task is the Polytechnicum as High-school of all technic sciences; this institute especially educates for the acquiry of the qualification as engineer, engine-technologist, architect and chemist. The faculties, taught at the universities may also be studied at other teaching

institutions: catholic theology at the catholic priests'-seminaries; corresponding with those all the other religions have their own seminaries or other theological institutions; jurisprudence and science of states can be studied at the governmental and royal as well as at the protestant academies of law and at the archiepiscopal and episcopal colleges of law; finally the high-school for professors, belonging to the order of Benedictines at Pannonhalma, educates for the career of middle-school-professors; according to the existing laws and dispositions, the time of study, passed at the different theologic institutions which educate for the career of professors, is partly included in the time ordered for the study of professors at the university. Into the province of the education for professors belong also the model-drawing-school of the country as high-school for professors of drawing and the highest class of the governmental high-school for teachers at Budapest which educates male teachers upon the basis of the trial of leave of middle schools or of that of the teachers diploma for high primary-schools; another high-school of similar character exists for the education of female teachers.

Concerning the high education for farmers the following special institutions exist: the forester academy which educates foresters and forest-engineers, the mining-academy which educates miners, forge-officers and mining-machinists; the veterinary-academy and finally the agricultural academy which educates diplomate farmers.

Concerning politics and military profession, Hungary does not contain any high-school. The foreign representation being in common with Austria, there exists in Vienna the so called Oriental Academy under the direct survey of the ministry of foreign affairs residing in Vienna; this academy educates for the career of consuls and diplomates; the high military education is offered by two institutions, also residing in Austria: the military academy at Wiener-Neustadt and the military technic-academy at Vienna; the establishment of a third military academy at Budapest is planned.

Amongst the institutions for high instruction the first place is taken by the royal university of Budapest which since its definitive organization and solemn inauguration, already has accomplished the 115th year of its existence and actually is supported by the annual expenses of about 890.000 florins, to which the fund of the university contributes 283.000 fl. The university consists of the catholic theologic, juridical and diplomatic, medical and philosophic faculties; to the last mentioned ones recently Minister Baron Lorand Eötvös joined a high boarding school for Professors. During the last school-year the number of Professors amounted to 204, the number of students to 4006. Thus the university of Budapest, as to its frequency, occupies the 6th place amongst the universities of Europe. The greatest number of students belongs to the juridical faculty (2498). although there is besides another university and ten academies of law, which offer a juridical education, which is explained by the fact, that the wealthy classes of Hungary think it proper to give their sons a juridical education, even if they do not intend to serve as jurists or in an administrative way.

The small number of medical students (1000 at Budapest and Kolozsvár together) is explained by the fact that many of the students of this faculty even now go to the universities of Austria, especially to Vienna.

The Francis-Joseph-University of Kolozsvár existing since 23 years has — without a theologic faculty — one faculty for jurisprudence, one for medicine, another for philosophy, philology and history and one for mathematics and physics. As to the placing and arrangement of this university, the progress of the last ten years is most remarkable; still the clinics are not at all on the level of those of Budapest. This university, included the high-school for professors, is supported now by the annual expenses of 358.000 fl.; the number of teachers amounts to 70, the number of students to 628. Here it may be mentioned that at both universities lectures for midwives are established, for whose education also four special schools are existing.

The number of students of the royal Joseph-Polytechnicum of Budapest has recently so very much increased, that already now the most earnest intention exists to establish a new larger group of Polytechnicum-buildings instead of those built in 1883. The number of students surpasses already that of 1041; the greater part of them choose the career of engineers; the number of professors, included the assistant-professors, amounts to 94; the annual expenses of the institution amount to 280.000 fl.

The number of the theologic institutions, that is seminaries, amounts actually to 49 with 1692 students. Theologic institutions are maintained by the romans catholic church to which belong: the Central-seminary of Budapest, three archiepiscopal and 15 episcopal seminaries; besides these, ten institutions of the religious orders for theology and for the education of teachers and professors; by the greek-catholic church to which belong four archiepiscopal and episcopal seminaries. The Servian and Rouman church of the Greek-Orientals maintain four seminaries at the real Hungarian territory; the Calvinists have six, the Lutherans four and the Unitarians one seminary; finally here we must mention the Israelite seminary for rabbis of Budapest.

The number of the institutions for jurisprudence has much diminished, since it was determined that the time of study there was to be four years just as at the universities and that it was absolutely necessary for every lawyer to have acquired his doctorship at the university only; now there are only ten of these institutions, one of them — the one at Kassa — is governmental, two (at Pozsony and Nagyvárad) are supported by the study fund, that is to say they are royal with roman-catholic character, one at Eger is archiepiscopal, one at Pécs is episcopal; five are supported by the Protestants, assisted at certain places by the municipium; these are those at Debreczen, Sárospatak, Kecskemét and Máramaros-Sziget by the Calvinists, at Eperjes by the Lutherians. All these academies of law have together 937 students.

The national model-drawing-school at Budapest was established in 1871; actually its annual management costs 66.000 fl.; there are 144 pupils, 67 of whom are educated as drawing-professors, the others study only for the purpose of an artistic education; the school now offers besides the theoretic instruction and the teaching of drawing and painting; in one class also lessons of sculpture, and recently a class for ladies has also been arranged there.

Concerning the high-schools of agricultural character, we state that the mine-and forester-academy at Selmeczbánya had at last 57 students, 20 of whom were educated for the mine-and forge-career, 37 as foresters and forest-engineers. The annual expenses of both the institutions amounted to 128.000 fl. The veterinary-academy, which was established towards the end of the last century and which at the beginning of the eighth decennary received new convenient rooms, educates 248 pupils as veterinarians with annual expenses of 100.000 fl. The entrance of this institute, — contrary to the rest of high-schools — is allowed already after having passed the sixth class of the middle-school. Finally, the number of students of the agricultural academy of Magyar-Óvár amounts to 164, its annual expense to 89.000 fl.

The present idea of *Middle-Schools* — the historic development of which we have mainly stated in the last chapter — is regulated in Hungary by the Law, which has given that name to the colleges and technic schools; it is the task of both the kinds of the middle-school to give the young pupils a high education and to prepare them for the highest scientific career. The college fulfils this duty by the help of humanistic studies of each direction, especially of the antique classics, the technic school by the teaching of modern languages, mathematics and physics. The finishing of the college qualifies for the admittance of every faculty of the university and of every high-school; the finishing of the technic school qualifies only for the Polytechnicum and for the faculty of historic mathematics; but those, who after

having finished the technic school pass their trial of leave also in latin language — for which purpose there are in the technic schools special professors for the latin language — may also become jurists or physicians. Since 1890 the Greek language in the Hungarian colleges has been made an optional matter of study, which may be compensated by a more exact study of the Hungarian literature and of the antique Greek civilization as well as by a higher education in drawing, obtained by special lessons offered in the schools.

The middle-schools in Hungary are supported firstly by the state, which spends for this purpose directly 1,284.000 fl. and besides this 415.000 fl. for the subvention of the schools of the different religions and certain convents; the state is the supporter of 19 colleges and 24 technic schools. The government has also the disposition of those 17 colleges maintained by the fund of study, which are called »Royal Colleges« and which have a catholic character. Besides these there are yet 43 schools maintained by legacies and managed for the greater part by religious orders. It must be said that of all the religious orders the Piarists teach in most of the middle-schools, that is in 20 colleges; the order of the Benedictines has six colleges, the Premonstrants have five and the Cistercians four colleges. The Jesuites teach actually only in one archiepiscopal college. There are also two legacy and 14 community-colleges, some of them have catholic character; four technic schools likewise supported by communities, four private schools and one middle-school of the jewish religion.

The catholic middle-schools are partly under the disposition, partly — at least in didactic and pedagogic matters — under the direction of the government on account of the old position of the catholic religion as religion of the state and on account of the want of an autonomous organization of the church, but partly as well on account of the public character of their funds. As to the middle-schools of the protestant and greek-oriental church, the state controls them only. Of such autonomous

schools the greek-oriental church has four, the Lutherans have 25, the Calvinists have 27 (all colleges) and the Unitarians have two middle-schools; the Lutherans and the Calvinists maintain also together one college.

The whole number of these middle-schools, — supported from different sources and therefore bearing a different character — amounts to 187, 154 of them are colleges and 33 technic-schools: but only 138 of them have all the eight classes and therefore only these have the right of the trial of leave; the other 49 schools have less, most of them four classes. The actual fortune of all the middle-schools may amount to about 29 millions of florins; their annual expenses amount to more than six millions.

The afore-said shows that Hungary as to the number of middle-schools is rather well provided; having on the average one middle-school for 81,466 inhabitants, this proportion is better than in Austria and approaches to that of some states of Germany.

Although the number of technic schools is comparatively much inferior to that of the colleges, the former have not at all as many pupils — excepted those of the capital — as the latter. Of all the 49,382 pupils of the middle-schools 81·97⁰/₀ go to the colleges and 18·02⁰/₀ to the technic schools. Amongst the pupils of the middle-schools the greater part of the children (72·4⁰/₀) speak Hungarian, most of the inhabitants of the country also speaking this national language; the next in number are the Germans and next to them the Roumans. As to the teaching-results of the middle-schools it may be mentioned that amongst the 2,430 pupils who during the last school-year presented themselves at the trial of leave, 2,276 passed this examination with good success.

It must be mentioned as being of general interest that at 143 of the Hungarian middle-schools the Hungarian language only is used as teaching language, at 32 middle-schools the Hungarian language is mixed with another; only in 12 middle-schools another teaching language is used; but also these

schools are obliged by law, to use the Hungarian language at the superior two classes for the teaching of Hungarian language and literature and at the trial of leave.

During the last ten years very much has been done for the more convenient distribution of the middle-schools and for their arrangement corresponding with the claims of instruction. Besides the success of the intellectual education the greatest care was also taken of the physical education, the progress of which is also proved by the fact that there are only 36 institutions without an own special room for gymnastics, although these schools too are provided with gymnastic teaching. The physical education has very much improved by the gymnastic concurrences and by the introduction of the games for young people.

At a great part of the Hungarian middle-schools the old custom exists to give very cheap or gratis board to the poor pupils with good behaviour (free-boarding, boarding-schools without lodging); there are still more places with complete boarding-schools (boarding and lodging) where the poor pupils receive as assistance, the wealthy ones for convenient payment full board and lodging in the institute; there are 38 middle-schools with boarding only and 27 with board and lodging. A model boarding-school was established recently at the Francis-Joseph institute for the education of boys belonging to the college of the second district of Budapest; the Jesuites have a very popular boarding-school at Kalocsa, the Piarists at several places, the Protestants at their greatest colleges, and also most of the colleges supported by the catholic church of Transylvania are such boarding-schools since a long time.

Besides the Hungarian middle-schools here we must mention the so called »Theresianum« of Vienna, a model-college and educational institute founded by queen Maria Theresa; where ever since its establishment many Hungarian pupils are educated chiefly for public offices, and also in Hungarian disciplines, partly for payment partly on stipends.

Next to the middle-schools are those institutions which offer a general better education or the education for a certain

profession to such boys or girls who already have finished the common obligatory primary-school or perhaps even have passed some classes of a middle-school. Of this kind are the preparatory school for male and female teachers, which school the pupil enters after having passed four classes of the middle-school, respectively of a grammar-school of a town or of a high school for ladies. Of this as of the grammar-schools of town and high primary-schools it will be spoken particularly together with the primary education. Institutions of this kind are besides the high schools for girls and finally the different schools for certain professions which cannot be counted amongst the real high-schools.

High Schools For Girls. Speaking still of these teaching institutions which propagate a general better education, we must mention the high schools for girls, existing in Hungary since 1874 and compensating for the middle-schools for girls. After having passed the four classes of the primary-schools these institutions educate the girls during six years at the common knowledges as well at those studies closely joined with the female destiny. By the initiative of Minister Julius Wlassics the pharmaceutic, philosophic and medical faculties of the university quite recently are laid open to ladies which reform eventually will be followed by the enlargement of lessons at the high-schools for girls with regard to the preparatives for the university.

There are at present 22 high schools for girls in Hungary; twelve — most of them being boarding-schools are supported by the State with the annual expense of 306,000 fl.; there are also two parish schools, two Calvinistic and six roman catholic schools for girls; the last mentioned are managed by nuns-orders, who in Hungary since the oldest times are given to the education of girls. But in our country the high schools for girls are not the only institutions for the education of ladies, surpassing the teaching of the primary-schools; for this purpose there are the girls' grammar-schools, which later will be spoken of.

Schools for Certain Professions. Passing to the second rank of professional schools, we must divide them concerning the different branches of the common life, the arts, the military service, excluding however the already mentioned professional schools of the first rank.

Into the first group we may count the preparatory schools for the different agricultural professions, as the economic institutions, four of which are supported by the State: at Keszthely, Kolozsmonostor, Debreczen and Kassa. The time of study is three years; young men are admitted after having past six classes of the middle-school. During the last school-year 355 pupils have been educated at these schools. Besides these institutes, destined for the education of learned and clever farmers, there are still some grammar and high primary-schools with special teaching for the education of inferior farmers at Gyergyó-Alfalu, Halmi, Sajó-Gömör and Zala-Tapolcza, and finally there are for the education of intelligent economists nine agricultural schools, all of them supported by government, where pupils are admitted after having passed the primary school, possessing a corresponding learning. For some special professions, belonging into the department of agriculture and breeding cattle there are: the state's school for inspectors of water-works at Kassa which educates for the profession of inspectors of the amelioration of soil, dike-graves and river-inspectors; the horticultural-school on the Istvántelek near Budapest and the professional school for dairies at Sárvár. Here also may be mentioned the special classes for farriers.

There are special schools for the tilling of vines. The scientific professional education for the cultivating and tilling of vines can be obtained at a special school at Budapest; the institutes for the theoretical and practical, professional teaching are the viner-schools at Budapest, Érdőszeg and Nagy-Enyed; there are besides two viner-schools for the only practical education of the most inferior grade.

To the forester-profession belong the professional schools

for warders of a forest ; the task of these schools is to educate clever professional warders of forests ; 79 pupils are actually educated for this career.

In this group of schools the mining is represented by the mining-schools ; such are at Selmeczbánya, Felsőbánya and Nagyág. It is their duty to educate the talented miners during a study of three years for subaltern, able to accomplish the duty of a mine or forge-surveyor.

For the commercial career in Hungary in the first place the professional commercial schools educate ; some of them were called commercial-academies, others commercial-middle-schools until recently all of them received the name of High-Commercial-School. Some of them are joined with grammar-schools ; their pupils are admitted upon the basis of the finishing of the fourth class of the middle or grammar school ; the time of study is three years ; after this the trial of department follows. The government maintains, included four schools which are only assisted by the state, altogether 18 schools of this kind ; three are independent, 15 are joined with grammar-schools ; four are supported by communities, two by different religions, six by societies and five are private ; the whole number of their pupils amounts to 2·651. Besides the commercial academy of Budapest there exists a special class for the special knowledge necessary for the commerce with the Orient ; there are also seven commercial classes for ladies where 235 ladies are educated for the commercial career.

For boys who ought still to go to school but who have already entered the commercial career, there are commercial schools of an inferior rank which offer a repetition-teaching and the teaching of the primary knowledge for the commercial profession ; there are 66 schools of this kind with together 5·058 pupils.

The royal Hungarian Mariner's school at Fiume educates for the commercial marine ; this school has three classes with 44 pupils, four professors in ordinary and twelve assistant-professors.

Next to the commerce is the service of railways, post, and telegraph; also for these there are schools for the education of officials; at Budapest one school for the railway-service and one for the post- and telegraph-service; during the last year the former had 312, the latter 79 pupils.

Now we pass to the artisans professional schools. At first must be mentioned the governmental artisan-school of Budapest, which, in a new building with excellent arrangement joined with the technological artisans' museum, educates 236 pupils theoretically and practically as foremen at the professions of architecture, engine-building, metallurgy, wood-manufacturing and chemistry. This artisan-school contains also annual classes for those who exercise a building trade, for boilers' fire-makers and for the manipulation of stable steam-engines, locomobiles and thrashing machines. The commercial museum is also provided with lectures, lessons of professional drawing and workshop practice. There is also at Budapest the high artisan-drawing-school supported by the capital which is very liberal in school-matters. The same rank as the states artisan-school at Budapest is occupied by the royal technological school for machinists at Kassa with 80 pupils; this school educates independent artisans or foremen for those branches of the industry which want mechanical or mechanic-technical helping instruments. There are also professional schools either supported or assisted by the State for the different branches of industry at Budapest, Gölnicz-bánya, Homonna, Maros-Vásárhely, Kolozsvár, Arad, Késmárk, Mágocs, Ungvár and Székely-Udvarhely; besides 20 independent industry workshops and classes in the different parts of the country, industry-schools for women at Budapest, Kolozsvár and Sepsi-Szent-György; finally professional apprentice-work-shops joined with inferior and superior primary-schools and even with preparatories for teachers; here the pupils are taught not only the common disciplines, boys and girls are also educated for teachers and for the trade. Of such work-shops there are 46. In all the last mentioned industry-

institutions, either independent or joined with other schools; 3141 pupils altogether are educated for artisans or at least they obtain an artisan's ability.

As well as for the commercial-apprentices there are also for the apprentices of artisans professional repetition schools, inferior industry-schools or »Schools for the apprentices of artisans«; its actual number amounts to 351 with 67.850 pupils.

A special rank is occupied by the royal artistic-technic-school of Budapest established in 1880; this school is rather a transition between the technic school and the artistic institutions and has received together with the artistical technic-museum a new splendid building which is going to be inaugurated. The school educates for the professions of decorative sculpture, inferior plastic, decorative painting, Xylography, copper-engraving, and metal-engraving and has 83 pupils.

Schools Of Art. Concerning the institutions of artistic instruction we have already mentioned amongst the high schools the model drawing-school. The so called »Master-school« offers a high education for painting; but painters as well as sculptors are often sent with stipends to the great places of art in the foreign countries. The highest education for music offers the Royal Music Academy, and our actors are educated at the royal and theater-academy; during the last school-year the former had 350, the latter 80 pupils. For the musical education there are at Budapest and in the province many other institutes, supported by societies, the number of which may amount to 16; a special mentioning deserve: the National Conservatory, the Institute of the society of »Friends of Music«, the Conservatories of Arad and Kőlozsvár« etc.

Military Schools. The institutions for military education residing at the territory of Hungary may be divided into two groups as they educate either for the service of the royal Hungarian Honvéd army or for that of the common imperial and royal army. The institute for the Honvéd army is the

»Ludovica Academy« at Budapest, which at the beginning of this century took its first fund from the public contributions; during the third decennary it received a new palace, which recently has been enlarged, and besides the classes for staff- and high officers, this building contains a school with 314 pupils, destined for the education of officers. The teaching-institutions of the common army are the military-schools, of which there are four at the Hungarian territory, and the inferior technic-schools of which there are three; the Mariners' Academy of Fiume educates for the service at the common war-navy.

Education for teachers and primary education. Having finished our review concerning the professional schools, we pass now to the primary education, the highest institutions of which are the preparatories for male- and female teachers; for the education of male-teachers exist 49, for that of female teachers 22 institutions. The greatest number of them (25) are supported by the state with the annual expense of 888.601 fl.; next follows the Roman Catholic church, the preparatories of which are partly supported by the fund of study; the preparatories for female teachers of this church are for the greater part in the hands of nuns-orders; preparatories for teachers are also kept by the Greek-catholic church, the greek-oriental church and both the protestant churches; finally there is at Budapest besides the seminary for rabbis also a jewish national preparatory for teachers. The state has at Budapest, — as already mentioned — also preparatories with high classes for teachers of grammar and high primary schools and in these institutions a special class for candidates who wish to become teachers for preparatories and high schools for ladies; only the catholic church at Kalocsa has besides a preparatory for grammar-school-teachers. With the states' preparatory for female teachers at Budapest is joined a special class for governesses. In all the Hungarian preparatories for teachers 5.209 pupils, 3.394 men and 1.815 ladies were educated during the last school-year.

Here also may be mentioned the teaching courses for teachers in gymnastics supported by the National Gymnastic Society, which since 1868 educates teachers in gymnastics as well for middle-schools as for grammar-and high primary schools.

Besides the general obligatory elementary primary education, the law of primary schools of 1868 has also created grammar-schools for towns and high-primary schools. Into the former pupils are admitted after having passed the fourth class of any primary school, and the time of study in these schools is by law 6 years for boys, 4 years for girls; the high primary schools follow the sixth class of the ordinary primary school with a study-time of three-years for boys and two years for girls. In practice the high primary schools only there had results where they are joined with some professional class; therefore its number diminishes, while some of them are transformed into schools of other kinds. In practice the organization of the grammar schools of towns has been modified in so far as nearly everywhere the fifth and sixth class of boys-schools have been suspended for want of pupils. After having passed the fourth class, the pupils enter some professional school, where they may obtain a practical ability; but they do not like to finish the whole grammar-school, the duty of which is only to offer a general education, necessary for civil-life, without granting any special qualification. There are actually 235 grammar-schools and 47 high primary-schools; most of the former (89) belong to communities, most of the latter to the state.

The already mentioned law of primary-schools — accomplished and carried out chiefly by the deceased secretary of state Paul Gönczy — fixes the school-time from the accomplished sixth until the accomplished 15th year of age, but only the children under the accomplished 12th year are obliged to partake of the daily teaching; after this a three years' repetition-teaching is obligatory. Primary-schools may be established in our country, answering to the manner fixed by law, by

the churches, societies and privates, communities and by the state. Those schools, which do not correspond with the dispositions of the law are warned three times, whereupon the community is obliged to provide with the necessary primary-school-education, for which purpose an additional tax up to 5⁰/₁₀₀ of the common tax of the inhabitants is allowed. If necessary the parish school is assisted by the state and a recent law extends this assistance also to the schools of the different religions, reserving for the state certain rights of appointing and dismissing of teachers.

Until now the obligatory-instruction of daily pupils has been carried out at 81¹/₁₀₀ and only 19⁹/₁₀₀ remain without any teaching; concerning the pupils of the repetition instruction the proportion is not as propitious; only 67⁸/₁₀₀ go really to school and 32²/₁₀₀ remain without repetition-teaching; amongst those who do not go to school the number of girls is greater than that of boys.

The whole number of primary schools amounts to 16.838, those of the communities to 12.661. Only very indifferent small parishes are at present without any school; but the children of a great part of these parishes go to the school of the next parish. Amongst the primary schools those of the roman-catholics are of the greatest number: 5.479; next are the Calvinists with 2.310; the Greek-catholics with 2.112; the parishes with 1.965 schools; here it must be mentioned that numerous, especially town-communities support primary schools of a religious character. The Greek-Orientals have 1.788 primary schools, the Lutherans 1.388, of which 882 are supported by the state, the Jews have 534; the rest belongs to the Unitarians privates and societies.

Whilst at the high primary schools the separate teaching for boys and girls is obligatory the law does not order this peremptorily for the primary schools, and in fact at 84⁶⁶/₁₀₀ of the schools children of both the sexes are educated together. Hungarian is the teaching language at 57⁶/₁₀₀ of the primary schools, which is only natural, considered, that of

all the 2,342.644 children who really go to school, more than the half (1,258.335) speak Hungarian. But also at the other primary-schools the instruction of the Hungarian language is obligatory by law, although at present only 70·7⁰/₁₀₀ of primary-schools without Hungarian teaching language have the proper result.

The number of all the really active teachers at all the superior and inferior primary-schools (16.838) amounts to 26.396, 90·4⁰/₁₀₀ of whom possess the lawful qualification; of these teachers 22.281 are men and 4.115 are women; this small number of women however is a progress, compared with the past. Concerning the appointment of female teachers the state shows a good example, employing female teachers at the proportion of 40·2⁰/₁₀₀ at the state's primary schools.

As the development of the primary education may be estimated according to expenses spent for this purpose, it may be stated that during the school-year 1894/95 19,096.153 fl. were spent for the expenses of all the primary-schools of which 12,991,476 fl. were spent for wages, the rest for things wanted at the schools.

The greatest part of the expenses — more than 5·8 millions — was contributed by communities; churches have contributed more than four millions; the contribution of the state to these expenses amounted to 2,632.689 fl.

Infant-Schools. The most inferior grade of the primary-education is represented by the infant-schools. Until quite recently the keeping and education of infants out of the family was for the greatest part left to the voluntary zeal of society; the means and manners were regulated by administrative dispositions only to a certain degree; but in 1891 a law was created, which in the first place engages the communities to the establishment of institutions for the keeping of children between 3 and 6 years, if the parents are not able to keep them properly and permanently. The institutions serving for the purpose of the education of infants are firstly the regular infant-schools, where the children receive, besides

the keeping and nursing, also a physical and intellectual education according to their age; secondly the permanent or summer infant-asylums which care for the keeping of the infants either during the whole year or at least in summer time during the period of the labours in the field. As well as the going to school is obligatory for the children from six to twelve years, thus parents and tutors are bound by law to send to these institutions all those children who are not properly nursed at home; communities paying a tax of more than 15.000 fl. are bound for the foundation of a regular infant-school; those, paying more than 10.000 fl. for the establishment of a permanent asylum; communities paying less than 10.000 fl. are bound for the establishment of a summer asylum; the state contributes much for the establishment and supporting of infant-schools. The leading of these systematic infant-schools is given into the charge of qualified female teachers, for whose education special preparatories for infant-school-teachers exist; the leading of the asylums is given into the charge of nurses, educated for this purpose.

The carrying out of the law of infant-schools at present is not yet so much advanced that its principles may be put into full practice under the existing conditions; but until now in no state of Europe the idea of the obligatory education of infants was completely realized; still the actual condition of the education of infants shows a sufficient improvement, considering the rapidity of the progress; for already before the passing of the law society itself practized energetically the education of infants which recently has been much advanced by the state.

According to the statements of 1894/5 there are in Hungary 1,047.036 children of the age submitted to the education of infants; for about 72% of them the proper nursing at home was proved, thus 28% are obliged to the obligatory education in the concerning institutions. But in fact the proportion is different: for firstly the number of infant-schools and asylums is not yet sufficient; secondly a great part of

those children submitted to the obligatory education does not profit of the existing institutions, thirdly at places with asylums and infant-schools, especially in towns parents do not send their children into these institutions, because they are not able to nurse them at home, but because they know that at this institutes the children receive a better intellectual education.

There are 1965 infant-institutions in the country, supported by the annual expense of 892.091 fl.; here 155.562 infants are kept and educated; this number would correspond with 53⁰/₁₀₀ of all the children obliged for the obligatory education of infants if the above mentioned circumstance would allow such a contra-position of these two figures.

983 of these institutions are regular infant-schools, 144 are permanent asylums and 838 are summer asylums; greater places having several infant-institutions, their number does not indicate the number of communities, possessing such institutions.

Also amongst this group of public educational institutions the communities are those who support the greatest part, 1,181 of them, 87 of them with subvention from the state; the greatest part of those institutions supported by communities (737) are summer asylums. Next follow the institutes supported by the state and societies: the number of the latter amounts to 176; 55 of them with subvention from the state; the state supports now already more institutes of this kind (238), most of them are regular infant-schools. The rest is supported by churches, legacies municipalities and privates.

In all the infant-istitutions 3,216 persons serve for the nursing and education of the infants; 976 of them are qualified nurses or female teachers, the others are only able to manage asylums for infants or are simple nurses. The persons applied for the education of infants are with the exception of 67 men only women; these latters by and by claim exclusively this profession corresponding with their destiny.

There are 12 institutions for the purpose of the education

of nurses and teachers for infant-schools; three of them are supported by the state, one by a town, five by the Roman-Catholic church, one by the Lutheran church and two by societies; the supportment of all costs 104,508 fl. annually, and there are 602 regular and 279 additional pupils educated by 102 male and female teachers. Besides some better institutions for the education of infants there are special teaching terms, lasting six months, for the training of women, able to manage infant-asylums.

Philanthropic institutions: Amongst the philanthropic institutes we are only interested in those, which do not only serve for a hygienic or charitable purpose, but in those which have also a cultivating pedagogic destination. These institutions may be divided into three groups, according as they are engaged firstly in the education of children with healthy senses and healthy spirit who only on account of their forsakenness are thrown on charity, secondly in the education of such unhappy children with imperfect senses or spirit, thirdly in the education of individuals whose liberty is confined by law.

To the first group belong the orphan-asylums and houses of refuge. According to the last conscription there are 71 institutions of this kind on the territory of Hungary and Fiume; the eldest of them was established in 1749. They are joined with 31 primary-schools, two have a high primary-school, one has a grammar-school; the others send their pupils to the next primary-school. Two of these institutes educate vinters and gardeners; also the others educate their pupils for the greater part practically for the different branches of agriculture, for domestic occupations, sometimes for home-industry. The number of children educated in the orphan asylums amounts to 2,697; 1,513 are boys and 1,184 are girls.

The greater part (30) of orphan asylums and houses of refuge is supported by private legacies and societies; the others owe their existence to public legacies, to the liberality of churches, parishes and counties; the supportment of all costs 631,510 fl. annually.

Amongst the second group of the philanthropic educational institutions the institutes for the deafs and dumbs must be mentioned. The most important and eldest is that of Vác, which exists since 1802 and educates at present 169 pupils, 97 boys and 72 girls; the greatest part of the boys receives also a technical instruction, whilst the girls are educated in needle-work especially in plain work. The israelite national institute for deafs and dumbs admits 83 pupils of not exclusively Jewish religion. Besides this there is an institute joined with the state's preparatory for teachers of Budapest which serves also for the deafs and dumbs, another at Kolozsvár, supported by a subvention of the state, another at Arad, one at Temesvár, besides two private institutions at Budapest and Kaposvár. In all these institutions together 384 deafs and dumbs are educated which however is very little in proportion to the number of deafs and dumbs.

There is in the whole country only one institute, that of Budapest, which is engaged in the systematic nursing and education of blinds; it is supported partly by its own fund, partly by the state; there 99 pupils receive board and lodging, theoretic instruction, education in music and technics.

Also for the nursing of idiots and imbeciles a private-institute exists since 1875, until now it was at Budapest with a subvention from the state and had about 60 pupils; but the institution is going to become the property of the state.

The state spends partly from own means, partly from funds administrated by the state a total of 138,624 fl. for the education of deafs and dumbs, blinds and idiots.

The last group of philanthropic institutions with the purpose for education are those, the task of which is the intellectual education of people, condemned to the loss of liberty, this means all that, which we comprehend under the name of prison-schools and correction-education.

This work of humanity is also most recent in Hungary; during the sixth decennary of this century, the custom was introduced to employ an ambulant teacher for every jail, that

the prisoners under the age of 20 years might have a daily lesson. To-day there is almost no prison or house of correction without a regular instruction ; 92·90⁰/₀ of the prisoners receive a religious-moral instruction, 30⁰/₀ have primary teaching. But only 75·42⁰/₀ of this last group have the school-age, the rest are those who freely chose to partake of this instruction.

A special mention is wanted for the houses of correction, where only young persons are put in for the purpose of a moral correction ; here the intention of education predominates, therefore the institute has the character of a school. The state supports three institutions of this kind : two for boys at Aszód and Kolozsvár and one for girls at Rákospalota. The two former are, concerning the knowledges offered there, equal to the high primary-schools joined with industrial or agricultural professional teaching ; the institute for girls is like the primary school with six classes. In these three schools 22 persons are occupied with the education ; the whole number of pupils amounts to 346 ; all are between 10 and 20 years old ; there are only 29 girls, the others are boys.

Institutions of Science and Civilization. It is also our task to speak briefly of those institutions of science and civilization which in fact are not comprehended under the idea of school, but which are means of improvement of civilization and which are not spoken of in the other chapters of this book.

In the first place we must mention those institutions established by societies, the purpose of which is the propagation of knowledges out of school by the living word as the »Societies for popular teaching«, especially those of Budapest, established in 1870 for the purpose of teaching of grown-up persons ; this society supports teaching-terms for grown-up people in reading, writing and drawing ; here also must be mentioned the idea, conceived for the purpose of sunday-teaching for tradespeople, the result of which are teaching-terms in the capital and in some province-towns for artisans, at the sundays of the wintermonths ; the number

of those who profit of these lessons amounts in some years to more than 17.000. For the teaching of grown-up people make efforts at some places the initiatives, put up for the purpose of the foundation of popular libraries as well as the popular lectures and libraries at the jails, accomplished by the benevolence of society. Finally it must be said that during the last decennaries the improvement of knowledge of the well educated society by lectures became the favourite object of the labour of societies. Besides the scientific companies with their lectures, destined for the people, but concerning a special faculty, there are companies, who have made it their duty to propagate different knowledges by the living word and in a popular manner, and since a very short time the so called »Free Lyceum« of Budapest endeavours to realize this manner of propagation of knowledges in systematic teaching terms chiefly for the female population.

Inestimable services are done by the museums and libraries, partly for the general propagation of knowledge, partly for the professional cultivating of science. The first place of all is taken by the Hungarian national museum: its palace, built during the fourth decennary, is even to day one of the finest public edifices of Budapest, although its size has become insufficient in proportion to the actual development of the institute, which has caused the urgent question of the division of the collections of the museum. At present the national museum is divided into seven groups: the library, called by the name of its founder Count Széchenyi »Széchenyi national library«, the section of coins and antiquities, the section of animals, plants, minerals and paleotherions, the picture-gallery and the ethnographic section. The library of the museum is the greatest collection of books of the country and the most complete one, especially with regard to the literary products of Hungarian origin and to those concerning the country of Hungary in one way or the other; this library contains nearly 400.000 printings, 16.000 manuscripts and 14.000 volumes of news-papers; recently its

archives increase rapidly, family-documents and collections of documents being here deposited; at present there are 230.000 pieces. The section of coins and antiquities collects exclusively objects, found in our country, or else of Hungarian origin, or having some reference to Hungary; its prehistoric collection and its collection of the time of the migration of the nations are the most remarkable ones. Besides the rich collection of insects, recently also the section of animals has much increased concerning ornithology; since the ornithologic congress in 1891 there has been placed in our museum — although having with it only a local relation — a permanent ornithologic chief office for the purpose of organization, direction and elaborating of the observations. The mineralogic section occupies the third or fourth rank amongst the similar collections of Europe.

The picture-gallery of the museum contains only works of modern painting; the »National picture gallery« contains the old pictures with regard to the history of Hungary; these collections as well as the collections of the museum for industrious art are treated with all particulars at the chapter concerning Arts. The technologic industry museum was already mentioned as an institution joined with the National industry-school of Budapest serving for the purpose of industry-teaching: while in the historic part we have mentioned, the museum of means of teaching this important institution for primary school-pedagogic.

Concerning the collections of scientific interest — the libraries set aside — there are of great importance: the professional museums of the great teaching institutions, especially the collections of the university of Budapest, and not less the museum of Transylvania joined with the university of Kolozsvár. Recently a great stirring has begun in the interest of the increase and development of province museums by the initiative of the »Hungarian Transdanubian Company for Civilization«; at present there are already 35 remarkable museums in the province, partly of elder, partly

of recent origin, most of them being in relation with some association partly with archaeologic, partly with historic-physical and partly with mixed nature.

We have also scientific institutions without or with the less purpose of collecting the visible materials of knowledge, but rather with the purpose to serve by their observations the practical aims of agriculture and sanitary-matters. Important factors in this matter are of course the laboratories joined with faculties of universities for medical physics and technics as well as the bacteriologic institutions of the hospitals of the capital and of the veterinary academy; but there are also for this practical purpose independent experimenting-offices for chemistry, entomology, for the examination of seeds and production of plants, as well as the royal Hungarian geologic institute and the chief office for meteorology and terrestrial magnetism.

According to the testimonial of the statistical conscription of the year 1885, Hungary, concerning libraries, is one of the richest countries, the number of our independent public libraries amounts to 44 that of the magistrates to 76, that of teaching institutions to 555; besides there are 313 libraries belonging to the magistrates of churches, 335 belonging to companies and clubs, and 77 circulating libraries, the number of considerable private libraries amounts to more than 1000. The same conscription stated the number of volumes of all these libraries with seven millions and a half, which number has much increased during the last decennary. The number of readers of the public libraries in one year was stated with 178.434; of course there are no statements as to the readers of private libraries.

The most important libraries of the country are, not included the already mentioned library of the museum: the library of the university of Budapest, consisting at present of 212.659 volumes and 34.627 small printings; the library of the scientific academy with nearly 200.000 volumes; the library of the National statistical office and of the royal Joseph-Polytech-

nicum. The most important ones in the province are: The libraries of the university of Kolozsvár and of the museum Institute of Transylvania, being under one administration with together 87.000 volumes; the library of the archabbey at Pannonhalma, that of the archdiocese of Esztergom, that of the protestant high-school of Debreczen, those of the dioceses of Eger and Pécs, that of the family of Eszterházy at Kis-Marton, the Csaplovics library at Alsó-Kubin and the Somogyi-library of Szeged with altogether 40.000 volumes.

At last it must be said that the scientific societies, which in our century perpetually increase and develop, render precious services to the cultivating and propagation of science, however the enumeration of these companies would surpass the narrow outline of our description. It may perhaps be sufficient to remember here the most important one which surpasses all the others on account of the extension of all the scientific faculties and also on account of the privileged position on the basis of law: the Hungarian academy of sciences. This society was founded 65 years ago exclusively for the purpose of the cultivating of the Hungarian language. Since 1848 it assumed the character of an Academy of sciences and at present it works in three classes: the first is the class of language and liberal sciences, the second is the class for philosophy and social and historic sciences, the third is the class for physics and mathematics; the number of honorary, regular, foreign and corresponding members is fixed according to the classes.

The academy which in 1865 entered its present beautiful palace near the bank of the Danube, takes the means of cultivating and propagating of sciences in Hungarian language partly from the revenues of its own considerable fortune, accumulated by public donations, partly from the subvention of the state. The academy collects, elaborates and publishes the scientific material, for which purpose series of editions of the different scientific faculties are arranged; in public meetings accounts are given for activity, rewards are distributed,

prize-questions are published and the academy cares also for the translation of the remarkable works of the foreign literature into the Hungarian language and for the publication of the products of the Hungarian scientific life in the foreign countries. Thus the academy is like the crown of the building of the Hungarian science, the sublime summit of national civilization.



The Organisation of the Army.

From the political association in which Hungary stands with the other state of the monarchy, Austria, it follows that Hungary in respect to its army cannot be entirely independent: for in the interest of defence and the preservation of the common safety, and of peace, by the united strength of both states the joint nature of the army — at least to some extent —, is a condition of the integrity and permanence of the monarchy.

But since in consequence of the Compromise of 1867 the national rights and aspirations of the thousand year old Kingdom of Hungary had to be taken into consideration, a peculiar army organisation came into being, different from that of the other European states.

The joint union of the Hungarian and Austrian army can be referred back to the time after the catastrophe of Mohács, when Ferdinand I., through his marriage with the sister of Lajos II., who fell at Mohács, the daughter of Ulászló II., succeeded to the throne and united for the first time the greater part of Hungary and the Austrian crown lands under the sceptre of the Habsburgs.

The union which then came to pass was however only a natural connection growing out of the unity of the person of the ruler, for Hungary preserved its full political independence despite the unity of ruler, and arranged independently

its own army. The Hungarian und Austrian, or more correctly the Hungarian and the imperial armies, acted then in the part of Hungary belonging to the sceptre of the Habsburgs, under joint leadership, but *side by side* only under separate generals, and very often quite independently of one another.

In Transylvania ruled by a national prince, and in the *partes adnexae*, this alliance came to pass, as might be imagined, only exceptionally during a campaign, e. g. under Prince Sigismund Báthory, John Kemény, and Michael Apaffy.

This relation remained generally speaking until the peace of Szatmár. But Leopold I., who with his successful campaigns broke the power of the Turks in Hungary, endeavoured to bring a close cohesion between the army of the Austrian crown lands and Hungary. This was only possible after the Peace of Szatmár, which brought to an end the rebellion of Rákóczy, when the states in *Act 7 of 1715*, empowered the enrolment of bondmen in the standing army.

But after the Hungarian recruits who were yearly granted by the states and raised by enlistment, had been enrolled in the standing imperial regiments, a joint army came by this means *de facto* into being, in which the difference between the Austrian and the Hungarian regiments only lay so to speak in the uniform. Since along with this, as we may say, joint army, the general or partial militia of the Hungarian nobility remained in force, it was this which represented the Hungarian National army.

The Hungarian aristocratic militia which performed distinguished services to Queen Maria Theresa in the period of the Silesian wars, could not in the present century, considering the demand laid on national armaments, any longer correspond to its requirements, and although in principle it could still exist, it was not called into request after 1809.

The system created in 1715, whose main branches were the standing army and in Hungary the aristocratic militia, changed only so far in course of time that, in the maintenance

of the regular army, conscription took the place instead of enlistment: although simultaneously especially at the outbreak of a war, enlistment also continued to be employed.

After the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, the conviction forced itself upon the whole of Europe, that armies enlarged by the conscription system, in consequence of the change in the arms and the total spirit of the military system, were unequal to the proper defence of a country, and that the latter must be achieved by armies organised on the basis of *universal liability to service*. Consequently the doctrine of universal military service was accepted in nearly all the states of Europe, and the armies were organised in 1868 or after 1870, on this principle, partly on the French, partly on the Prussian model, with regard to the special relations of the state in question.

The organisation introduced into the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1868 followed the Prussian model. Its grand principle is the *Cadre system*, with the subdivision of the army into the *Army*, the *Reserve*, and the *Honvéd* (territorial army, in Austria called *Landwehr*); with this divergence from the Prussian model that the Honvéd army is not exclusively formed of individuals who have passed from the army into the reserve and from there into the Honvéd, but the necessary complement of the latter is attained also by direct and immediate enrolment into it of those liable to military service.

A further difference is that the narrower system of joint possession is only established for the army and its reserve, while the territorial armies belong to both states and come under their independent and separate sphere of influence.

In Hungary the Honvéd is also based on a national footing, with reference to the Hungarian national aspirations.

Hungary exercises its ancestral rights with regard to the joint army and its reserve by means of the yearly granting of recruits, the voting of supplies and payment of the same, and the privilege of modifying the organisation of the army by legislative enactment from time to time. So far as

concerns the Hungarian Honvéd which we must regard as a partial satisfaction of the aspirations of the nation for an independant Hungarian army, and partly as an independent national force of defence standing in the place of the old aristocratic militia, Hungary acts independantly and quite separately from Austria.

The *Levy in mass* which at first was a mere principle, but afterwards was actually organised, was connected in Hungary with the Honvéd army, and rests like it on a national basis.

The *most important enactments on military affairs agreeably to the new organisation of the army in 1868, and amended in 1889*, are as follows:

Compulsory military service is universal and extends to every citizen. Those who from some bodily defect or from some other cause admitted by the law, cannot completely discharge this duty, pay the *military tax*, consisting in Hungary of from 3 to 100 florins yearly.

The liability to service begins with the 21st year, and lasts in the joint army: in the line, for 3 years, in the reserve for 10 years, for those immediately enrolled in the reserve of the territorial army for 10 years. In the Honvéd army, those, who were immediately enrolled have to serve 12 years, those who come over from the reserve of the joint army, 2 years.

The liability to serve in the *Levy in mass* begins with the 19th year, and ceases with the completion of the 42nd year.

The time of personal service under the colours is in peace in the joint army 3 years, in the Honvéd army 2 years. The deputy reserve men however are only obliged to undergo a training of 8 weeks, and periodical exercise. The *Levy in mass* remains inactive in times of peace. With regard to active service, the one-year volunteers make an exception who are compelled to one year's service under the colours only. If they do not pass the examination of reserve officers at the end of the year, they have still another year to serve.

The *yearly recruiting* which serves to maintain the armed

power of the whole monarchy, is settled at 126.110, men: of which 103.100 fall to the joint army and the marine, and 23.010 to the Honvéd army. The lands of the Hungarian crown supply as yearly contingent of the joint army and marine, 43.889 men, as complement of the Honvéd 12.500.

With respect to the *supplementary army*, the territory of the monarchy is divided into 14 corps districts, and one district of military command. The extent of these military territorial commands is divided into 108 military complementary divisions. To the lands of the Hungarian crown fall 6 military territorial commands. (Budapest, Pozsony, Kassa, Temesvár, Nagy-Szeben, Zágráb), with 49 military recruiting districts. Since each army recruiting district supplies one infantry regiment, these strictly are only territorially organised, while the recruiting of the other military orders, institutions etc. is apportioned to several territories, that of the marine (although it has three independent districts) over the whole monarchy.

The Hungarian Honvéd has 7 Honvéd districts, 28 Honvéd recruiting districts.

The *peace footing* of the army of the monarchy consists of about 20,000 officers, and 300,000, men. To this must be added 17,000 men for the royal Hungarian Honvéd.

The *war footing* of the troops of the I. and II. army corps, consists of about 1.250,000 men and among them the Honvéd 200,000.

The trained portion of the Levy in mass exceeds a million.

The yearly total of military expenses of both states of the monarchy is nearly 166 millions.

Agreeably to the above depicted organisation of the army of Hungary, the military institutions can be divided into two principal groups:

a) the *joint military institutions* to which the joint army and marine belong,

b) the *Hungarian national military* institutions to which the Hungarian Honvéd army and the Hungarian Levy in mass belong.

The language of military service and of command is in the joint military branches German, in the Hungarian national military branches Hungarian, in Croatia-Slavonia, the Croatian.

Over the joint army and over the Hungarian national branches the king enjoys the supreme command, as highest military ruler, and the united application of the armed power of the whole monarchy to one and the same political and military end is thus entirely secured.

His Majesty is supported in his supreme command by the joint war minister, by the ministers of land defence of both states, by the chief of the staff of the entire army, and by the general inspectors of the army, with regard to both territorial armies by the supreme commandants.

For the secretarial performance of the business laid before the king for decision, and likewise to act as mediums between the king and the responsible ministers, the military chancery is at the disposal of His Majesty.

The united performance of military service, in the joint as well as the national branches of the service, the equal training of the troops, their united operation in time of war, is secured by the fact, that the orders of service and exercise especially those which relate to the training and organisation of the army corps, troops and branches which are to be apportioned to the corps in action or engaged in the defence of the land, are given with the sanction of His Majesty as supreme military officer, and are identical in all commands, troops and branches, as well in the joint branches as in the independent.

The *Imperial and royal joint army* is even in times of peace so disposed as to correspond with the relations of war.

The number of army corps is 15, of which 6 belong to the lands of the Hungarian crown, viz. the 4th to Budapest, the 5th to Pozsony, 6th to Kassa, 7th to Temesvár, 12th to Nagy-Szeben, and 13th to Zágráb. In connection with every army corps are two Infantry Divisions, in consequence of which the number of the infantry divisional commands on Hungarian territory is 12. The

number of the cavalry troop divisions is 5, of which 4 are placed in Galicia, and 1 in Vienna; of brigade commands there are on Hungarian territory 24 infantry, 7 cavalry, 6 artillery brigade commands.

The central officers and higher commanders are supported in their command and in the performance of their military duties by several staffs and assistants.

These are, the general inspectors of regiments, the general staff, the engineers and artillery staff, the Surgeon-generals and Judge Advocate generals &c., finally the Adjutants and orderly officers.

With respect to the *individual species of regiments*, the Infantry reckons 102 infantry regiments, 4 Tyrolese chasseurs regiments, 3 Bosnian-Herzegovinian regiments, and 26 Field-chasseurs battalions. The number of infantry battalions reaches 460. Of the infantry, 49 infantry regiments and 8 Field chasseurs battalions are recruited from Hungarian territory.

The number of cavalry regiments is 42, of these 16 are Hungarian Hussar regiments, and 2 Croatian-Slavonian Uhlan regiments.

Of the 14 artillery corps 6 are recruited in Hungary, and of the 42 artillery regiment divisions 18 are recruited there. The recruiting of the fortress artillery troops is a joint one.

Of the pioneers, six battalions are Hungarian.

The railway and telegraph regiments, the medical and ambulance contingents are recruited from the whole extent of the monarchy.

For a more detailed characterisation of the species of arms, we may add the following:

The *Infantry*, though they differ in name, being called infantry and »chasseurs«, are in reality identical. The regiments are formed of four field battalions, the battalions of 4 field companies. Besides these, special deputy corps are established. The war footing of the infantry companies is in round numbers 250 men, of a battalion 1000, of a regiment 4000. The infantry is armed with 8 mm. calibre Manlicher repeating

rifles, with which shots can be delivered up to 3000 paces and whose barrel is flat and enfladed. The shot pierces a thick iron plate of 8 mm. at 200 paces.

The ammunition for each rifle consists of 100 rounds of cartridges, besides which there are in the ammunition waggon 40 rounds. To the equipment of the infantry, belong the corps of pioneers, medical corps, ambulance corps and the field ordinance.

The *Cavalry* although they number several species of troops (Hussars, Dragoons, Uhlans) are likewise homogeneous. The war footing of a cavalry squadron is 150 men, The regiment consists of 6 squadrons and the number of its riders with the pioneer train is in round numbers 1000. The arms of the cavalry are the sabre and the carbine, which latter adapts them also to contend with infantry fire.

Among the *Field Artillery*, the corps and divisions of artillery regiments are in every respect alike. The difference in their designation arises from the fact that the regiments of the corps artillery stand immediately at the disposal of the corps commandants: while the regiments of the divisional artillery are apportioned to the infantry divisions. Each of the artillery regiments consists of four batteries, with 8 guns each, 32 altogether. To the cavalry divisions flying batteries are apportioned, which reckon 12 guns in 2 batteries. The whole field artillery is provided with 9 cm. calibre of bronzed steel cannon. In the flying batteries the gunners are on horseback.

The cannons of the mountain artillery which is incorporated in the field artillery and also separately in a battery division, are 9 and 7 cm. calibre, and are provided with small wheeled gun carriages, and can partly be placed on baggage animals for transport. They are generally apportioned among the corps of troops who fight in mountain districts.

The troops of the *Fortress Artillery* are employed in the defence and storming of fortresses; the *Pioneer troops* partly for like objects but principally with corps of troops in action.

The latter are provided with moveable field bridges. The detachments of the *railway and telegraph* {regiments} can make railway and telegraph lines, destroy them, put them together again and manage the means of transport.

The *medical corps* perform services to the sick in peace and in war in permanent and in temporary field hospitals. The *army service corps* or commissariat transports the materiel de guerre for army corps in war, and especially provisions. The army service train transports the immediate necessities of the troops. It belongs to the rank of the Army Service Corps, and is incorporated in the line of march.

The *training of the troops* is systematic and thorough. On the basis of the orders and directions which are valid for the whole army it begins with the first military instruction of the recruits, is carried on in the company, in the battalion etc. and attains its climax in the annual general manoeuvres. The education of the under-officers and of those delegated to special services takes place generally in the regiment. For the recruiting and education of the corps of officers, there is a large number of educational establishments. Of these we must single out:— the Cadet-schools for all branches of the service; of the 13 Infantry cadet schools, 5 are in Hungary (Budapest, Pozsony, Temesvár, Nagy-Szeben, Károlyváros). The military polytechnic schools, of which 3 are in Hungary (Kőszeg, Kismárton, Kassa): the academy in Wiener-Neustadt, and the technical military academy. The most prominent institutes for the education of the officers are: the Vienna war-school, which prepares for the General Staff, the higher artillery and engineer corps the Bruck School of Musketry, the military riding school etc.

For the particular branches of service such as that of the Judge Advocate General, the Intendant etc. there are also special schools and courses.

Among the *institutes* of the army are:— the Military geographical institute, the War archives, the Military technical and administrative commission, the Hospitals, the Mili-

tary transport houses, the artillery, pioneers and army service corps, the military hospitals and drug stores, the remount commission, the remount depots, the military service and bed stores, and many other stores and institutes.

The task of the *War Marine* is the protection of the coast for both states of the monarchy and the basin of the Danube, ultimately, if necessary, operation with the territorial army, and attack on the fleet and coastline of the enemy.

The *Navy* is as follows: 10 line of battle ships, among them 2 turret ships, (Rudolf and Stefanie) of 6050 and 6870 horse power i.e. 5060 tons. 8 armour plated ships (Tegethoff, Custoza, Albrecht, Kaiser, Don Juan, Max, Eugen, Habsburg) of 38,000 horse power, 53,000 tons.

3 coast defence ships (Monarch, Wien, Budapest) each of 8500 horse power, and 5550 tons; 16 cruisers, of 43,000 horse power, 18,000 tons; 57 torpedo boats, of 41,000 horse power, 37,000 tons; 6 gun boats of 3300 horse power and 6,000 tons 5 river ships and among them 4 Danube monitors (Maros, Leitha, Kőrös, Szamos), of 3,100 horse power and 1,530 tons'

20 station and despatch boats of 22,000 horse power and 27,000 tons.

For war purposes therefore 113 ships of war are at disposal, among them 29 ships of the first rank with 532 guns, apart from the ships, training ships and bulks which serve for coast and haven defence.

The officer corps of the navy consists of 620 officers, the war footing of the men of about 16,000 men. The peace footing about one half.

The officer corps receives its recruits from the pupils of the Fiume marine academy and the marine cadets. For the recruiting of the men the Trieste, Fiume, and Zara marine recruiting districts must be regarded as holding the first rank.

In case of need however the other parts of both states are liable, except the Tyrol and Galicia. The term of service in the marine lasts only 12 years, viz. of actual personal service,

on account of the difficulties of the training, 4 years, in the reserve 5 years, in the fleet, which however in time of peace is not called to exercise of arms, 3 years Training of the sailors is carried on by sailors' corporations.

The war marine manages various institutes in controlling its administrative service.

Passing to the *national Hungarian army institutions* we have already when treating of the historic development of the organisation of the army, noticed that in the reorganisation of the army the aspirations and wishes of the Hungarian nation had to be taken into account, and this resulted in the creation of the *Hungarian Honvéd army* which is independent of the joint forces, and is based on national grounds. The war administration of that day, since they could not make the Hungarian Honvéd according to the Prussian pattern as a direct continuation, and complementary part of the joint army, tried to effectuate the connection at least thus far, that in the law concerning the Honvéd army it is expressly stated that the Honvéd army »forms a complementary part of the armed forces of the monarchy« and in time of war is not called only for inner defence but also »for supporting the joint army.« On the whole the Honvéd army is only arranged as a force of the second rank, which does not require a training of so thorough a nature as the joint army, on which account its term of service is shortened as much as possible.

It is certain that in native and foreign military circles the Hungarian Honvéd army in its organisation and development, was reckoned nothing else than a »landwehr« in the military sense of the word, nay perhaps since the greater part of the men and also the officers received their education entirely in its bosom it was regarded as something considerably less.

With all the greater pride can Hungary point to this purely national army which through the wisdom of its leaders, the sacrificing zeal of its officers, was raised from its subordinate position, and by the liberality of the Hungarian Parliament was so materially supported as to be a worthy companion of

the joint army, as to deploy in the battlefield in the front line, as to be a force equally capable of offensive and defensive operations, as to be an important factor in the defence of the monarchy.

This surprising development of the Hungarian Honvéd army, which professional military authorities at home and abroad have willingly and repeatedly acknowledged, was connected with great struggles, and only by patriotic zeal which beats down every difficulty could this great result be achieved.

We cannot follow the individual phases of development which have revolutionised so completely inwardly and outwardly the Honvéd army in the past quarter of the century, and this is not the place to immortalise the names of those men who supported the Honvéd army with the total force of their heart and soul. We must content ourselves with noticing the outlines of development.

The Hungarian Honvéd army was formed in 1868, with 82 infantry battalions and 32 cavalry squadrons, which had no organic connection with one another and were immediately subjected to the commander of the district. In 1871, the brigade organisation was formed by uniting four to five battalions one to five cavalry squadrons and one mitrailleuse detachment into one brigade.

Three years later the districts corresponding to one division were credited with two infantry brigades, the cavalry continued to be attached to the regiment, the mitrailleuses were abolished. In the infantry the half brigade organisation came first into being in 1886, the regiment organisation in 1890. With regard to the recruiting the uncertain and changeable recruiting contingent was a great prejudice to the Honvéd army, and first ceased in 1889.

The time of training extends from 8 weeks to 2 years, the condition of the companies from a small complement to 25 or 50 men. The gathering of the men in school battalions first checked the evil, till at last this became superfluous in consequence of the organisation of the regiments and the

elevation of their position. The Honvéd cavalry was perfected by the regimental organisation of 1874, and the institution of the Inspectorate. The training of the officers took place in district schools, then in preparatory courses and officers' educational institutes, till finally in the year 1883 the Ludovica academy was given over to educate Hungarian youths to be officers.

The great want of reserve officers was obviated by the extension of the one year volunteer system to the Honvéd army.

After these changes in organisation the *présent condition* of the Hungarian Honvéd arose, a sketch of which we give in the following:

The Hungarian Honvéd can exceptionally be employed outside the lands of the Hungarian crown, but only with the consent of the legislature. If this is not obtained, the employment outside the land is ordered by the king under the responsibility of the whole ministry and with the subsequent consent of the legislature.

To recruit the Honvéd a yearly recruiting of 12,500 men serves. The deputy reserve supplies its losses in war. The speech of service and of the colours is Hungarian. In Croatia and Slavonia it is Croatian, and the banners carry the Croatian colours, and along with the first letters of his Majesty's name, the arms of the Hungarian state. The king names the officers. The orders, the distinctions of rank, arming, arms and everything alike relating to them are similar to those of the joint army.

The Honvéd contains only infantry and cavalry troops. The artillery, the technical troops, the war train and other branches of the army are in time of war incorporated in the joint army.

The *higher officers and commanders* are in the Honvéd army:

The Honvéd ministry, which represents the highest board of administration for the Honvéd, but exercises no military command and no judicial authority.

These rights belong to the supreme command of the

Honvéd, which also controls the management of military service, the training of the troops, the cultivation of military spirit and discipline, the preparation of material of war, the arrangement of the acts of military administration. The supreme command either disposes of these independently or submits them to the proposals of the Honvéd ministry.

The Honvéd district commanders, seven in number, 1 Budapest, 2 Szeged, 3 Kassa, 4 Pozsony, 5 Székesfehérvár, 6 Kolozsvár, 7 Zágráb, are officials of the Honvéd administration and at the same time higher Honvéd commanders. Under each Honvéd district command there are two infantry brigades, four infantry regiment battalions, twelve to fourteen infantry battalions. In addition, in administrative relations, one to two Honvéd hussar regiments.

In the case of mobilising one Honvéd infantry division is assigned to each Honvéd district.

The district commander has assistants for the performance of military, economic and sanitary business.

The Honvéd cavalry inspector is placed in control of the Strategic education, fitness for service, the proper condition of arms and horses, the remounting and the performance of all military duties connected with the Honvéd cavalry. The Honvéd infantry and brigade commanders, the first fourteen, the last three in number, lead and control the training of the troops, take care that discipline is upheld, that military service proceeds without hindrance, and control the material of war.

The *Honvéd infantry* consists of twenty-eight infantry regiments of which four are Croatian-Slavonian. The regiments consist of three to four battalions, each of the battalions of three to four field companies. Each infantry regiment can place in the field a battalion of three to four companies, besides reserved troops if necessary. The recruiting is conducted in the regiment by the Honvéd recruiting officer. The commanders of regiments have assistants for military and economic business.

The peace footing of the Honvéd infantry companies is at present four officers and about forty men. But the numbers rise to sixty or seventy men with those who are in training. The war footing is the same as in the infantry of the joint army: In the company about 250, in the battalion 1000, in the regiment according as it consists of three or four battalions, three to four thousand men. The arming, mounting, commissariat &c. of the infantry are the same likewise.

The *Honvéd cavalry* is formed of 10 Honvéd hussar regiments, the 10th regiment (Varasd) is recruited from Croatia-Slavonia. Each regiment consists of six squadrons; in time of war there are apportioned to each regiment a Pioneer troop, a telegraph-patrol (which in peace are only organised in the autumn-manoeuvers) a deputy squadron and some other detachments. To complete the troops each of the squadrons gets 34 recruits yearly, the whole regiment 204.

The peace footing of the cavalry squadrons is about 70 men and 50 horses.

The number of remounts required for the complement of the number of horses is fixed by the Honvéd minister; they are generally bought from the breeders themselves by way of the remount-recruiting committees. The horses of the royal Hungarian Honvéd Cavalry are kept, by special contractors which system is lately being adopted not only by the Austrian Landwehr but also by the cavalry of the joint army. Namely in order that the great quantity of horses required in case of war should not be kept by the public funds they are given over to (the custody of) contractors (mostly smaller landowners) with the condition that the horses must be surrendered within 24 hours in case of mobilisation and within a certain fixed time whenever a general survey of horses or a general manoeuvre be ordered, and that in general the horses shall be always kept in a serviceable state. After a term of six years and if the horse has been always kept in excellent condition, it becomes the property of the keeper.

For *the training* of the Honvéd troops the same system

is employed as with the joint army. Also here training begins with eight weeks exercise of the recruits and ends with the autumn manoeuvres ; the under-officers and the men ordered to perform special services are trained in the regiment. The active footing of the officers is recruited from amongst the pupils of the Ludovica Academy and the reserve footing from amongst the one-year volunteers.

In the Ludovica Academy, an institute of education and instruction standing on a high level, ninety youths of the age of from fourteen to sixteen are received and trained for four years. Of those who leave it the two first are at once named officers, the others are named cadet deputy officers and are distributed among the cavalry and infantry regiments.

The one year volunteers are trained in the Honvéd army at the depot of the district commander, the troopers in the central Honvéd riding-school at Buda-Pesth. For the further education of the officers are the higher officer course of the Ludovica Academy, the cavalry officer course of the central riding-school, and the Honvéd staff officer course. Beside these the Honvéd can attend several joint institutions, those who aspire to employment in the general staff, the war-school ; cavalry officers, the riding-school ; also the fencing course, gymnastic course, the Tullner telegraph school, the course of the judge advocate general.

Of the various branches of administration the Honvéd clergy are only organised for war, in peace there is only one Honvéd chaplain, who exercises his profession at the Ludovica Academy. The management of justice belongs to the provost general court, the district military court, and a Honvéd upper court. For the management of sanitary matters there is the corps of the Honvéd army surgeons and the Honvéd hospitals, for veterinary surgery the Honvéd veterinary surgeons, for economic business the Honvéd intendant, the book-keeping officers.

Among the institutions of the Honvéd army besides those mentioned the Honvéd central uniform depot, the central

arms magazine in Buda-Pesth and also the Honvéd ammunition commission in Pozsony are the most remarkable.

The *Levy in mass* serves in war to recruit the joint and Honvéd army, to support it with independent formations and finally to perform the tasks required by purposes of war.

The service of the Levy in mass is compulsory on every citizen who neither belongs to the regular army nor to the Honvéd army, and lasts from the age of nineteen to 42.

Those who serve in the Levy in mass are divided into two classes, to the first belong those of 19 to 37 years of age, to the second those of from 38 to 42. According as they have already served in one group of the service or not they are divided into military proficient and military unproficient. For the recruiting of the joint and the Honvéd army and further for the formation of the armed Levy in mass troops the first are called into requisition, while out of the latter working detachments are formed.

The Levy in mass men perform no service in peace, yet the military proficient and those who are provided with a ticket of summons for mobilisation in peace, must yearly report themselves for purposes of inspection.

The inspection of the Levy in mass is made by the commandants of the Honvéd battalions as commandants of landstorm districts, to which landstorm inspection officers are assigned.

The landstorm who are obliged to perform cavalry duty are also passed in review by the Honvéd hussar regiment commander. In each Honvéd hussar regiment one landstorm review takes place.

In the province of each Honvéd battalion two landstorm battalions are raised; of each hussar regiment one landstorm division of hussars with three squadrons. The organisation and arming of these is like that of the Honvéd army; the uniforms, equipments and arms necessary for them are stored with the Honvéd battalions.

The *territorial army of the monarchy in time of war*, is divided into infantry and cavalry brigades, infantry and cavalry

divisions, corps, and armies. Of the troops of the first and second line of battle 44 infantry and 8 cavalry are formed, which form 15 corps. The number of the army is determined according to necessities. And in the number of the divisions 7 infantry and 1 cavalry divisions are included, which are to be raised by the Honvéd army.

The total number of the troops consists of 650 infantry battalions, 425 cavalry squadrons, 125 technical squadrons, and 250 batteries, with about 2000 guns. The war footing of these forces is about 860,000 men, 200,000 horses, and 35,000, waggons. In the Hungarian Honvéd army, 120,000 men 15,000 horses, 250 cannons and 3000 waggons, are to be included.

In these figures the reserve troops, the reserve corps, and the deputy reserves, are not included.

The whole total of the Levy in mass consists of six millions, of which two millions six hundred thousand fall to Hungary. The number of proficient landstorm men exceeds one million and of these 450.000 belong to Hungary. The whole monarchy can place in the field two and a half million trained soldiers. The total number of those liable to military service consists of seven and a half million. For the marching troops army corps, deputy troops, and armed troops of the landstorm, uniforms, arms ammunition, commissariat, are kept in readiness in peace to the full quantity. The mobilising of the whole army and their march by means of railways to the borders is carefully planned. The troops apportioned to the marching army corps are provided with full war ammunition, provision for 18 days, and the necessary reserve material. All arrangements are made in peace for further contingencies, for the substitution of any losses that may occur, for the transport of material of war and other necessities.



The population of Hungary.

he development and variation of the population of Hungary during the past thousand years is known to us only in very broad outlines. It is certain that the statements of our chroniclers with regard to the numbers of the Magyars when they occupied the country are extremely exaggerated. By the light of our historical knowledge with regard to the migration of nations we can only set down for certain that the whole population of Hungary a thousand years ago conqueror and conquered reckoned together could only amount to a few hundred thousand. A great part of the new fatherland was covered with forest and morasses; any density of population was probably only to be found in what had formerly been Pannonia, which explains the fact that in the whole of the first half of our history the centre of gravity of public life fell in that part of the country. The population both under the kings of the house of Árpád as well as under those of various houses in spite of many calamities increased greatly. From the registers of taxes that still remain from the end of the 15th century we may with sufficient certainty estimate the population of the country at that time at from 4—5 million; a population which at that time might be considered sufficiently dense and renders intelligible the great political importance which our country occupied in the east of Europe as shown by the history of the 14th and 15th centuries.

The Turkish rule which followed upon the defeat of Mohács and the continual civil wars which accompanied it brought about fearful devastations. The authorities we possess on the history of our population render it possible to measure the fearful diminution which took place during two centuries. When the Turkish rule came to an end and internal peace was restored at the beginning of the 18th century the population stood between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 millions, in other words only the half of the population of two centuries previous. From this point forward, however, a marvellous development took place. The immigration of foreign colonists and a vigorous internal increase, no longer disturbed by war, in somewhat less than a century, to the astonishment of the whole world, tripled the population of the land. The first census ordered by Joseph II. 1785—87 showed the population of the country exclusive of the Military Frontier, to be $8\frac{1}{2}$ million, so that the population of the present territory of the Hungarian State must certainly have exceeded 9½ million. The censuses that have been taken since the middle of the present century bear witness to the continuous increase of the population. The population of the whole country was :

1850	13,191.553
1857	13,768.513
1870	15,509.455
1881	15,739.259
1891	17,463.791

The increase during the present century has not been so rapid as in the preceding one and is not to be compared with the multiplication of some of the more fortunate nations of western Europe, but the cause is not to be sought in the barrenness of our people. The natural fertility, as we shall see below, is actually very high, but, owing to the bad state of our public hygienic arrangements, contagious disorders cause great devastation among the people. The cholera in 1872—73 and the contagious disorders amongst children at the end of the decade explain the very small increase during the seven-

ties. These years were besides agriculturally unfavourable. The yearly increase of 1·10% during the last decade shows that with the improvements of the administration of public health our population can keep step with the most fertile nations in Europe in spite of the fact that of recent years emigration has deprived the state of a portion of the natural increase.

As no census has been taken since the 1st of January 1891, the population of Millennial Hungary cannot be exactly known, but a comparison of the births and deaths will enable us to place it at in round numbers 18½ million of souls.

The increase of the population has not been equal in the different portions of the land. The Great Plain (Alföld) which was almost completely laid waste by the Turks has been re-peopled partly in the last century, but partly in the present: here the population has tripled since 1787. The increase of the population has been very great in the north-eastern counties of the land whose population in the last century was still extremely scanty. On the other hand the growth of the population has been slow in the northern highlands and in Transylvania; the inhabitants of the northern counties finding it difficult to gain their living amongst their mountains partly migrate to the southern portion of the country, partly seek employment beyond its boundaries. The chief seats of the emigration to America are the counties of Szepes, Sáros and Abauj-Torna. Out of Transylvania from similar causes the stream of emigration has long flowed into Roumania; both the Székely as well as the inhabitants of the Wallach Military-Frontier continually send off considerable swarms into the territory of the neighbouring state. In the western portion of the country the right bank of the Danube has in recent years shown but a slow increase, the population is drawn away partly to the neighbouring Austrian provinces, partly by the attraction of the capital and the country beyond the Drave. Croatia and Slavonia on the whole gain by this migration, the immigrants swelling largely the population of that part of the country.

The distribution of the population among the several parts of the country is at present as follows.

According to the census taken at the beginning of 1891 the actual population inclusive of the military in the various component parts of the state :

	Absolute number	The proportion % of the whole popu- lation of the state	How many souls to a square kilom.
Hungary	15,231.527	87.22	54
Fiume, town & territory	30.337	0.17	1548
Croatia-Slavonia . . .	2,201.927	12.61	52

In as much as Fiume with its very small territory only represents a town, comparison can only be made between Hungary Proper and Croatia-Slavonia. The density of the population beyond the Drave was in 1891, almost the same as on this side of the Drave whereas former censuses showed that the population there was considerably thinner.

Examining the country more closely we find two districts with exceedingly dense population : first the country all along the west border of the land from Nyitra to Zágráb and next that portion of the Great Plain which lies about the lower course of the Tisza and of the Maros. In the first case the denser population only forms a continuation of the denser population of the neighbouring Austrian provinces and is the result of a long continuance of peaceful cultivation ; in the latter two centuries of colonization and immigration have caused the present dense population on the plain favoured by a particularly fertile soil, which at the end of the Turkish rule was left completely desolate.

On the other hand the population is scanty in the northern and eastern mountain districts and the hill country bordering on the Adriatic. In the whole of Transylvania which forms the most mountainous and inclement part of Hungary a dense population is only to be found in the valleys of the Maros and of either Küküllő. The least populated county of our country is in Transylvania, the county of Csik, which has only 25

inhabitants to the square kilometer, not the half of the average of the whole country; on a line with it may be placed Máramaros and Besztercze-Naszód.

The severity of the climate and the poverty of the soil are the natural causes of the scantiness of the population of the districts. In an agricultural state, such as ours, where the want of fertility of the soil can be but exceptionally compensated by manufactory production, the density of the population stands in direct ratio to the land that can be brought under cultivation. If we put together the arable land, the gardens and the vineyards, as those which furnish the greatest number of workers with occupation and bread, and compare the population with the area, we shall find that properly speaking those districts which have the fewest inhabitants really show the greatest excess of population. In proportion to their means of gaining a livelihood the frontier districts on the east of the country are much more inclined to over-population than the centre of the country. Whilst in Csanád the most populous county on the Great Plain 94 souls fall to one square kilometer, in Transylvania taken as a whole there are 138, in the Csik 139, nay in Máramaros even 250. Generally on the plain the proportion of the population to the land under the plough and the spade is scantier than in the mountain districts, and if we take into consideration the different degrees of the fertility of the soil here and there, we shall find the explanation of the fact that these scanty populations of the highlands are much poorer in their way of living, and the further development of the people encounters many more obstacles than on the plain. With this is connected the poor mode of life of the nationalities that live in the hills, the Slovaks, the Ruthenians, and the Wallachs and the backwardness of their mental development associates with that of their material condition in comparison with the Magyars who occupy the Great Plain.

The distribution of the population according to their several dwelling places in our country can only be understood with

the help of history. The peculiar phenomenon that in a considerable part of the country the groups of dwellings forming the smallest administrative unity, the communes, should boast of as large a number of inhabitants as in foreign countries only fall to the share of cities, is explained by the devastations of the Turkish world. In the beginning of the XVI century the Alföld was thickly covered with villages; at the beginning of the XVIII. century only a small number of communes was to be found which in the period of repopulation attracted to themselves large groups of inhabitants; and administratively they even at the present time form but single communes, although the vast territory is full of lonely farms, and agriculture is in many places carried on, on the *tanya* or out-station system. The largest communes are found between the Danube and the Tisza where 87% of the population live in communes counting more than 2000 souls. Even if we exclude from the calculation the towns endowed with a municipality, considerably more than half the population live in like large communes in the corner between the Tisza and the Maros and on the left bank of the Tisza, in other words there where the Turkish rule lingered latest. On the other hand the groups of habitations are small in the mountain districts. On the right bank of the Tisza $\frac{1}{4}$ of the population live in villages that have less than 500 inhabitants, and the prevailing type of commune exclusive of the Alföld is a little village averaging from 300—700 souls. Our towns, if we keep to the strictly administrative sense of the word, comprize within their walls a great diversity of inhabitants both as regards numbers and composition. Here too there is a sharp contrast between the Great Hungarian Plain and the other parts of the country. On the plain the towns, municipalities possessing rights of self-government equal to those of a county, are as far as concerns the character of their inhabitants scarcely to be distinguished from the villages. We have large towns in whose population the predominating element is agriculture. In Hódmező-Vásárhely, Szabadka, and

Kecskemét the agriculturists form 70% of the inhabitants, and even in Szeged, in size the second town in our country, they form 60%. On the other hand in the western part of the country and in the highlands the towns with an organized council, that is with a measure of self-government corresponding to that of a county-district, the inhabitants are for the most part tradesmen and artisans; the buildings too have a decided urban character. The contrast shows itself also in the increase of the population. The agricultural towns on the Alföld owe the increase of their population entirely to internal multiplication, the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants are natives, and what migration there is, is rather outward, casting off swarms into the neighbouring villages. In the other parts of the country the municipalities owe their growth almost entirely to immigration. As central points of industry, commerce and communication they absorb such of the population of the neighbourhood as are seeking a livelihood, so that the greater part of their inhabitants are born elsewhere. This was the case according to the census of 1891 of not less than 50—60% of the civil population of Fiume, Győr, Kassa, Kolozsvár, Nagyvárad, Pécs, Pozsony, and Temesvár, royal free cities while in Zágráb they rose to 67%.

Amongst our towns Budapest towers on high, the suddenly sprung up capital of the Hungarian state, and withal the central point of our manufactures and commerce. According to the census of 1891 its population amounted to 505,763. As the population of no single other town reaches 100,000 — Szeged our most populous town after the capital had in 1891, 87,000 inhabitants — the capital is the only truly large town in our country. Budapest which to-day occupies the eleventh place amongst the great cities of Europe, at the beginning of the 18th century had hardly 10,000 inhabitants of which the greater part lived in Buda, at that time the capital of the country. The census of 1787 gives it nearly 50,000 souls and the census of 1850—51 immediately after the war of independence reckoned its inhabitants at 178,000. The deve-

lopment of the capital became extremely rapid from the time of Széchenyi forward. Its greatest increase however, has taken place since 1870 — from 280 to 505 thousand; and since the increase visibly goes on without change, or rather in ever rising proportion at the time of the millennial festival may be set down in round numbers as 650 thousand.

In the increase of the population of the residence and capital city immigration has played the decisive part. According to the evidence of the census 1891, only 38% of the civil population were born here so that the immigrants made 62%. The capital possesses the greatest attraction for the counties lying to the west and north of it. The large proportion is striking which the Hungarian counties the other side of the Danube, and next to them the Slovak highlands, contribute to Budapest. From the last named country comes the day-labourer, who accomplishes the most ordinary work, while the western Hungarian districts contribute many skilled workmen. It should further be observed that in more recent years the improvement of the hygienic condition of the town has caused a considerable natural increase, and the proletariat with its customary fertility added to the increase caused by immigration.

In the population of our country the two sexes are represented almost equally. According to the census of 1891, every thousand inhabitants consists of 504 women and 496 men. Of course the excess of women would be greater if we only took into account the civil population, or in other words subtracted the soldiers, militia, gendarmery, amounting to 114,393; in that case 507 women would occur in every thousand souls.

The proportion of the two sexes, however, shows great variation in different parts of the country. In the highlands particularly in the counties along the northern frontier the predominance of the women is very striking. It attains its culminating point in Trencsén and Sáros, where among a thousand inhabitants 539, respectively 535, are women; where-

as along the right bank of the Tisza we find 520 and on the left bank of the Danube 515 women among a thousand inhabitants. The explanation of this predominance is to be sought in emigration. A considerable portion of the male population of the highlands seek their bread by prolonged absences from home, and permanent emigration has consumed a large proportion of the men. Hence it is that just in the seat of American emigration and in the north-western counties which gravitate towards the south the excess of women is so great. We must apply a similar explanation to the great excess of women in the counties of Szeben and Brassó. Here the emigration to Roumania drains off the men. In the eastern and southern portions of the country the men appear in the majority, which is chiefly the consequence of the greater mortality of the women. In both the Greek sects, but especially amongst those belonging to the Orthodox Eastern Church, the proportion of the mortality of the women compared with that of the men is disproportionately high, which is probably connected with the less favourable position of the women. So that we may consider the eastern and southern portion of our country to form a transition to the oriental populations. In Europe an observable preponderance of men is found in the counties of the Lower Danube, which finds its explanation in the subordinate position of the female sex, and the greater burden of work thrown upon them. In particular counties other factors come into play. For instance in the Székely land the great tendency of the Székely women to emigrate furnishes the explanation of the predominance of the men which in the county of Csik is so great that among a thousand inhabitants there are only 483 women.

In the larger towns the Military stationed there effects the proportion of the sexes to a great extent, and causes a predominance of men. If, however, we confine ourselves to the civil population we shall find the predominance of women greater than the average of the whole country; this is the

result of the great number of domestic servants. To this the large towns of the Great Plain form an exception, where the male agricultural servants considerably increase the proportion of the stronger sex.

Nothing, however, characterizes our peculiar position as regards population than the proportion of the several ages of life. As a young people possessing great powers of propagation, the Hungarians tree of life starts from a broad basis, and a very large proportion of children of tender years is to be observed. Compared with these the middle age is more moderately represented, the advanced age indeed in still more feeble proportions; the upper branches of the tree are weak and the form of the whole depressed.

The period of childhood, taking it to extend to the end of the 15th year, according to the last census includes 36·7% that is rather more than a third of our people, thus the rising generation is represented among us in a proportion exceeding that of the most prolific of the western nations. The next great division of age from 15—40 years of age stands with 38% on the same level as the average of western Europe. Those between 40 and 60 with 18·6%, and those above 60 6·8% fall far below it. The small number of old people is to be explained by our hygienic shortcoming and the defective arrangements both material and mental for making provision for the future. It is, however, a point to be congratulated that the proportion of persons above sixty continually increase from one census to another; the improvement since 1857 is more than 50%.

The population of our towns is characterized by the large proportion of those who are young or middle-aged. The school-boys, and still more those who are seeking a career, or have just found work, swell the numbers between 15 and 25 years of age, and the greater the attraction that any town possesses for the neighbouring country the greater is the proportion of its inhabitants between 15 and 40 years of age, hence it comes that the composition with regard to age

of the population of the agricultural towns of the Great Plain scarcely differs from the average of the whole country: whereas in the commercial and manufacturing towns the population between 15 and 40 years of age far exceeds 40%, nay, in Kassa and Kolozsvár 45%, and in Záhgráb even 46%, the highest proportion is of course reached in the capital, where it amounts to 50%, thus exceeding in the proportion of the most active years of life the most considerable cities of Europe, which is a further proof of the extraordinary attraction of Budapest.

With regard to the family position our country is distinguished by the very large proportion of married people. According to the census of 1891, of the population above 16 years of age 66.6% that is to say exactly $\frac{2}{3}$ were married, 23.2% were the bachelors and maids taken together, 10.2% the widowers and widows, whilst divorced persons formed a very small fraction. Taking the two sexes separately we naturally find most widowed persons amongst the women, whilst amongst the men the proportion of bachelors far surpasses that of the maids: the men marry later and in case of widowhood very often contract a new marriage, while the widowed women much seldomer meet with a new partner. Of the different parts of the country the Great Plain and Croatia-Slavonia are distinguished by the large proportion of married persons in connection with the greater prominence of agriculture. This phenomenon is explained by the earlier maturity of the inhabitants while the northern and western border counties, with their greater density of population, already approach to the western lands in the larger proportion of bachelors and maids. The towns again show an even larger proportion of unmarried persons than the western and northern border counties. In Budapest the proportion rises to 43%, that is double the average of the whole country, while the married persons sink to 46%; this of course is owing to the higher style of living and the circumstance that such occupations as do not allow an early

marriage especially prevail in the town. It is, however, to be observed that the large towns of the Great Plain occupy in this point an exceptional position. Indeed in Szabadka and Hódmező-Vásárhely the married persons, both men and women, are more than the average of the whole country; the people are agriculturists and, although they live together in a vast crowd, they find the same need of a married life in the town as in the country.

The pointing out of the family position leads us to the most important factor, the statistics of the contraction of marriage. And here becomes still more prominent one of the most characteristic features of our circumstances: the strong tendency towards marriage. If we take the marriageable portion of the population above 15 years old as divisor and calculate amongst a thousand such individuals how many in a year contract marriage, we shall find that during the last years (1888--93) we shall arrive at the average for our country of 78, so high a number as cannot be found anywhere in central and western Europe. It stands in connection with the fact that our people begin family life very early. In the fifties when the obligation of military service did not constitute such an obstacle to the contraction of marriage, as it does at present, almost half the bridegrooms were under 24 years of age; but even in recent years since 1889, when the new law about military service had placed the beginning of obligatory service at 21 years of age and thereby raised the duration of the obstacle a year, a quarter of the bridegrooms were still under 24 years of age. As regards the youth of the brides it should be noticed that of recent years, just as in the fifties, 40% were under 20 years of age.

Between the different parts of the country as also between town and country we find considerable differences both as regards the proportion of marriages and the age of those contracting marriage. Agreeable to the statistics of the family position, here too we see that the agricultural population of the south marry in the largest proportion, and at the earliest

age. On either side of the Drave we find counties where 50% of the bridegrooms are under 24 years of age. The least disposition to marriage on the part of the men we find on the right bank of the Danube; here the higher standard of living has already brought into vogue customs approaching those of the west. The inhabitants of the towns especially of the capital, show still less inclination to marriage; they contract marriage late, so that only a quarter as many bridegrooms under 24 years of age and brides under 20 years of age are to be found as in the country. The agricultural towns of the Great Plain in this point also constitute an exception.

The natural consequence of the great tendency to marriage and the early age at which marriages are contracted is the large proportion of second marriages. The widower cannot do without the wife who helps him in the field or, while he is engaged in the farm, keeps the house and takes care of the children; the woman who has early become a widow is on her part sufficiently young to contract a new union. Thus it is that such marriages, in which at least one party appears before the altar for the second time, form about 24% of the whole number of marriages; indeed in those parts of the country in which agriculture is overwhelmingly predominant the proportion is even greater, whereas in the towns it is considerably less.

It casts a peculiarly vivid light on the agricultural character of our country that the number of marriages contracted stands in the closest connection with the abundance or otherwise of the crops. This connection is especially obvious when a good harvest succeeds a very bad one or vice versa. In order that we may clearly understand the influence of the harvest upon the marriage-rate let us take the agricultural year as the basis of our calculation. During the period extending from the beginning of October to the end of September in the following year the number of marriages was as follows:

1876/77	134.153	1879/80	138.523
1877/78	152.937	1880/81	156.944
1878/79	163.968		

The number of marriages progresses in a perfect parallel with the crops. In the two very bad years after the harvests of 1876 and 1879 the marriage-rate was remarkably low and reached its highest point in 1878 the year following the best harvest in the whole first half of the eighties; the good harvests were always accompanied by a high marriage-rate.

The tendency to marriage and the early age at which marriages are contracted furnishes a complete explanation of the fertility of our people, although our marriages do not attain to the fertility of the most fertile West European nations, the circumstance that the proportion of married couples is so high produces an exceedingly high birth-rate when compared with that of Western Europe. During long periods there has been an average of 44 children born alive to every thousand inhabitants.

The increase on the Great-Plain and beyond the Drave even exceed that proportion, and besides this the north-eastern counties show a very high birth-rate. On the other hand the increase is more moderate beyond the Danube and in Transylvania, though here too taking one with another 40 births occur amongst a thousand inhabitants. The connection between the proportion of married couples and their ages with the number of the children is obvious, but there is no doubt that ethnological and even religious factors play a part in causing the difference with regard to fertility. The fertility of the Little Russian (Ruthenian) race who are poor and live simply is very high. In the south we find the Serbs who also marry young show a very high birth-rate.

On the other hand the Wallachs, especially the Wallachs belonging to the Orthodox Eastern Church dwelling in the Eastern Carpathians, show a decidedly low birth-rate. In proportion to the other nationalities the Hungarian, with the exception of those beyond the Danube, can boast of a high fertility. On the Great Hungarian Plain several Magyar counties take rank amongst the most fertile; whilst in Transylvania the Székely counties lead the way.

The artificial restriction of fertility, the two and one child system, is only found here and there in our country ; although in certain districts it has already struck deep root. In the south-eastern corner of the country beyond the Danube amongst the well to do agricultural population the tendency to keep the land undivided in the hands of a few descendants has caused the birth-rate to sink to 35‰, and the Hungarian population belonging to the Reformed Church rather diminishes in numbers than increases. Amongst the Croats in Belovár-Kőrös, amongst the Slovacks in the county of Hont, amongst the Wallachs dwelling between the Maros and the southern Carpathians, and amongst the Transylvanian Saxons we find a very low birth-rate, which is to be attributed to the unfruitfulness of the marriages. Generally speaking few births characterize the Protestant sects, while at the opposite extreme stand the Greek-Catholic (Unated) population of the north-eastern parts of our country.

The proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children is on the increase and during the last decade was about 8‰. In most parts of the country the large number of illegitimate children is a sign of the spread of the so called »wild-marriages«. Such relations are for the most part afterwards legalized.

The number of illegitimate children is much higher in the towns than in the country, which is to be explained by the circumstance that the unmarried women form a much larger proportion of the town population than of the country. At the same time the fertility of marriages in the towns is considerably smaller than that of marriages in the country ; thus in the years immediately preceding the last census to a thousand married women between the ages of 15—50 in the country annually 221 children were born alive, while in the 27 towns endowed with an autonomous municipality 201, and in Budapest only 179.

That our population does not increase as fast as might be expected from the high birth-rate is caused by the great mor-

tality. It is true that from the nature of things a high death-rate up to a certain degree always accompanies a high birth-rate, for of course the tender young life everywhere furnishes the largest contribution to the cemeteries ; but in our country the mortality at every period of life is greater than in Western Europe, and is especially high in the period of childhood.

An improvement, it is true, has been discerned in several directions during the last few years, but the mortality of children has still lost but little of its fearful proportions.

During the second half of the century, that is to say since we have reliable statistics on the subject, the death-rate in our country has we are glad to say diminished. In the fifties and sixties, nay, for the last time in 1873 every single pestilence, especially the scourge of our country, cholera wrought such destruction amongst our population as entirely to overbalance the great natural increase, and even to create an excess of deaths. The cholera which raged in the year 1873 left traces behind it in the progress of our population that extended over a whole decade. The eastern portions of our country which suffered from it the most, had not recovered from its devastation by the census of 1881. Since then the cholera has come in again, in 1886 and 1893, but it is an agreeable proof of the improvement of our administration of public health, that it succeeded in confining the plague within very narrow limits, so that it did not sensibly affect the rate of mortality.

The following five years' average will show the rate of mortality reckoned for every thousand souls during the last two decades

1876—80	37	1886—90	32
1881—85	33	1891—94	32

The rate of mortality is still exceedingly high if, however, we take into consideration that the youthful increase which is most especially subject to mortality is much stronger with us than in the West Europe states, our position will appear in somewhat more favourable colours.

Taking into consideration the different parts of our country we find the highest rate of mortality just there where the fertility is greatest and vice-versa, which is of course a natural consequence of the parallelism existing between birth and death. To this it must be added that just upon the Great Plain the peculiarities of soil and water as well as the very large size of the communes seem to favour the spread of contagious disorders, and the Great Plain is almost the permanent scene of the most fearful devastation wrought by the diseases of children. On the other side of the Danube the state of things approaches nearer to that of Western Europe, and amongst the mountains of Transylvania the mortality is much more moderate.

The following figures will show both the greatness and the variation of the mortality among children. Of a thousand children born alive there died under the age of 5 years

1876—80	428	1886—90	385
1881—85	375	1891—94	410

Of those who died under 5 years of age the greater part were under 1 year of age. The mortality of infants was in the years 1891—94 on an average 253 per thousand; this represents the combined ravages of diphtheria, quinsy, scarlet-fever, and measles which together cause this compared to middle European statistics frightful rate of infant mortality.

The natural increase of the population which results from the difference between births and deaths is as we have stated above, very great in our country. If the contagious disorders of children do not appear with unwonted violence, the internal increase of our population surpasses 200.000 a year. This happened in 1883—86, 1888—89, and in 1893; the average yearly increase was:

1876—80	120.065	1886—90	197.134
1881—85	184.028	1891—94	164.106

From the eighties forward the excess of birth regularly exceeds 1% of the population.

With respect to the natural increase considerable differences exist between the different religious bodies. In the average of the years 1881—90 the excess of births reckoned on a thousand souls, on basis of the number of souls as shown by the census of 1891, is as follows.

	Total number of souls	Increase per thousand souls
Roman Catholics	8,885.942	12·3
Greek Catholics (Uniates) .	1,678.969	12·0
Orthodox Eastern Greek . .	2,644.951	10·3
Evangelicals of the Augustan confession	1,212.634	9·0
Evangelicals of the Helvetic confession	2,239.197	9·2
Unitarians	62.053	10·9
Jews	730.342	18·3

Amongst the christian sects the Roman Catholic has the strongest increase; the Greek Catholic which stands almost on the same level, owes its great increase to the high birth-rate which prevails amongst the Ruthens. Amongst the Orthodox Greeks, the natural increase of the Serbians is greater than that of the Wallachs. Both of the Greek sects suffered severely from the cholera in 1872—73; so that the Roman Catholics show the greatest increase also since the fifties when first the question of religion was taken into the census. The very large increase of the Jews is chiefly to be attributed to their very low death-rate, on the other hand the birth-rate among the Protestants is so low that the moderate character of the death-rate is not able to counterbalance it.

All things taken together the demographical circumstances of the Hungarian nation show us the character of a young and vigorous people. There are shadows in the picture, the high mortality and the great waste of child-life. Now these are just such evils as the spread of civilisation and the conscious action of the state are best able to cure.



The ethnography of the population.

The Hungarian nation as a political whole one and indivisible in which every individual citizen has equal rights and equal duties, has inhabited for a thousand years Hungary, the heart of Europe. The common state citizenship extends over Croatia also, which, however, enjoys for its internal administration and culture a separate autonomy, and from the ethnical point of view is to be separately considered.

But as the ray of white light passing through the prism divides into the seven colours of the rainbow, so the one Hungarian nation, regarded from the ethnological point of view, consists of seven elements, which perhaps contain each as many ethnographical shades or variations. These elements of various origin have settled on the territory of the country at diverse times and in different proportions; on the territory of the Hungarian state, which is geographically sufficiently united, the elements that constitute the one political nation continually approach ethnographically ever nearer to one another. Not only in the sense that the general civilization, the progress and diffusion of human culture wears away ever more and more the peculiarities of race, the peculiarities of original primitive culture, and so bringing men ever nearer and nearer, partly to the modern social ideal, partly to the general average, tends continually to unite them more closely

together. In the place of the peculiarities of race appear those of the individual; in this way all civilized nations become more and more like one another, and this has caused the Hungarians to become a completely European people.

But in this country great assimilation in a special direction has taken place, and is still taking place. The Hungarian people itself passed through a most important transformation since starting from its original birthplace, and receiving Iranian, Turkish, Slavonic influences, and also in this country where in the furnace of the struggle for the occupation of the land, it was at first violently, but after that time slowly modified, until it acquired its present form on which the other people of the land have had a formative influence, but whom again the Hungarian element has affected in many directions. The original nature of the race, the character derived from its descent is transformed by the land it lives in and its history; every land produces its own people which is afterwards matured by history. A powerful levelling effect is exercised by the common fatherland, the common natural and biological relations, the continual contact with one another, the mixture of blood, and the innumerable reciprocal influences of culture, which make themselves felt not only in places of mixed population and on the frontiers of tongues, and peoples, but press in from the circumference on the more solid and apparently unmixed elements in the centre. From this spring the numerous points of agreement and common features in anthropological character, in the languages, in the costume and architecture, in custom and beliefs, in the whole body of traditions, and lastly the community in feeling. In this way there is developed a certain ethnical unity, upon which the Hungarian element, which founded the state, which alone for a thousand years had a historical mission, distinguished by body and soul and decidedly superior in numbers, as was natural stamped its mark. This has given the individual character and colour to the compound people, formed from many elements; this makes the country a state, and the mis-

cellaneous population a nation, and to the social organization a political weight in the scales of Europe.

This formation the Hungarian element has carried out neither with violence nor with haste ; on the contrary it may be said that it has let slip the best opportunities for consciously, and of set purpose forwarding the process.

As long as it was blood that was in the first line requisite for the consolidation of the Hungarian state they were not particular about its source. They did not then recognize the idea of blue-blood ; all blood was for them equally red. Later on they thought in like manner of money *non olet*. whether it was gathered from the Ishmaelite Shroff or the German *hospes*. So in material work they looked at the hand and not at the tongue ; nay, the landed proprietor gave the preference to the workman, with whom he could most conveniently deal, in the northern highlands to the Slovacks, in Transylvania to the Wallachs ; especially in the case of these two elements their low standard of living, and the continuous mass in which they lived, gave them a certain tenacity and an active capacity for absorption, which has hindered their union with the nation at large and even enabled them to absorb into their own body both Magyar and other elements. It is only in the most recent times, since the national idea has assumed a distinct form, and the period of a truly national culture has commenced, that the Hungarian element, nay, the whole West has awoke to the necessity of creating here a strong national state.

That element which they now call the Magyar *race* has formed itself in this country ; the Hungarian *nation* in the ethnical sense has not been able to form itself completely. That process which amongst the great cultured nations has for the most part been fully completed is with us still going on. The Hungarian was the last great wave in the tide of the migration of nations and occupied in the bed of the chalk-sea a territory which before it no power had been able to possess permanently ; the world-empires of the Romans,

the Huns, the Avars, could not maintain themselves long here. The Hungarian too had need of constant warfare in order to maintain the state, nor had he lasting peace until he had reached the work of final internal consolidation. On three several occasions he had to repeople the country entirely anew ; he had so to say to mine-out the population, and so had not much time for the work of fusion, and when quieter times at length succeeded there was wanting the central strength, the power of national consolidation, the magnetic attraction of a national dynasty, the fusing influence of a court. The centre of gravity of the power of the state, of the national government lay outside the boundary of the country. Vienna not only consumed a portion of the national strength and of its productive force, but in part too demaggyarized the leading members of the nation, and to a great degree encouraged the separatist efforts of the nationalities in opposition to the Hungarian.

One must not measure our ethnographical position after the manner of that of the German, French, Italians, English. A thousand years ago the Hungarians found these completely formed nations, even when not fully organized states. And if the laws of organic development are of universal force it is not unlikely, that these, the great nations of civilization, who preceded us in the development and culmination of their culture, shall also precede us in their decadence.

In the course of a thousand years the Hungarian nation became formed, the Hungarian state resisted every malign influence from within and from without ; but a state is something more than a mere administrative district, and a nation something more than a mere joint-stock-company which pays taxes to defray the common expenses and furnishes soldiers for the common defence and renders secure the possibility of family-life ; it is besides a lofty moral ideal which is impossible of realization without common feelings, a unity of apprehension and identity of ideas, in which a community of feelings which carries out the common will into action, a

complete understanding of one another, and a feeling of belonging to one another and of a complete identity of interest, and a certain community of culture are all necessary.

When the leading Magyar element strives to create all these things, it is providing the condition of existence of the entire nation, of the whole state, it is rendering them permanent and secure. In the middle of this century the Hungarian element made the land of the fatherland, which had been, in a large measure, its own property, the free and common possession of all. And if towards the end of the century it makes the chief distinguishing characteristic of its nationality, to wit its mother-tongue, the language of the state, a common possession for the whole population, it is then practically renouncing its very last privilege; in doing so it takes nothing from the rest but on the contrary gives to them, fraternally sharing with them, the chief instrument of success in this state, the chief condition for filling any public office, and when it has fused together into an organic ethnical unity, into a real nation, this conglomerate of peoples, then in fact it sacrifices its own distinctive racial type; for ethnical development does not now take place in Europe (as perhaps in Siberia) in that a leading element of the population completely dissolves a certain large multitude and simply fuses them into its own ethnical mould and withal stamps them with its own mark, so that only the subtlest ethnological analysis can in the future discriminate the original elements. Consequently, when the Hungarian element transforms others, it is also itself transformed; its proceeding cannot therefore be said to be exclusively narrow-minded and dictated by national egotism; it is the condition of existence of a certain higher idea of the nation.

This transformation is not to the disadvantage of the other elements. The characteristic fact that the noblest component parts of the other peoples of the land have always of their own accord been attracted by the Hungarian element, and have united with it, at least in feeling, shows this. From a

general human point of view it is not to be desired that the smaller ethnical fragments and chips should be lost, or that the bodies of inferior culture and of less interest to civilization should be preserved, but that they should strengthen the element which has already fulfilled a glorious mission to the advantage of culture, and humanity, and which in the future too will solve important problems in the interest of human ideals, of the perfectibility of mankind.

But from the point of view of the interests of the so-called nationalities, they too require a strong national Hungarian state. This alone can afford them security, that giving to the state the things of the state they may preserve the ethnical character of their nationality in language, religion, and other traditions within the national community. If the Hungarian national state should come to an end, the different popular elements would at once crumble away, and either completely disappear or falling back upon atavism would sink into the colourless raw mass of their kinsmen. For instance, not only would the Slovak cease to be a peculiar and original species, but the Saxon would become a Wallach, and the Wallach would become a Muscovite. Hungarian patriotism is not only the civic duty of all the peoples of the land, but at the same time the most vital interest of their respective nationalities.

Our nationalities are all so many rays in the circle of the fatherland, whose central point is the power of the country, the happiness of the nation, and, when the non-centrifugal elements gravitate towards the centre and move forward in progress, they all approach nearer to one another without any one of them being obliged to leave its own direction or to cross the way of the others. And as they thus approach one another and the central attracting Hungarian element, they draw away from their foreign ethnical kinsmen, with whom they are now in touch at the circumference of the country. Under the influence of the common land and common history, of the common traditions and institutions, they all more and more step into a physiological affinity which

is of a higher order than the mere anthropological blood-relationship. The natural and political boundaries of Hungary will at last become an ethnological boundary. On this soil the Hungarian nation has grown organically a sound and ripe fruit of a thousand years of history, whose external envelope is the nationalities, whilst the fruitful seed within is the Hungarian element. In the seed is the life, is the future!

These modest observations have no political, but only an ethnographical intention, the observation naturally flowing from the actual state of things with which we would attempt to throw light upon our somewhat complicated ethnographical relations.

To clear these all up in detail would require deep and many-sided study; these studies may be said to be the most important part of the work of national culture. If we apply the principle know-thyself to man as a social being, as a member of an ethnical body, this principle is not less important for the natural and conscious development and perfection of an individual people than of an individual person. Ethnological studies seek to clear up the main truths in the problem of humanity and are thus not only of great theoretical and moral significance, but can be exceedingly effective in a practical direction. Their results form an indispensable certain foundation for right policy in economical, administrative, judicial, and national matters, in the organic progress of culture, which can never be severed from the root of life. For instance, we must not make laws, but find them in the soul and life of the people. It is not possible to lead, to govern, a people rationally without an exact knowledge of its nature.

Owing to the multiplicity of the national elements and the unfinished character of the ethnical development, these studies are nowhere more important than in our country. And here the Hungarian element steps naturally to the foreground. Not only because it founded the Hungarian nation,

and because its ethnical character is in itself the fullest and most interesting. But chiefly because it is entirely confined as regards its existence to the territory of this land; »outside this there is in the whole great world no place for it.« These other ethnical elements stretch into our territory only as continuations, as peninsulas, and islands. Their main bodies, their continents, lie without our frontiers, and for the most part form independent states, in which, along with the other cultural interests of these elements, the ethnographical often find themselves brilliantly represented. Consequently the ethnography of the fatherland in the first instance occupies itself with the Magyar element. But it is not allowed to neglect the ethnography of the other elements either, for the systematic working of the territory in question requires the fullest possible induction, resting on the comparative method, and extending over every factor. And owing to the intricate entanglement of the reciprocal influences which we have sketched above, one cannot be known, cannot be understood without the other, cannot be seized from a higher point of view. And besides if the superiority or exclusiveness of the Hungarian element were to leave the ethnography of the other elements, of the population of the country entirely to them, or to their kinsmen outside the frontier, then, at the expense of objectivity and scientific method, a tendentious way of treating the subject, leaving aside what is really characteristic and important and bringing into undue prominence what is merely incidental, would give rise to many erroneous views, and in the end by inducing a false theory of themselves would alter their ethnical character. It is a noble obligation, springing from the supremacy of the Magyar element, that it should be the representative of the ethnographical interests of the rest, and it is a perfectly erroneous idea that such action is injurious to the Hungarian element or to the national unity; on the contrary the more prominent become the special and local peculiarities of the fragments of peoples found in our country, so much the shar-

per will they be distinguished from the mass outside our frontiers, their ethnological kindred ; they will be ever less and less disposed to be made use of for centrifugal purposes and sooner or later will all the more easily conform themselves to our national genius.

Our statesmen in general show but little feeling for the political importance of ethnography. But it seems that those who work in the acquisition of a knowledge of our fatherland and ever wider circles amongst the educated classes, begin to perceive that the ethnographical character distinguishes this nation from the rest, in fact makes it what it is ; that the language and religion, customs and the traditional forms and contents of articles in daily use, is the most valuable and most peculiar ancestral treasure of the nation ; to draw up an inventory of which, and so render them secure against oblivion is a most important national task and at the same time considering the extreme rapidity with which general civilization reduces everything to one dead level is also one of the most pressing. Already there labour zealously in the acquittal of this task not only individuals but also institutions, societies and special periodicals. The work of ethnography goes on pretty busily but the collection, the research not being organized by the country, does not as a whole stand upon the basis of a unified system ; there is little systematic in the work ; for instance, there is no special bibliography.

The millenian exhibition will certainly help on the cause of our country's ethnography mightily. Its ethnographical sections which are on a large scale already excite interest towards the objects of ethnography in the widest circles, and afford an instructive survey of concrete objects and groups. The mass of material there accumulated will for the greater part go to stock the ethnographical museum, which, as a department of the national museum, has in a few years developed from a very modest beginning to a considerable collection owing to the zeal of its present director. If the

state authorities would only take into consideration the importance of the matter, we have reason to hope that in a short time the ethnography of our country would occupy a worthy place amongst the sciences and institutions.

We have been obliged to commence with these general observations as an introduction to an ethnographical characterisation of the people of our country. Their manifold elements, and the varieties which separate off from them in so many directions, render difficult a detailed account of them in such a limited space, which excludes all the more subtle distinctions. If we were to generalize the concrete features characterising one or the other of the narrower circles and extend it over the whole body of the nationality in question, we should depart from the truth just as much as if we should attempt to apply the general characteristics to the fragments of people dwelling in our country, who formerly lived in ethnical community with them. Another chapter of this work will discuss effectually the concrete data of our ethnographical circumstances, such as the extent of the nationalities and their numerical proportion. It is further to be observed that our ethnographical condition has not been studied and worked up so that it would be possible for us to simply sum up in this place and communicate the principal results which have been securely established, with regard to which we for the most part rely upon the works of the two brothers Hunfalvy.

Hungary is, as it were, a copy on a small and condensed scale of the ethnographical map of Europe. Its centre, the Magyars, of Asiatic origin, but who have assumed a European character, occupy from an ethnical point of view a middle place between the two branches of the Ural-Altaic family stretching into the most north-eastern and most south-eastern parts of Europe, between the Ugrians and the Turks. In layers upon this nucleus of cristallization are diffused through the country the great European ethnical families, from the west the Teutons, from the north and south almost every

branch of the two great stems of the Slavonic family; in the south-east and south-west two branches of Romance speaking peoples.

Beside these, Indian, Iranian, and Semitic elements are diffused throughout the country.

The picture would be even more varied, if instead of considering only the present, we were to take into consideration its historical formation, taking into consideration successively the peoples whom the Hungarians found in the land at its occupation, as well as those, who accompanied the Hungarians hither and those who since the occupation have found their way into Hungary. Of these elements parts still exist; those that have disappeared have either become fused with the Hungarians or have in later times emigrated hence, or have died out in this country. In the two last cases it could hardly happen, but that some fragments should still be found remaining here.

Amongst the larger and smaller fragments of peoples, which the Hungarians found on the territory of this country when they occupied it, may be mentioned the Slavs belonging to the kingdom of Great-Moravia (Slovacks, Slovenes) Avars, to the South Bulgarians, who for the most part were absorbed by the Magyars. In the part of the other side of the Danube, occupied by the Frank Empire, Germans (Franks, Bavarians), Slovenes (Wends), who in part still remain, and Avars on the Great Hungarian Plain and in Slavonia, Serbs, Croats, Bulgarians, Franks, Lombards, Gepidaë, and remains of Greeks; in Croatia Illyrians, various kind of Slavs, Italians; in Transylvania Bulgarians and Petchenegs.

With the Magyars there came in Cumans, Khazars and Russians who were fused with them. In like manner in later times there came in Petchenegs, Jazygians. Tartars, Cumans, Bulgarians, etc. The wandering Ishmaelites and others disappeared. But those national elements, which came into Hungary since the XIIIth century, have for the most part remained, and maintained their ethnical individuality.

For all this, however, the kernel of the nation occupies

the heart of the country in a close throng. With regard to the origin of the Magyars science has not yet arrived at a final conclusion. An Ural-Altaic people their language inclines towards that of the Ugran, their other ethnical peculiarities incline however, towards the Turks. Their numbers were not great when they occupied this land; in the greater part of which they found no solid political formation and consequently no serious resistance. They especially occupied the two Plains, the Great and the Little Hungarian Plains, as they best corresponded their nature, their mode of life, the taste for the wilderness which had been developed in their former abodes; and on this especially fertile soil they found a very scanty population. They also covered thickly the pleasant hill country on the other side of the Danube. Towards the northern hill country spread the *Palócz* who were probably of Cuman origin. The eastern parts of Transylvania were settled by the Székelys. When the settlements of the Székely frontier guards originated has not yet been completely cleared up; the theory of their Hunnish origin has already retired to the background.

The continuous compact body of the Magyars was pressed towards the centre of the country from the north by the Slovacks, from the south-west and south by the Croats and Serbs, from the south-east by the Wallachs who indeed broke through the body of the Hungarians separating the mass on the Great Plain from the Székelys, the two, however, being connected together by an unbroken chain of Hungarian isolated settlements. Here the Magyar revindication progresses slowly and with difficulty for the most part starting from the towns. The Slovacks that settle on the Great Plain are easily absorbed by the Magyars, who in their turn begin to reoccupy the southern districts from the Great Plain; in this they are supported by the Germans; while the recolonization of Slavonia encounters many difficulties.

Their changes of place render the Hungarian race ever more and more mixed, so that its anthropological and psycho-

logical character is not sharply defined. For instance, amongst the Székelys and Palócz it shows numerous peculiarities. As far as the hitherto defective and unsystematic observations, in spite of these special peculiarities, allow us to characterise generally the Magyar race, it would be as follows: The stature middle sized; the skull larger than middle sized; the head short and low; the sharp featured face broad and oval, getting narrower more upwards than downwards; the root of the nose narrow and depressed; the nose short, narrow and high; the mouth finely cut, the chin oval; the eye and ear small; the forehead open and prominent; the hair for the most part of some shade of brown: the moustache sufficiently strong (the peasant seldom wears a beard); the eye dark or light; the complexion of the face somewhat brown (the complexion of the ladies is brilliant, the eye sparkling, the hair dark). The neck and the trunk are of a medium length and breadth; the chest broad in front and arched outwards on the sides. The navel lies high; the hollow of the pelvis is large, high, deep, of moderate width. The hips are wide; the arms are of moderate length, the fore-arms long and thin; the hands are short and broad, palms short; thumb very short, middle finger of medium length; the feet long, the thigh and the calf of the leg not particularly developed; the metatarsus is broad. He moves in a composed manner, with an elegant position of the body, and his whole appearance shows strength and activity.

It is still more difficult to define and generalize the psychological peculiarities of the Magyar. Amongst the features of the true Hungarian character belong a resolute seriousness, openheartedness, national pride, magnanimity, enthusiasm for liberty, love of country and hospitality. The Hungarian is hot-tempered, passionate, violent, but not deceitful, tricky, servile. He is sanguine, easily flares up, but is not persevering (straw-fire). His ground of feeling, his frame of mind is fundamentally serious, nay, even melancholy («weeping he makes merry») but his feelings are changeable and, when excited, he is given to noisy excess. The people on the whole are virtuous and religious, but not bigoted, fana-

tical or intolerant. His way of thinking is sober, his judgment right, his apprehension quick. He is respectful, polite, distinguished in his manners, an aristocrat in his feelings. He takes an interest in public affairs, he loves to talk politics and to become a partisan. Of late years he is inclined to dissipation, and levity. He is skillful and can get through a great deal of work; but if business is not pressing, he likes to idle. His chief preference is for agricultural labour and the breeding of cattle; he does not object to handicrafts, but has small disposition for commerce; that is the reason why those elements of the population that have a turn for business have always succeeded so well here, the Ishmaelites, and Jews, the Greeks and Armenians.

Owing to the peculiarities of his way of living the character of the Székely differs in more than one particular from that of the Hungarian of the Great Plain. Of the Székely it is held that he is more inclined to business, more deep and sly, given to litigation, of simpler way of living, and more easily induced to leave his native country than the rest of the Magyars. In dwelling house, and dress, in habits, and beliefs, in language and art, there are still many peculiar differences amongst the several districts. But their discussion would overpass the limits we have set ourselves.

The Hungarians conquered the land with the armed hand and to this land they have now the right of a thousand years of uninterrupted possession. The different nationalities that live together with them within the circle of the united nation have come into the country in various ways and with divers titles.

Amongst these elements of the population the most important are the *Germans*. For the most part they are of High German origin (Teutons, Bavarians, Alemans), but partly also Low, or Middle Germans (Saxons). The High Germans colonists that were settled after the expulsion of the Turks are called *Schwaben*. The Germans are dispersed over the whole country, but live together in large masses only along the western frontier as *Hienzen* and *Heidebauern*; in smaller groups they are found in

Transylvania and the County of Szepes as Saxons. Further in the counties of Tolna, Baranya, Bács-Bodrog, Torontál, Temes and Arad as *Schwaben*. As smaller or greater islands may be mentioned the *Gründners*, *Krickehaiers*, *Habaners*, High Germans in the counties of Turócz, Zemplén, Ung, Bereg, Máramaros, and the Saxons of the mining cities in the northern highlands, further the Bavarian colonies in the county of Szatmár, and lastly beyond the Danube the German settlements in the neighbourhood of Buda, and in the counties of Komárom, Fehér, Veszprém. Amongst the High German settlements the newly settled Swabian agriculturists are the most flourishing and spread the most widely. The older colonies, especially the Low German ones, stagnate, like those of the northern highlands. Amongst these last the Slovacks make great encroachments, whilst the Germans in the towns throughout the whole country give way more and more to the Hungarian element (the Saxons of Transylvania only excepted) and themselves become Magyarized.

The Germans have deserved well of the country by founding towns, introducing manufactures, organizing society, and generally speaking, diffusing western culture. They are characterized by many good qualities: industry, perseverance, thrift, order, moderation, sobriety, decent dwellings, clothing, and food, education, a spirit of progress, a sense of duty, respect for the law, and attachment to the Magyar cause. *Vis á vis* the separatistic elements in the north, east, and south, the strengthening of the patriotic Germans is an important national interest. The Hungarians in the so-called Hungary Proper are, as it were, surrounded by the several Slav races with a circular chain open at the east, where the northern and southern ends are connected by the Wallach. All these are for the most part later-comers for the Moravian and Slovene elements, which the Magyars found here when they occupied the country, seem to have been early absorbed. Amongst the northern Slavs the Slovak, called by the Hungarians *Tót* (which formerly was the common appellation in the Hungarian lan-

guage of all the Slavonic race) are spread over the northern part of the country, and that too in a large and dense mass; towards the east they are mixed with Ruthenians, by whom still further east they are replaced. Isolated colonies are settled on the Great-Plain (especially in the country of Békés) and also in the south. Their numbers were especially increased by the incursions of the Hussite Tchekhs, and they still continually increase, especially at the expense of the Germans. The Slovacks are near relations to the Bohemians and Moravians. They are generally of lofty stature, well built: with broad faces, and prominent cheekbones; for the most part they let their yellow-hair grow long, but do not wear beards or moustaches. Their dress of white baize is completed by a broad leathern girdle, a broad-brimmed hat and sandals. The girls take pleasure in gaudy embroideries. In the most northern districts they live on oaten bread and potatoes, and their poverty is aggravated by the drinking of brandy. Their dwellings are fragile. Simple, religious, gentle, humble, and quiet, but often deceitful, obstinate, and, when heated, quarrelsome. Their songs are for the most part of a melancholy character. Their powers of apprehension are somewhat slow, but they are fit for every kind of work, and are industrious. By preference they occupy themselves in the breeding of cattle and sheep; and go down to the Great-Plain to reap the harvest. They are very skilful in domestic manufactures. Their women are celebrated for their embroideries: the men carve objects in wood and make and manage rafts and traverse the whole world as wandering workmen. Those who have emigrated to America for the most part return home with their earnings. For the most part they are patriotic, but Panslavistic agitators in gentlemen's clothes have in some places succeeded in deluding the simple folk.

The Ruthenians (Rusnyaks, Russians, Little Russians, Russines), arrived between the XIV. and XVI. centuries in the north-eastern highlands, where for a long time they lived a nomad life as shepherds. On the western edge of their territory they have absorbed Germans; on the other hand many

of them have become Slovacks, and in the south-west they have been Magyarized. They have settlements in the counties of Bács-Bodrog and Szerém. For the most part they are of low stature, and weak habit of body; their meagre food is composed of potatoes and maize; they are fond of corn-brandy. They live in wretched huts, often under the same roof with their cattle. They are very poor, and in the least degree educated, but well disposed. This good but very much neglected race deserves more care and a better lot.

Amongst the northern Slavs in the counties of Szepes and Sáros there came in the XIVth century Poles who almost all became entirely mixed up with the Roman Catholic Slovacks. Tchekhs also occur in groups especially in the manufacturing neighbourhoods, as, for instance, in the county of Krassó-Szörény.

Amongst the south Slavs — especially on account of the separate autonomy of Croatia — the Croats are conspicuous. Together with the Serbs they came in the VII. century from the northern slopes of the Carpathians and settled beyond the Save, and have since settled in the country between the Save and the Drave. The Croats and the Serbs are near relations; they have always been near neighbours, they migrated together, lived pell-mell together, have often mixed, so that now they are chiefly distinguished from one another only by religion. The Croats being Roman Catholics, and the Serbs Orthodox Eastern — with the exception of the *Sokác* and *Bunyevác* in the counties of Verőcze, Pozsega, Szerém, and Bács-Bodrog, who are Roman Catholics. Of Croats there are in Hungary 180.000, of Serbs nearly 500.000. In Croatia-Slavonia it has been found advisable to mass together these two elements of the population in taking the census; together they are more than 1,900.000.

In Croatia the three dialects are distinguished according to the interrogative pronoun *what?* namely *kaj*, *csó* and *sto*. The *Kajkavác* dialect prevails in the north-west, the *Csókavác* along the sea-coast, and the *Stojkavác* in the east and in Bosnia and in Herzegovina.

These linguistic districts are also ethnographically different. The Croats outside Croatia-Slavonia also live in the so-called Mura-island in the county of Zala. The Serbs live mixed up with the Croats in all the counties of Croatia-Slavonia with the exception of Varasd. In Lika-Krbava and Szerém they are in the majority; they are also found in great numbers in the Hungarian counties of Bács-Bodrog, Torontál, and Temes. The Croat-Serb of the north-west is of medium stature, for the most part fair-haired, kind and sincere; his soil is fertile. Those by the sea-side are stumpy; those on the hills well grown, and as they are not able to live from their rocky soil, which is for the most part cultivated by the women, the men have to go out into foreign parts as sailors or in the summer as masons. They are industrious, religious, temperate, their chief food consists of *polenta* and fish. The Stokavác are for the most part of a dark complexion and are fond of their ease. The south Slavs still in part live the patriarchal life of the house communion; the women are especially industrious, and age early. They have a very rich store of popular poetry, and are firmly attached to their ancestral customs and national institutions, they are hospitable and fond of liberty, but they are not particularly tolerant nor are their views always marked by justice and sobriety.

To the South-Slavs further belong the *Wends* in the western portion of the counties of Vas and Zala, as also the *Bulgarians* who since the XIV. century have come into the county of Temes. These last are especially clever gardeners; they are industrious, but are not firmly attached to their dwelling places. The Bulgarians who live in the hilly district of Krassova mixed with Wallachs are not so orderly, or clever, as those on the Plain.

Just as the Bulgarians were not originally a Slavonic race, so the Wallach (Ruman) people are not romanized Dacians but had their origin in the Balkans, and only in the XII. century trickled into Transylvania. At first they wandered

upon the mountains as shepherds; later they descended into the valleys as serfs and servants and spread over the neighbouring districts.

Later on they multiplied exceedingly and absorbed other elements into their own body; for instance, in the county of Hunyad, Magyars. They are spread over the whole eastern part of the country. Owing to the efforts of the Protestant Princes of Transylvania their national language has in the liturgy replaced the Old Church Slavonic. Those who dwell in the mountains, especially in the Transylvanian mining district, the *Mócz*, who are supposed to be of Székely origin, are of lofty stature with long faces, fairhaired, serious, laborious, skilful, and adapted to get on in life; those who live along the banks of the Transylvanian streams, are of a dark complexion with round faces, gay in their disposition and less industrious; those who live in Hungary Proper, are for the most part stumpy in their stature, with broad faces and dark hair. The women on the whole, have weak frames, they are slender with finely cut faces; they are pretty but soon grow old; they are very industrious. The Wallach people are for the most part of a tough and obstinate nature, very much attached to their own customs, and language, other languages they do not learn, and towards persons of another race they are mistrustful; they are patient but revengeful, their personal pride and courage is not great, but in their fury they are very destructive; they are often light-minded, and owing to their exceeding modest style of living are somewhat indolent as regards earthly matters, but they are religious and ceremonial. The common people progress but slowly in civilization, yet they have fine abilities and good qualities.

The great confidence they repose in their priests and leading men is often abused by selfish agitators. If the Wallach people were once to recognize that their existence depends upon their holding with the Hungarian nation they would be of very great assistance in our eastern mission of culture.

The Italians speaking the Venetian dialect who are the prevailing population of Fiume are few in numbers, but are considerable owing to the importance of their town.

We have still to speak of three popular elements which, to be sure, do not possess, or at any rate not completely, the principal criterium, a mother tongue of their own, but in whose case, in its place, their origin manifests itself in most decided ethnographical peculiarities. Over against the other people of the country these three are representatives of Asiatic races and linguistic families: Indian Gipsies, the Iranian Armenians and the Semitic Jews.

In the case of about half of the Gipsies of our countries there still remains the main sign by which is distinguished a separate nationality, the Gipsy language; but the rest who have lost this have not dropped the other characteristic traits of the Gipsy nation. They first came in any numbers into our country in the XVth century. According to the census taken of the Gipsies in 1893 their numbers in Hungary (exclusive of Croatia, Slavonia, and Fiume) is about 300.000 of which 10.000 are wanderers. A portion of them occupy themselves with work in iron and wood, as also in the making of sun-dried bricks. In the whole world the Gipsies have arrived in this country to the greatest consideration by becoming to a certain extent, cultivators of the national life, by being, so to say, the depositaries of Hungarian music. This has led some historians of music to the erroneous idea that the Gipsies were the creators of Hungarian music. A good deal of ability and many excellent qualities run to waste in this people which might be turned to profit by sensible management, while at the same time we should rescue for the account of the Magyars this interesting mysterious people who now tend to become Wallachized. The Arch-Duke Josef signally distinguished himself by his scientific study of them and by his attempts to improve their social position.

We find traces of Armenian settlements already in the

time of the Árpád's (for instance in Esztergom). Bands of them a few thousand strong came from Moldavia in the XVIIth century into Transylvania and now for the most part they dwell in Szamosújvár and Erzsébetváros. They are clever in commerce and are an excellent and intelligent element of the population, which has become entirely magyarized; they still, however, retain several anthropological peculiarities; and part of them call themselves Armenian Catholics; the rest are Roman Catholics.

The Hebrew German jargon spoken by a portion of the Jews cannot be regarded as a separate mother-tongue; from long ago the Jews are not a nationality but a religious sect. But the exclusiveness produced by their religion has kept alive the race and protected the peculiarities of the anthropological and ethnographical type. The Jew is for the most part slender in stature, his frame of body is weak, his features are sharp, his hair black, his nose curved, his eye large and brilliant, his chest narrow, his limbs long. The Jew is as a rule mobile, active, of great capacity, and still greater ingenuity, sober, abstemious, persevering, exclusive. In the days of our first kings there were already Jews in the country; perhaps they came in with the Magyars. Owing to their low death-rate and constant immigration from foreign countries their numbers increase very fast. In the eastern counties bordering on Galicia, further in the county of Ugocsa, and in the county of Pest their numbers exceed 10% of the whole population. Their numbers in the county of Pest is caused by the mass of them that live in the capital, the largest group of Jews in one place in the whole world. In the eastern and southern counties of Transylvania and in Croatia-Slavonia they are scarcely to be found. Taken together their numbers amount to $\frac{3}{4}$ of a million, of which a good $\frac{3}{5}$ speak Hungarian as their mother-tongue, barely $\frac{2}{5}$ German. As traders they are of great economical importance, their business is not considered to be unconditionally sound. As landowners they as a rule follow a very sensible system of agriculture, as farmers less so. The civil-marriage will break

down the exclusiveness of the Jews, will wear away the racial peculiarities and will bring back many estates into the possession of the state-forming element. Charles Keleti thus expresses himself with regard to the reconciliation of these two apposing interests.« By the mixture of the Magyar and the Jew our country will gain a race which the more it multiplies the more firmly we shall be assured as to the permanence of the country. If intelligence and force, capacity for labour and activity are united, those elements are mixed together for producing an honest, rich, and powerful nation to dwell in this land.«

We cannot conclude our short essay with more worthy words.



The Relations of the Nationalities.

The population of Hungary do not speak one language. Here, as in the other countries of Europe, the strata of different races have been deposited one over the other. The race from whom this soil so blessed by nature receives its name distinguished itself not only by its instinct of political creation but also by its political maturity. It never based its existence on the narrow standpoint of racial exclusiveness, but incorporated the best of the foreign stocks with satisfaction into its midst. This was the secret of its great power of assimilation, and by means of which it has contrived to hold its own under the most unfavourable circumstances despite a thousand adversities. The principle of natural selection created out of the various racial stocks a strong nation, a nation rich in eminent qualities, and able to brave all storms.

After their settlement they absorbed the Slavonian stocks which were found here, and likewise the western colonists, who in greater or less numbers began to immigrate here even in the time of our early kings. Still more easy was the assimilation of the Coumans, the Petschenegians and other Turkish races, whose destructive invasions ended at last with the settlement and civilisation of these lawless hordes.

Despite the great capacity for assimilation of Hungary, our

country is not one land with one language. Great national catastrophes, long and devastating wars have decimated the ranks of our population, and the settlement of foreign elements was too deep-rooted for the Hungarian nation to have either time or opportunity to incorporate them into herself.

Especially prejudicial in its effects on the relations of our nationalities was the three hundred years war with the Turks, and the century and a half of Turkish occupation.

The Hungarian who proved his fondness for the steppes which he had acquired in his original home possessed after the conquest chiefly the plains of the Alföld rich in grass and the gently undulating country on the other side of the Danube. But the storm of the Turkish invasions fell on and depopulated most particularly these parts of the country while as a consequence the numerical strength of Hungary suffered the greatest diminishment.

The conquest of the Balkans by the Turks drove the hordes of southern Slavonians up to the lower regions of Hungary. At this time the land between the Drave and the Save became Croatian. The inhabitants of ancient Croatia which had come under the Turkish dominion pushed into the province of ancient Slavonia (modern Croatia). The name of old Slavonia was given to the Hungarian counties on the far side of the Drave — Pozsega, Szerém, Valpo, Veröcze, which at the end of the seventeenth century when the dominion of the Turks was broken was overwhelmed by Servian settlers, as was the county of Bács and a considerable portion of the basin of the Tisza.

In the wars which the Hungarian nation carried on at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth for their constitutional freedom, the Servians were always the pliant tools of court politics, for which reason they participated in many privileges and favours. This explains their great diffusion in the southern districts, while the Hungarian people who from Bocskay till Francis Rákóczy II. always fought under the flag of nationalism and religious

freedom were persecuted by the court as rebels and protestants. Much as Hungary declined in the wars of centuries, the settlement of the devastated parts of our country could have been much more favourably achieved than it actually was. But the object of the government was not the strengthening of Hungary but its paralysation by other races. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the colonisation proceeded from the west German provinces, and in the second half of this century it took still greater dimensions. To this we owe those flourishing German communities in the middle and lower districts of our country, whose inhabitants distinguish themselves not only for their industry but also for their love to the Hungarian fatherland.

The Germans who live in the western Borderlands came from the Austrian provinces to replace the population of Hungarians decimated in the continuous wars. Older inhabitants in this district are the Saxons of Transylvania who for the greater part settled there under Géza III. (in the 12th century); besides these the Germans of Upper Hungary. But at the time of the reformation these latter began to exhibit strong Slavic tendencies, and the Slovak element diffused itself at the expense of the German and Hungarian elements.

The Slavonian element found here at the time of the conquest, were soon assimilated with Hungary. The modern Slovaks of upper Hungary came much later, after the Hussite wars from Bohemia and Moravia, and later from Galicia. On the contrary the Slovak element of upper Hungary after the overthrow of the Turks sent larger or smaller bodies of settlers into the unpopulated regions of the Alföld, who at the present day both in speech and manner have become thoroughly Hungarian. The Ruthenians or Little Russians settled in the fourteenth century in the neighbourhood of Munkács; their numbers increased through later immigrations.

The Wallachians as historical evidence incontestably proves

were also not original inhabitants of this land. The cradle of this race was Thracia and Macedonia, and after the thirteenth century they first began slowly and noiselessly to diffuse themselves over the mountains of Transylvania. In course of time they descended into the valleys and absorbed not only the Slavic element which was there before them but they turned many Hungarians and Saxons into Wallachians. In the basin of the Tisza they settled after the diffusion of the Turks.

Among the smaller elements of the people the Gipsies, the Wends and the Bulgarians must be mentioned. But these cannot be taken into account with those hitherto mentioned in point of importance.

A leading characteristic of the ruling Hungarian stock was from the beginning great toleration of those who spoke other tongues. Those who willingly assimilated themselves they gladly received into their bosom but never forcibly magyarised them. This liberal tradition was followed by the Hungarian policy since 1867. Act 44 of 1868, the so-called nationality statute, certainly recognises politically only one nationality, the undivided identical Hungarian nation to which all citizens of the fatherland belong without respect to speech or creed.

For the rest however full freedom is assured to the different nationalities in the use of their speech and the unfolding of their culture.

Despite this an actual revolution has taken place in respect to language. This has acted advantageously to Hungary generally speaking, but we find examples to the contrary especially in upper Hungary and in parts of Transylvania not seldom under the cooperation of Hungarian intelligence. In the time of religious intolerance many Hungarian landowners expelled their protestant bondmen of the Hungarian tongue and instead of them settled Catholic Slovaks there. In Transylvania however the landlords supplanted the stiffnecked self-conscious Hungarian bondmen by preference with submissive Wallachians.

We cannot indicate the formation of languages of the population of Hungary with exact arithmetical data, although generally speaking we have good information thereon. The first reliable research dates from 1840, and was made by our distinguished statistician Alexius Fényes, who from ecclesiastical sources has drawn together with great labour data about the nationalities, and as later censuses show with surprising exactitude. According to his finding, the population of the Hungarian monarchy in the fore-named year reached to not quite 13 millions, and was divided among the nationalities as follows:

	Total	per cent
Hungarians	4,812,759	37·37
Germans	1,273,677	9·89
Slovacks.... ..	1,687,256	13·10
Wallachians	2,202,542	17·10
Croats	886,079	6·88
Servians	828,365	6·43
Sokácians	429,868	3·34
Ruthenians	442,903	3·44
Wends	40,864	0·32
Bulgarians	12,000	0·09
Montenegrins	2,830	0·02
Armenians	3,798	0·03
Greeks	5,680	0·04
French	6,150	0·05
Clementines	1,600	0·01
Jews	244,035	1·89
Total	12,880,406	100·00

This scheme goes far further in its specialisations than our later computations. The separate scheme of the individual branches of the Croatian-Servian family of people does not hinder the comparison. A greater flaw is that the Jews, who at that time formed no special nationality, but belonged in speech preponderantly to the Germans, in a small proportion to the Hungarians, were treated as a separate nationality.

Passing over the absolute numbers of later censuses

and combinations, we will here set down the result of the last authentic computation, the census of 1890, and that too separately for the individual component parts of the Hungarian monarchy.

	Hungary total	per cent	Flume total	per cent	Croatia Slavonia total	per cent	Hungarian Monarchy total	per cent
Hungarians	7,356,874	48·61	1,062	3·60	68,794	3·15	7,426,730	42·81
Germans	1,988,589	13·14	1,495	5·07	117,493	5·37	2,107,577	12·15
Slovacks	1,896,641	12·53	24	0·08	13,614	0·62	1,910,279	11·01
Wallachians	2,589,066	17·11	13	0·04	2,826	0·13	2,591,905	14·94
Ruthenians	379,782	2·51	4	0·01	3,606	0·17	383,392	2·21
Croats	183,642	1·21	10,770	36·52	1,359,588	62·19	1,554,000	8·96
Servians	495,105	3·27	28	0·10	562,131	25·71	1,057,264	6·09
Others	243,795	1·62	16,098	54·58	58,358	2·66	318,251	1·83
Total	15,133,494	100·0	29,494	100·0	2,186,410	100·0	1,734,398	100·0

This is only the civil population. With the military the number of population who speak Hungarian is seven million. An absolute majority no single nationality gives. But the relative proportion of Hungarians is very great, not only in the population of Hungary Proper but also in that of the Hungarian dominions. The three nationalities immediately following do not reach it if added together, and four added together do not reach it in Hungary Proper.

This numerical preponderance of Hungary and this subdivision of non-Hungarians into several small fragments prove that the land can never be anything else but Hungarian. But this numerical preponderance of Hungarians does not form the only title why they should play the leading rôle in the land named after them and should imprint on this land the stamp of their own individuality, their own individual culture. Hungary has in the past the history of a thousand years, which lends the main trait of character to all its present relations. We must further notice the politically creating and politically conservative capacity of the Hungarian race, who have testified to it brilliantly under so many difficult circumstances. We must further not forget that landed property is preeminently in the hands of Hungarians, and that the classes

who hold industry and commerce in their hands are either completely Hungarian or are proceeding with quick steps on the road to be magyarised, and are staunch representatives of the Hungarian spirit.

We must particularly remark the place which the Hungarian element takes in the intelligence of the land. While among the total population of the land the Hungarian speaking people make 48·61; they figure among the scholars of the gymnasium and polytechnic schools as seventy-four per cent. After the Hungarians come the Germans, in the first instance with twelve per cent and in the second with twenty-two. So that the Hungarians and Germans, these twin conserving elements of the state, make in our land 87·29 of the total middle school pupils. The polytechnic schools are almost exclusively frequented by Hungarians and Germans. Besides these the Wallachians participate with only two per cent, the Slovacks and Croatian-Servians with only one per cent. Somewhat greater is the percentage of the speakers of other languages in the gymnasiums. That of the Wallachians is seven, of the Slovacks and Ruthenians 4, of the Croatian-Servians 2, and speakers of other languages 1.

The Hungarian element is strong in intelligence not only in the younger generation, but also among grown-up people. Here follow the statistics according to the data of the census of 1890:

	Liberal Pro- fessions	Agricultural	Mining in- dustry and commerce
Hungarians . .	58·64	76·55	73·89
Germans . . .	18·62	16·11	20·40
Slovacks . . .	12·20	3·17	1·57
Wallachians .	5·42	1·09	0·96
Roumanians .	0·54	0·10	0·08
Croats	1·15	0·09	0·30
Servians . . .	2·27	0·63	0·86
Others	1·16	2·26	1·94

In the class of intelligence, three nationalities stand promi-

nently forward, the Hungarian the German, and the Slovak. But the latter only in actual intelligence, for in respect of applied intelligence, industry and commerce, it falls far into the background. It is surprising on the contrary that in the class of liberal professions the Hungarian element figures in a smaller degree than in applied intelligence and in the case of pupils of middle-schools. This must be explained by the strong prominence of the Slovak element in pure intelligence, and the firm opposition to Hungary of the Greek Eastern and partly the Greek Catholic church. The Hungarians received their Christianity from the west. They clung passionately to the Roman Catholic church, and when they later inclined to Protestantism, they only received western ideas again. They submitted with their whole civilisation to the western culture, which erected an almost insuperable barrier between them and the Greek Eastern Church. Hence it comes that the latter are most diametrically opposed to the Hungarians, and that their numerous clergy, even so far as speech is concerned, have severed themselves from the ruling Hungarian race. This diminishes the numbers of the Hungarian speaking population in the class of intelligence, to which must be added the large number of national teachers of Wallachian race. This will be evident, if we examine the individual branches within the sum total of the first class. In the ranks of the clergy the Hungarian element occupies only 52·24, in the scholastic world only 64·00; while in the groups of diplomacy, law, administration, literature, art, scientific and philanthropic societies and institutions, the number of the Hungarian speaking people is between 79 and 93 per cent.

Besides the factors just enumerated the great strength of Hungary lies in its geographical position, Hungary is an ellipse. The great connected mass of Hungary stretches likewise in elliptical form, both its ends being turned to the south-west and the north-west, the middle of the land forming as it were the kernel of it.

Its smaller mass is laid in our south-eastern territories, but is not quite separate. For the so called Székely are connected with the great territory of Hungarian speech by an unbroken chain of Hungarian speaking islands. A further advantage for Hungary is that it possesses the rich Alföld and a fertile hill country where the population develops much quicker than in the churlish mountain districts.

The development of the Hungarian elements was furthered by the migrations of the people of the land. If we take the geographical condition into account, so far as the dates of censuses justify it, the slow internal migration is directed from North to South. The principal Slovak population of the northern highlands flows gradually to the middle of the land, while swarms of Hungarians colonise the lower districts of the Danube. The consequence is that the settlers who come from the Highlands very soon are lost in the vast masses of Hungarians, while the swarms of Hungarians who gravitate to the lower districts carry forward the limits of the Hungarian language continually towards the south, where after the Turkish hegemony speakers of foreign tongues were chiefly settled.

The second main direction of the internal migration of our people is from the country to the towns. Naturally the capital has the greatest power of attraction and absorption, but more or less all local centres exert the same influence on their neighbourhood. This is also a very noticeable point, for in the town population the Hungarian element is much larger than in the population of the provinces. For instance while in the total population of the country inhabitants who speak Hungarian reach the number of only 48.60 per cent, we find in the population of towns enjoying municipal rights the number to be 66.77, and in towns with organised magistracy 69 per cent. Still greater is the difference when we take account not of the native language but merely of the acquaintance with the Hungarian tongue.

Then we find that 80 per cent of our population speak

Hungarian, and this proportion is increasing year by year under the influence of our educational institutions in the towns.

We have now indicated not only the present numerical relations of the nationalities within our countries, but in brief outline also the main tendency of their development. We must however spend a moment on the numerical increase of the various nationalities. With Fényes' data of 1840, the comparison is only possible if we assign proportional numbers to the Jews, who at the present day only differ in respect of their religion from the other inhabitants. This is not a difficult task, for in 1840 the language of the overwhelming majority of Hungarian Jews was German; but in the Alföld and in the Hungarian dominions on the far side of the Danube a small but long established contingent were Hungarian. Of the 244,000 Jews we can confidently regard 200,000 as German, 44,000 as Hungarian.

Among the other nationalities a small and diminishing number is only to be found. After making allowance for this small correction we find that in the whole Hungarian kingdom the Hungarian-speaking people have increased 52·92 percent, the German, 43·03, the Croatian-Servian, 21·62, the Wallachian, 17·61, the Slovacks, 13·22.

The increase of the Hungarians surpasses that of all the other nationalities in a marked degree. In this respect we can scarcely avoid the surmise that the old data as the product of a private collection of data, have not the requisite authenticity. Fényes scarcely stated the number of Hungarians as less than it was, but rather made errors in respect to the Germans, by which the proportionately large increase of German speaking people can be explained, despite the fact that during the past 50 years more than half the German speaking Jews have become Hungarians. Apart from these old data, we may compare the results of two censuses conducted according to analogous principle, which we know, far from every partial tendency have proceeded under the strictest adhesion to truth.

The increase of the different nationalities from 1880 to 1890 is shown in the individual component parts of the Hungarian dominions in the following:

	In Hungary	In Fiume	In Croatia- Slavonia	In the Hungarian Dominions
Hungarians	14·89	177·28	66·17	15·22
Germans	6·35	67·04	41·32	7·86
Slovacks	2·22	—	49·96	2·45
Wallachians	7·74	—	38·25	7·77
Ruthenians	7·52	—	27·28	7·68
Croatian-Servians ..	7·40	34·78	12·23	11·01
Wends	12·09	27·06	4·40	10·67
Armenians	(—) 43·72	—	—	(—) 43·72
Gipsies	16·31	—	40·52	17·33
Others	20·57	40·09	79·92	34·05
Total ..	10·23	40·57	15·53	10·91

Apart from the smaller nationalities the increase of inhabitants who speak Hungarian as their mother-tongue is remarkable. The Slovacks have scarcely increased, the Wallachians, Ruthenians, and Croatian-Servians in the Hungarian dominions are not considerable.

The increase of the two latter races in the whole Hungarian kingdom is however considerable, owing to the increase in Croatia-Slavonia. An interesting fact is the extraordinary increase of the Hungarian element on the far side of the Drave, which is effected by the large migration from the mother country to Slavonia.

Although in Hungary the increase of the Hungarian element is aided in some degree by assimilation, it would be a mistake to attribute an excessive significance to this. Hungary increases principally in virtue of its own strength of propagation, and the whispers spread abroad about the unfruitfulness of our race have shown themselves idle tales in the face of the data concerning popular movements which reach back for some decades past. It is true that the

population of our country slowly developed in the past; but this is to be explained partly on climatic grounds, partly on economic, and finally on hygienic reasons which are to be regarded as the consequence of both.

These made their unfavourable influence felt without regard to race. The percentage of births is precisely in the most Hungarian, one might say in the purely Hungarian countries a very high one; and when epidemics among children do not decimate the younger generations, there is as great an increase apparent as is found in any of the western European states. It is not a rarity to find in one Hungarian country 50 births to every thousand souls, and the yearly increase exceeds 2 per cent; nay, there have been cases where it has reached 2·66 per cent. In such circumstances only a mere tyro could speak of the unfruitfulness of the Hungarian stock.

It is interesting to compare the language with the creeds. Of Hungarian speaking people — taking into account the population of the total Hungarian kingdom — 56·85 are Roman Catholics, 29·26 Reformed Church, 6·12 Jewish, 4·18 Evangelical, 2·42 Greek Catholic. The Eastern Church makes only $\frac{1}{28}$ per cent. The German speaking population are divided into three creeds: 67·28 are Roman Catholic, 19·66 Evangelical, 11·49 Jews. Of the Wallachians 61·90 are Eastern Greeks, 37·46 Greek Catholics. The Ruthenians are almost exclusively Greek Catholic, the Servians Eastern Greeks, the Croatians to a man Roman Catholics.

If we look on the other hand what place the individual nationalities take in the bosom of the different churches, we find that the unitarian and reformed churches are the most Hungarian. In Hungary proper 98·33 and 97·89 of their members are of the Hungarian tongue. Of the Jews 63·78, of the Roman Catholics 57·53, of the Evangelical 26·24, of the Greek Catholics 10·83, are Hungarian in speech; of the Greek Catholics only $\frac{9}{100}$.

The conceptions of nationality and speech are not completely

conterminous, but very nearly so. Our censuses however have inquired into the other languages spoken, as well as the Hungarian tongue. Of Hungarians, 81·40 speak only Hungarian, and 10·65 speak German likewise. On the contrary only 25·16 Germans speak Hungarian. The relationship of the other languages is similar. 3·65 of Hungarians speak also Slovak, 2·83 Wallachian, 0·30 Ruthenian, 0·28 Croatian, 0·49 Servian. On the contrary 12 per cent of Slovacks, 6·95 Wallachians, 7·35 Ruthenians, 17·48 Croatians and 11·12 Servians speak also Hungarian. In this way the Hungarian element makes great conquests with its larger numbers and its culture, and gradually the time will come when each inhabitant of the land will speak the language of the state, which will advance the mutual understanding and the equal establishment and prosperity of the various stocks in all districts, to the welfare of themselves and to that of their common fatherland.



Occupation of the Hungarian People.

According to contemporary records, the occupation of our ancestors, before taking possession of the present Hungary, consisted almost only of breeding cattle. They chiefly kept horses, cattle and sheep, for the feeding of which they found rich pasture in their primeval country, in Lebedia, at the plain between the Don and Dnieper, as well as at Etelköz, in the surroundings of Búg and Dniester. They lived in light tents, and like nomades, went farther northward in spring, in autumn southward. By the by they practised fishery, but hunting they only did for their pleasure. But war, that means, rapacious invasions into the country of neighbouring agriculturing nations were their most favourite enjoyment and at the same time their most profitable occupation. The prisoners they took at such occasions were sold for money as slaves to the Greeks, who practised the slave-trade at the shores of the Black-Sea, or they exchanged them with other useful objects, mostly with articles of luxury for, that which they really wanted, they got by breeding cattle, fishery and hunting: meat and milk which were their principal food and beverage; leather and furs, into which they clothed themselves and which they made their tents of. Only very few and principally women laboured in the fields; of men, almost only prisoners, of whom they kept but a small number, were employed for this work.

Also in their new country the Hungarian people preserved the occupations used in the first home, and in the plains between the Danube and the Tisza, which were exceedingly good for breeding cattle even during decennaries after the conquest of the country, the Hungarians, like nomads, strove to and fro just as they had done before in the country of the Don and Dnieper: they also could keep on fishery and hunting, their favourite occupation, for the rivers gave rich booty of fish, and in the woody mountains, which bordered the plains, there was plenty of game. But also then war was the principal and most favourite occupation of the men who during the first century of the occupation of the country very often had the opportunity to satisfy this liking.

By and by however agriculture increased; now the prisoners, taken at the conquest and at later war adventures, were, as a rule, no more sold as slaves, but the Magyars kept them for themselves and employed them for the cultivation of their fields; now they practised no more men-trade, but horse-trade with the Bulgarians and Greeks. With the propagation of agriculture, permanent settlements increased more and more, and in this regard it was decisive that the Hungarians were several times defeated by the neighbouring nations who, impatient of their invasions, had armed for resistance. These defeats which cooled the Hungarians desire for the continual war adventures and predatory excursions, influenced very much the further development of the nation, who since began to mind the interior matters and entered the path of domestic and political consolidation.

With the end of the wars and with the propagation of Christianity the Hungarians opened more and more their frontiers for western civilization. With the missionaries a great number of knights, tradesfolk and merchants came to Hungary—especially Germans and Italians, who were welcome here and partly were admitted among the Hungarian nobility, partly became the founders of many branches of industry.

The increase of the cultivation of the vine

explained by exterior influences. Certainly, already at their immigration, the Hungarians found the vine at many places of the country, and there are still many signs that our ancestors had learned very quickly to cultivate the vine from the people that had lived here before, but only since the beginning of the eleventh century this occupation became a common one, when the great number of missionaries, immigrated from Italy, brought new kinds of vine, and at many places the people not only was taught the new faith but also the different manners of the cultivation of the vine.

After the invasion of the Tartars, by which the greatest part of the vineyards had perished, about the middle of the 13th century, King Béla IV. brought Italian colonists into the country to plant again the wasted vineyards. At this time also the foundations were laid to the celebrated vineyards of the Hegyalja, and the king of the wines, that of Tokaj, soon got the far reaching fame it has preserved until our time.

During the 13th and still more during the 14th and 15th centuries Hungary was not inferior to the other western states as to civilization. Together with culture, the variety and conformity of occupations developed, and although many products of industry, especially articles of luxury, as for instance fine clothes and precious stuffs, were imported from foreign countries, still a great part of necessary objects could be furnished by home industry.

Many branches of industry improved extraordinarily, especially the blade-smiths, armourers and joiners distinguished; certain branches, for instance that of gold industry, obtained an artistical improvement. The comfortable carriages were invented in our country, and already at the end of the 15th and at the beginning of the 16th, century they were used generally, that is at a time when they were hardly known at the western states. The name »kocsi« derives from the small village »Köcs« in the County of Komárom, where carriages at first

were made, and later this name passed into most of the languages of western Europe.¹

But not only industry but also commerce flourished, the import- and export-trade as well as the transit-trade because, as it is well known, Hungary is the road of the so-called Levant-trade, that means the trade between the Occident and the Orient.

The second half of the 15th century, the reign of King Matthias the Just, was in Hungary the period of the Revival. The splendid improvement which Hungary obtained at that period was changed during the sad times by which the unlucky battle of Mohács was followed, for a quick decay which lasted for centuries. One part of our country was directly under the Turkish government, another part was divided between the dynasty of Habsburg and the princes of Transylvania. During 150 years the whole country was the stage of continual wars which were not only fought for power but often enough for liberty, religion and nationality and which were the more sad because very often Hungarians stood against Hungarians. It is only natural that under such conditions the development of civilization and of economical life came to a stand-still, and industry, that means, that little which had remained of it, took a refuge almost exclusively in the towns of Upper-Hungary with the exception of Transylvania where circumstances were somewhat better.

At the end of the 17th century the power of the Turks in Hungary came to an end, and Hungary was again united in one hand, under the government of the dynasty of the Habsburgs. But this change did not bring the necessary

¹ In the French literature the name of »Kocsi« (carriage) is mentioned at first in 1588 in an account of a travel by a Frenchman, named d'Avila, who had travelled in Hungary (un chariot couvert qui se nomme en Hongrie coche; le nom et l'invention sont de ce pays). The Hungarian origin of the carriage is also testified by another work from the 16th century »Vom deutschen Krieg« by the author Friedrich Hartleder, where the following passage is to be found: »Der Kaiser Karl V. legte sich, weil er's Podagra hatte, in einem ungarischen Gutschwagen schlafen.«

improvement as to public economy. In Hungary the king, as constitutional ruler could not impose taxes but with the assent of the Parliament; the nobility in our country did not pay any taxes, and the Parliament wished to spare the agricultural power of the tax-paying people for the profit of their landlords the nobility, whereas in Austria, the sovereign as absolute ruler could impose contributions by himself; these circumstances as well as the fact that in the 18th century the wants of the state grew perpetually, and the frequent wars required great sums of money were the causes that the king and the court wished to improve the economical development, especially trade and industry of the hereditary countries at the prejudice of Hungary, and to make the position of Hungary towards the Austrian provinces like that of a Colony, which ought to be obliged to sell every superabundance to the Austrians and to buy everything they wanted in the Austrian hereditary countries. Our kings who were at the same time the Sovereigns of Austria, followed these politics of national economy, which were plainly stated and explained particularly in a letter of the 30th of December of the year 1785, written by Joseph II. and directed to the court chancellor Count Pálffy, with the help of which then, according to the ideas of the middle-ages, was the king's privilege to fix, in spite of the frequent complaints and energetic protests of Parliament, so very well that by and by, Hungary lost the little industry which had remained from the time of the Turks and completely became an agricultural country.

The legislature of the year 1848 put an end to the privileges of the nobility and established the general taxation also in our country, whereas the Treaty of 1867, by which the Hungarian nation put the condition that also in the countries of His Majesty the parliamentary form of government was to be established, caused the establishment of constitution in Austria, and thus, also there made the general taxation depending on the assent of legislature. Thus the cause and

the interest vanished which, until now, had required the inferiority, as to national economy, of the Hungarian nation towards the Austrian hereditary countries, an inferiority, aimed at by the national economical politics of the court, which until now had perhaps seemed morally excusable though not at all legally justified. Under such conditions the Hungarian state which has thus regained the right of self-determination with the King at its head has now full authority to deliver the country from the incompleteness of national economy and to establish the harmony of our national economic life, made necessary by the variety of wants. Of course, the progress in this regard can only be by degrees, step by step. This is the cause that even to-day Hungary is chiefly an agricultural country, three quarters of its whole population belonging to the agricultural class, as it will be stated later.

Exact particulars as to the present occupation of the Hungarian nation is shown by the general census of the year 1890.

In showing the condition of occupation of a nation, the first question which is to be answered and which is very important, from an economical point of view is this: Which part of the population is the producing or with other words the earning element, and in which proportion are those who do not partake of the producing activity, but who, as the sustained part of the people, are laid to the charge of the earning part? Amongst the sustained ones generally are counted not only the individuals without any occupation as for instance children, individuals suffering of infirmity, and old people, but also those, whose occupation, from a point of view of national economy, cannot be considered aproducing one; those are the pupils, the women occupied in managing the house and those servants employed only for house-keeping and for personal services.

The proportion of the earning population to the whole population is influenced chiefly by two conditions: the proportion of children and women to the whole population

and the partaking of children and women in the producing occupation.

The greater the number of children and women in proportion to the grown-up people, respectively to men — the greater also the number of those individuals who do not earn their own living but who are supported by their families. This explains the fact that the number of earning individuals proportionally is much greater in large towns than in the province because, as it is well known, in large towns amongst the different ages of the population, that of childhood is represented by a smaller number than in the province.

Of still greater importance as to the proportion of the number of earning people is the question: how many children and women partake of the productive occupations. This matter depends partly of the condition of the climate, because in northern countries the physical development of man is slower than in southern countries, partly it depends of the general condition of civilization, even of the different peculiarities of the race; by these two conditions the social position of women in the family and in the economical life is determined. These general conditions are the cause of the great variety in the proportion of the number of earning people amongst the different nations and of the fact that, in northern countries, the number of earning people is smaller than in the southern ones. One extreme is represented by Norway, Sweden and Denmark, where only the third part of the population belongs to the earning class; the other extreme is represented by Italy, where the earning class consists of more than the half of the population; this means that in the just mentioned countries of northern Europe one earning man is to support besides himself two individuals more, and in Italy one earning person is to support at most one other individual.

According to the census of the year 1890 out of the 17·5 millions of inhabitants the kingdom of Hungary, there are 7·4 millions earning individuals, the other 10·1 millions are sustained individuals; thus the first represent 42·3%, the

latter 57·7⁰/₁₀₀ of the whole population and therefore, corresponding with the geographical position, our country keeps the middle between the northern and southern countries.

Looking more closely at the different parts of the kingdom of Hungary, we remark that the proportion of the earning class to the whole population is best in Croatia and Slavonia, where this proportion amounts to 49⁰/₁₀₀. This is caused by the fact that women taking great part at the agricultural occupations, which again depends of the woman's position as to economical life amongst the South-Slavic nations; here in general, it is woman's lot to rival at her work with the man and often hers is the more difficult part of the task.

In the Mother-Country only one fifth of the whole female population belongs to the earning class, that means, amongst those who partake directly of the producing occupatinn; in the adjoining countries this proportional number amounts to more than one third; this fact is very characteristical and perfectly to be understood, considered at the view of the well known social position of women amongst the South-Slavic nations.

With regard to the proportional number of the earning population in the other parts of the Kingdom of Hungary, the best proportion of the earning male-population is to be found in those countries, situated at the right bank of the Danube and in Transylvania, where the children, viz. the age of 0—15 is represented by the smallest number. The smallest number of earning men in proportion to the whole male population is to be found at the right bank of the Tisza, where the number of earning men is diminished by the fact that, on account of the great immigration, a part of those men are far from their country who are old enough for being able to work. The number of earning women in proportion to the whole female population is smallest in the angle between the Tisza and Maros, at the left bank of the Tisza and in that part of the country situated between the Danube and the Tisza, because these parts of the country have the best arable

land, and, as it is well known, the agricultural class is here the wealthiest, thus women can be dispensed of the hard labour in the field.

The census of the year 1890 has stated the occupation of the Hungarian nation with all particulars having regard to the several hundred kinds of different branches of occupation, the relation of the occupied towards the undertaking, and also to the so-called proportion of occupation with its existing varieties. Remembering the real purpose of this book, we, of course, cannot consider it our duty to repeat here the extraordinary great variety of occupations, which even in Hungary is to be observed in spite of the simpleness of our national-economic life. Besides, for this purpose we should not find here the necessary space, thus we only can mention the chief groups of the working-classes or with other words the chief branches of industry and within the different classes the most numerous inferior groups, and the branches of occupation having the greatest number of people.

The following statement may serve as a view for the chief classes of occupations amongst the population :

	Earning Individuals	Sustained Individuals	Together	by %
<i>Classes of Occupation :</i>	<i>By Numbers :</i>			
Intelligent Class	128.663	291.476	420.139	2.41
Agriculture	4,474.653	6,430.791	10,905.444	62.45
Mining, Industrie and Traffic	1,210.473	1,749,716	2,960.189	16.95
Annuitants	129.362	114.334	243.696	1.40
Day-Labourers without particular statements	1,242.284	1,196.155	2,438.489	13.96
Soldiers, Honvéd, Policemen	114.393	17.205	131.598	0.75
Having other occupations ..	80.757	122.767	203.524	1.16
Having unknown occupations	9.329	81.918	91.247	0.52
Supported by Society ¹ ..	—	69.515	69.515	0.40
Together	7,389.914	10,073.877	17,463.791	100%

Wishing to be plainly understood, we, before examining closely the different branches of occupation enumerated in our small index, must mention that, besides those 11 millions of individuals, counted to the agricultural class corresponding

¹ Individuals supported by the State, legacies and other institutions (Orphan-houses, Asylums and so on), also supported by communities and other companies, persons living of alms, and prisoners.

with their statement in the census, there are still belonging to this branch of occupation all those day-labourers or at least the greater part of them who have not stated exactly their kind of work and who therefore in the index are called: »Day-Labourers without particular statement«. Considering also these day-labourers, whose number, together with the supported ones, is nearly 2.50 millions, the number of the agricultural class of people in our country amounts to 13 millions at least which means about three quarters of the whole population.

To the intelligent class 420.139 individuals were counted, that is 2.41% of the whole population, 128.663 of them are earning, 291.476 are supported individuals; these last ones are the house-mates, servants of the house, children and other members of the family without occupation. But only certain parts of the intelligent class belong to that number; these are: public functionaries, the clergy, the teaching class, and the persons of the so called free occupations; thus the officers, employed in the different economical occupations, as for instance agriculture, mining, industry, and traffic are not considered, because they are mentioned at the different economical branches, neither the military officers, who are mentioned at the article concerning the army, Honvéd and police. If also those are counted, the number of individuals belonging to the intelligent earning class amounts to 600.000 which is 3.5% of our whole population.

Examining the different parts of our country we remark the following facts: the average of the so-called real intelligent earning class is represented by 2.41% of the population of the kingdom of Hungary; the average of that class in the mother country only amounts to 2.54% with 386.189 individuals, but that of Croatia and Slavonia 1.55% with 33.950 individuals or we may say: in Hungary Proper 25 persons of 1000 inhabitants, in Croatia and Slavonia 15 persons of 1000 inhabitants belong to the real intelligent earning class.

The greatest number of this class is to be found in that

part of the country, situated between the Danube and the Tisza, where the proportional number of 3·27% is owed chiefly to the city of Budapest, but also to the other great towns, situated in this part of the country. The smallest number of the intelligent class in the mother country, the census states in the angle between the Tisza and the Maros; here only 2% of the whole population belong to the intelligent class.

Amongst the County municipalities those of Brassó and Zágráb represent the two extremes. In the first one 4·25%, in the latter 1·01% of the whole population belong to the intelligent class.

Amongst the counties which boast of a great number of the intelligent class, we may count the counties of: Nagy-Szeben, Nagy-Küküllő, Szepes, Esztergom, Ung and Gömör. The smallest number of the intelligent class has been found besides in the already mentioned county of Zágráb, in the counties of: Lika-Krbava, Varasd, Verőcze, Belovár, Kőrös, Modrus-Fiume and Pozsega.

The towns, being the residences of the municipalities, churches, institutions and persons of the different kinds of occupations, called free occupations, in general have a much greater proportional number than the counties; especially the following towns distinguish: Zágráb, Maros-Vásárhely and Kolozsvár. Zágráb with a proportional number of 13·7% takes the first place amongst all the towns of the kingdom of Hungary, because Zágráb, being the capital of the Partes Adnexae, is the residence of the Croatian departments, of the common Hungarian government, and at the same time of the autonomous local government of the country and of numerous church-offices and teaching institutions; and since the town has but 37.529 inhabitants, it is only natural that the proportional number of the intelligent class must be very great. Besides the already mentioned towns, the intelligent class, compared with the whole population is very numerous in the towns of: Nagyvárad, Győr, Kassa, Szatmár-Németi, Komárom, Sopron and in the capital City of Budapest.

Amongst the different groups of the intelligent earning classes the teaching class represents the most numerous one. The third part, that is 37.139 persons of all the 128.663 individuals, belonging to the intelligent earning class, must be counted to the teaching class. The next in number is the public administration which employs 29.102 individuals. There are 21.473 individuals in the service of the different churches, 17.819 in the service of sanitary institutions and 16.962 in the service of justice; the number of authors and artists, considered of course only those, whose chief occupation was literary writing or art, amounted to 2.483; 466 individuals were employed as officers at the different scientific and institutions of civilization (not counted those, really employed in teaching); the rest of 3.219 individuals belongs to all the other branches of intelligent earning occupations.

As to women there were 23.159 of them engaged in the intelligent kinds of earning; this number is like 15% of the whole number of people counted amongst the intelligent class. Mentioning only the more numerous occupations, we state: 10.006 midwives, 3.427 teachers, 3.108 governesses, 2.883 nuns and 703 actresses. The number of women engaged in superior economical branches of occupations amounts to 3.633, 2.254 of them are employed at the post- and the telegraph-offices.

With regard to the different nationalities of our country and to the moral supremacy of the Hungarian race it is very important that more than 70% of the real intelligent class speak the Hungarian language as native-language; there are 12.5% of Germans, 4.2% of Slaves and 8.8% of Roumans. At the intelligent occupations of the different economical branches the superiority of the Hungarian and German race is greater still, here the individuals with Hungarian native language represent 74.5%, the Germans 19.3%, the Slavs not quite 2% and the Roumanians not quite 1%. The few remaining percents are represented for the greater part by individuals with foreign native-language, by Bohemians, Moravians, Italians and for the smaller part by different inferior nationalities of our country.

The whole number of people in the kingdom of Hungary, engaged in *agriculture*, included, as we have explained before, the day-labourers without particular statements, may be considered at 13 millions at least, which means three quarters of the whole population. The average of the state is by far surpassed by that of Croatia and Slavonia, where more than 85% of the whole population belong to the agricultural class of the people. In the mother country, the counties of Transylvania, the country at the left bank of the Tisza and the angle between the Maros and the Tisza present a higher proportional number than that of the whole country concerning the agricultural class of people.

In the basin between the Danube and the Tisza, which, as it is known, contains the most important place of our agriculture, the great Hungarian Plain, the number of people engaged in agriculture, amounts to only 65% of the whole population, this small number is caused chiefly by the capital and residential city town of Budapest: if this town is not considered, the proportional number of the agricultural class in these parts of the country raises to 76%.

As to the different counties of the country, not considered Croatia and Slavonia, which in general present high proportional numbers, the following are the names of those counties, where the greatest part, at least 85% of the whole population, belong to the agricultural class: Kis-Küküllő, Kolozs, Maros-Torda, Bihar, Csik, Torda-Aranyos, Árva, Arad, Fogaras, Szolnok-Doboka, Udvarhely. The smallest proportional number of agricultural people are represented by the counties of Zólyom, Brassó and Szepes; but it is characteristical that even in these counties the agricultural class surpasses by far 60%.

Amongst the different branches of economy, agriculture, cattle-breeding and the cultivation of the vine occupy the greatest number of individuals. Not quite 1% of the whole agricultural population belongs to the other branches of economy: to the management of forests, charcoal burning, rearing of bees and breeding of silk-worms.

The management of forests is practised especially in the northern part of the country, at the left bank of the Danube, at the right and left banks of the Tisza, where the largest forests are to be found and the cultivation of woods is most developed.

Charcoal burning is practised mostly at the right bank of the Tisza, in Transylvania and in the angle between the Tisza and the Maros. The first place for rearing of bees is taken by the counties of: Torontál, Besztercze-Naszód, Bács-Bodrog, Temes, Somogy, Tolna and Alsó-Fehér and for breeding of silk-worms by the counties of: Szerém, Tolna, Temes and Torontál.

With regard to the agricultural population, taking into account only the earning individuals and those who have stated themselves their occupation, consequently excluding the so-called labourers without particular statement, there were 1,891,072 landlords and peasants, 10,139 farmers, 9,590 economic-officers, 148 economic-engineers, 1,948 machinists, 580,217 economic servants and herdsmen, 334,846 day-labourers and 1,619,128 helping members of the family. Thus the landlords and independent peasants represent 42.82%, the farmers 0.33%, the economic-officers 0.33%, the machinists 0.04%, the economic-servants 13.05%, the day-labourers 7.53%, the helping members of the families 36.41%. A comparison between Hungary and the border-lands as to the number of the helping members of the families is most interesting. In Hungary, the helping members of the families represent only 31% of the whole agricultural population, but in Croatia and Slavonia they represent 57%. This contrast is still greater, comparing the number of helping members of the families with the number of landlords or independent peasants; for in Hungary there are 68, but in Croatia and Slavonia 182 helping members of the families for 100 independent landlords or peasants. No doubt, this great difference in Croatia and Slavonia is caused by the peculiar house-communities, which are still existing there; therefore the number of independent

chiefs of families is proportionally much smaller in these countries; at the contrary, the number of helping members of the families is much greater, who on account of the common management remain together in one house-community. This condition has two consequences, firstly: Although in Hungary there are more great estates than in Croatia and Slavonia, still in these countries one landlord or independent peasant has more economical helpers than in Hungary; secondly: In the borderlands, probably also on account of the house-communities, the small estates are not yet so parcelled out as in Hungary, where the most extreme contrasts and in many counties very bad conditions of property are to be found: very great estates, sometimes Latifundies, alternate with petty little properties.

In the kingdom of Hungary, 1,034.002 men and 176.471 women, together 1.210.473 individuals are occupied at the different branches of mining, industry and traffic. Adding to this number the individuals, not working, but sustained by these occupations, the whole class of people, living by industry, contains 2,960.189 individuals or 17% of the whole population. But this number corresponds only with the average for the whole population. At first we must mention the great difference between Hungary Proper and the adjoining countries in the favour of Hungary as to the number of industrial people; in Hungary 18%, but in the Border-lands not quite 11% of the population are engaged in mining, trade or traffic or are sustained by these occupations. Amongst the different greater districts of the country, the basin between the Danube and the Tisza surpasses most the general average of the kingdom, here the industrial part of the whole population amounts to 24.7%, but deducting from this the capital of Budapest, this proportional number diminishes to 17.6%. An average surpassing that of the whole country is also to be observed at the left bank of the Danube, at the right banks of the Danube and of the Tisza. In Transylvania and in the country situated at the left bank of the Tisza, the smallest number of industrial people is stated.

The greatest number of industrial people is stated in the counties of Zólyom (29.84%), Brassó (27.45%), Szepes (26.24%), Esztergom (24.15%), Turócz (23.81%) and Gömör (22.50%); the least numerous industrial classes are to be found in the counties of: Lika-Krbava (2.56%), Kis-Küküllő (5.80%), Verőcze (5.90%), Zágráb (6.21%) and Kolozs (6.77%).

As to the industrial population of our towns, the first rank is taken by Selmecz- and Selmeczbánya (64.99%), Fiume (63.86%) and Kassa (59.24%). But it must be said that these towns owe the high proportional number of their industrial population chiefly to their manufacture of tobacco; the working people raise considerably the percentage of the industrial class, the whole population not being so very numerous. This special condition considered, in fact that town takes the first place as to the industrial population, by which the above mentioned towns are followed next in the proportional number and this is Budapest, where the number of people, engaged in trade or traffic, amounts to 57.33% of the whole population. Real industrial towns with more than 50% of industrial people are the towns of: Nagyvárad, Maros-Vásárhely, Eszék, Pécs, Pozsony, Zágráb, Kolozsvár, Komárom, Temesvár, Győr and Arad. The number of industrial people is remarkably small at Hódmező-Vásárhely (16.33%), Szabadka (19.88%) and Kecskemét (20.19%).

The class of people, engaged in trade and traffic, to which, as already mentioned, three millions of individuals belong, including the sustained ones, is divided into several chief groups as follows: Mining and metallurgy with 136,086 individuals (48,412 working, 87,674 sustained), trade with 2,157,280 individuals (913,010 working, 1,244,270 sustained), commerce with 451,443 individuals (174,925 working, 276,518 sustained), banking-transactions with 19,203 individuals (7,339 working, 11,864 sustained), traffic with 196,177 individuals (66,787 working and 129,390 sustained).

Considering only the working individuals at a farther exa-

mination of trade and traffic, we are able to give the following statements: 44.550 persons are engaged in coal-and mining and metallurgy, 3.092 in stone-pit; the rest of occupations belonging to the chief groups of mining as: lime-burning, the exploitation of pebble, sand-and loam-pits and mineral springs together employed only 900 persons.

Considering the different groups of trade, the most persons are engaged in the clothing-, building-, wood-, food-and iron-industry. The following are those branches of industry, and trade which in the whole country of Hungary occupy at least 20.000 persons; we state separately the numbers of independent tradesmen and that of assistants:

Branch of industry or trade	Independent	Assistant	Together
Shoemakers	33.384	29.969	63.353
Smiths	30.809	22.665	53.474
Tailors	22.928	25.367	48.290
Bootmakers	29.626	18.213	47.839
Public houses	19.797	27.048	46.845
Millers	19.114	26.245	45.359
Joiners	18.906	20.852	39.758
Bricklayers	17.286	20.246	37.482
Sewing, Embroiding	22.327	5.258	27.585
Carpenters	14.761	9.678	24.439
Inn-and Hotel keepers	5.418	18.912	24.330
Cart-wrights	14.853	7.365	22.218

It may be said as characteristic of these branches of industry that the number of assistants amounts to more than the half of the whole industrial population.

Amongst the group of commerce the following branches presented the greatest numbers: Green-grocers (34.870), mercers dealing in different sorts of goods (21.268), Grocers (19.294), Linen-Drapers and Mercers (13.606), Corn- and produce-merchants (6.723), wood-merchants (6.489). There were altogether 14.313 individuals engaged in drumming (3.168 rag-pickers, and 3.162 pedlars with mercery- and fancy-goods), 6.069 persons were occupied as agents and factors.

At the group of banking the most persons were employed

by the savings-banks (2.303) and the insurance-companies (2.214). Into this group belong also the banks, the hypothecary institutes, the associations of credit, pawn-houses and finally the proprietors of private-banks, whose number together with their assistants amounted to 424.

Of the group of traffic we mention the following as the most numerous subdivisions: the group of railways (34.705), post- and telegraph-offices (11.201), navigation and rafting (8.173), road-making and repairing (4.653), water-work (3.717 persons).

The class of annuitants contains besides people living on their rents or pensions, also those who live on their fortune or their savings; at the same time the proprietors of houses living on the rents of their houses without having any other occupation; in the kingdom of Hungary their number amounted, included the sustained ones, to 243.696 individuals. Most of those annuitants were found in the royal free city of Selmecz-Bélabánya, where their number together with the sustained ones amounted to 15% of the whole population; but this number is due to the great mining here, which provides for a great number of pensionaries and invalids.

The day-labourers have been mentioned in the article concerning agriculture, also with regard to the day-labourers without particular statements who, for the greater part certainly also being engaged in agriculture, were counted to the agricultural class. But day-labourers not only have to be looked on at the view of that economical branch, which they belong to corresponding with the statement or with sure suppositions, but also as a special class of society, the members of which, in consequence of their occupation, to whatever economical branch they may belong, possess a very important, common peculiarity, not at all to be undervalued at the commercial point of view: these day-labourers in general do a quite rude work, wanting but very little professional skill, and being without any intellectual or real fortune; they represent the most inferior, most depending

class of society, concerning their existence and their prosperity. As already mentioned, the number of day-labourers without particular statements (included the sustained ones) amounted to 2,438.439 individuals in the kingdom of Hungary. Adding to this number those day-labourers, who upon the basis of the statement, contained in the census, belong to agriculture, or to the different groups of mining, trade, and traffic, the whole number of day-labourers raises to 3,201.857 individuals, which means 18·44⁰/₀ of the whole population; 3,083.609 (20·34⁰/₀) of them belong to the mother-country and 118.248 (5·41⁰/₀) to the Borderlands.

The smaller number of day-labourers in Croatia and Slavonia, where they amount only to a fourth part of the number of day-labourers in Hungary, results naturally of the simpler economical circumstances there and of the still existing condition of house-communities; the consequence is that no day-labourers are wanted for the labours in the fields; here, as a rule, a real class of day-labourers cannot even arise because the members of the house-community are the common proprietors of the property of the house-community, and it happens most rarely that they become so very poor as to be forced to labour in other peoples' fields, and thus to join the class of day-labourers.

Whilst the small number of day-labourers is a proof of the simple conditions in Croatia and Slavonia, in the mother country, the fact, of more than the fifth part of the whole population belonging to the class of day-labourers, indicates such a social-condition, which cannot be called a sound one. This condition, no doubt, was brought on by certain common causes, but also by different local concerns, and (for their own profit) it is one of the most important tasks of the state of Hungary and of the Hungarian society to render this unsound condition as propitious as possible upon the basis of the knowledge of the causes; especially by removing the common obstacles for the acquisition of properties, because a part of the day-labourers may become proprietors of small

properties; it is also the duty of the government and of the society to advance the propagation of other occupations amongst the class of day-labourers, such occupations which offer a more secured existence and a greater individual independence.

With regard to the different parts of the country, the proportion of the class of day-labourers towards the whole population is the greatest in the basin between the Danube and the Tisza (24.77%) and at the left bank of the Tisza (23.39%), the smallest at the left bank of the Danube (16.82%). Amongst the counties, one extreme is represented by the county of Árva, where the number of day-labourers is not quite 5.5% of the whole population; the other extreme is to be found in the county of Csongrád, where more than the third part of the whole population belongs to the class of day-labourers. On account of the very great proportion of the number of day-labourers towards the whole population, we mention especially the counties of: Bács-Bodrog, Moson, Máramaros, Háromszék, Borsod and Békés.

We do not consider it necessary to speak here particularly about the number of individuals, belonging to the army, Honvéd and Police or of those, belonging to the class of »other« occupations; the army and Honvéd being treated particularly in the chapter of this book concerning military organization, the »other« occupations being but of inferior importance. Thus we may pass to a short view of the last class of our divisions of occupations, to the number of those *who are sustained by the state and by society.*

Such are: the individuals living on public alms, as the beggars; besides the individuals sustained by public legacies and supports, by the different charitable institutions, by friendly societies and by legal persons, finally the prisoners whose keeping, as a rule, also is a public charge. In the kingdom of Hungary together 30.733 individuals, living on alms, that means street-beggars, were counted; 13.366 of them were men and 17.367 women; 2.693 persons lived in

almshouses of communes and asylums or were sustained by other public donations; 13.763 lived on the charity of different institutions and corporations. Finally there were 20.880 prisoners, included those being in administrative jails and those individuals conveyed by the police. The number resulting of all these different individuals, living at the expense of the state and society, amounts to 68.069; this is a proportion of 9·4 towards thousand earning people, and compared with the same matters in other countries, the charge is but a small one.



Agriculture.

In our country for centuries past Agriculture has been an important factor of national production, but its chief significance up till the middle of this century has been to supply the needs of internal consumption. Agriculture could not make any great advance in the past, partly on account of continuous wars, partly because of the lack of labourers, and the undeveloped means of communication. Cattle-rearing was the most important branch of farming, and the value of the animals exported exceeded as late as last century the value of the exported grain, which reached nearly a million florins.

But in the first half of the present century our production and our exports of grain began to attain ever greater dimensions. The most important auxiliary in this respect was the freeing of landed property in 1848 which along with the gradual development of our means of transit gave such an impetus to our farming that Hungary played the leading rôle in the feeding of Europe.

The rapid advance of our farming could not however divest the latter of that old style of character which manifests itself in insuperable contrasts, partly from natural relations partly from historic development.

It is historic development which has produced the disproportion in the division of the land. Huge estates which

reach for miles are in abundance at the present day which together with large and small properties form the chief class of landed estate. While properties of a moderate size, which should form the transition, are only represented in a small degree.

At present a property of over 570 Hectares can be looked upon as a large property. Such properties and estates which exceed 5700 Hectares taken together, make about 40 per cent of the territory of the land, and among them there are estates whose extent reaches 57.000 Hectares, nay some attain 228.000 Hectares.

The peasant proprietorships, as large as 17 Hectares, occupy a very considerable extent, 32 per cent of the land, and if we add to this moderately sized properties extending to 114 Hectares, which in the present state of things have the character of a small property only, we arrive at the result that the large proprietors possess 40 per cent of the land, the small proprietors 46 per cent and the moderate proprietors only 14 per cent.

Large properties and moderate properties are as a rule undivided. Small properties on the other hand are frequently scattered over the whole extent of the parish, so that particularly in upper Hungary and Transylvania, a property of from 20 to 30 yoke of land lies in 20 different places.

A great disadvantage of our agriculture is the further fact that we have many parishes, whose acreage is disproportionately large. This remnant of Turkish usage we find particularly in the Alföld, where the extent of individual parishes is of 6, 8, 10 square geographic miles. Nay of some towns, i. e. Debreczen, Szeged, and Szabadka of from 14 to 17 square miles.

That under such circumstances Agriculture cannot progress, must not necessarily be apprehended. The great distance of the land from the parish has led perforce to a more simple method of management, and on that account has not much changed the *Tanya* system which characterises in so marked a degree the farming in the Alföld, because the farmers only spend summer on their farms. It is further a consequence of historical development that in our land the extent of mortmain,

i. e. the state, church, trustee, and parish property, is a very important one, and takes up 34·6 of the total ground. Despite this, it cannot be maintained that so extensive an entailment of landed property would be prejudicial to our agriculture in general, inasmuch as a great part of it consists of grazing lands, woods and sterile plains. Only in individual districts where farms principally consist of plough land, the disadvantages of this entailment are actually felt.

Nothing indicates the advance of our agriculture so much as the *increase in value* of landed property in this century.

Not to speak of past years in which property in many districts of the land had scarcely any value, it must be mentioned that in the fruitful districts in the basin of the Tisza, a yoke of peasant land was to be bought for 30 to 40 florins, a yoke of estate land for 50 to 60 fl., while at the present day 300 to 400 florins are gladly paid for such land. At the beginning of 1870 the value of Hungarian landed estates was estimated at 4 milliards of Florins, at the present time it is 10 milliards.

In still greater proportion than the value of property, the *rent* of land has risen. Where the rent in 1860 was 1—2 florins a yoke, people pay 12—15 florins willingly for large properties, 30—40 fl. for small ones. This increase has been produced partly by the gradual increase of the produce of the ground, but particularly by the continual spread of the rent system and the increase of the rent-paying class, which class has at the present hour a very considerable part of the property of Hungary in their hands.

If we look at our condition in respect to rent, we notice the signs of diametrical contrasts, without any transition, since the general rent system belongs to large estates, the allotment rent system to small properties, while the intermediate rent system is rarely found.

The increasing value of land is promoted in no small degree by that characteristic of the Hungarian people, which weds them to the land owing to their innate love of farming.

Hence it comes that the largest part of the population, about 60 per cent, is concerned with farming, and if we take into account the working classes who are likewise connected with farming, we may confidently set down 75 per cent as that part of the population which lives on farming.

Accordingly in the more thickly populated districts, particularly in Upper Hungary and the western counties, there are as many working hands as the intensive cultivation of the land requires. The daily wages varies between 50 and 60 kreuzers in spring and autumn, and 70 and 90 kreuzers in summer, and the wages of permanent farm servants correspond with these rates.

In the more thinly populated regions, and especially in the Alföld the lack of labourers is a common complaint, though this is most perceptible in the summer months, when the wages of male labourers rises to 2 florins, while in winter it is difficult to find occupation for rural.

The want of labourers in the Alföld is accordingly not so much caused by the lack of hands, but rather by the imperfect division of farm labour, a consequence of the exclusive production of corn.

In order to remedy the want of hands, large landowners formerly had recourse to *Colonising*. Afterwards was substituted the system so characteristic of Hungarian farming *part-profit*, more recently that of *travelling hands*.

In part-profit the labourer figures as contractor, and receives his pay in a fixed portion of the Harvest — e.g. in reaping corn $\frac{1}{6}$ to $\frac{1}{10}$ of the Harvest, in maize production $\frac{1}{6}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$, in tobacco nearly half.

Travelling hands are engaged from the Highlands by farmers who contend with the scarcity of labourers, principally for the summer months. It cannot be denied that this arrangement has helped in a great measure to equalise the wages.

Our relations to labour are characterised further by the employments of servants. In small families servants are employed who receive in addition to their keep 60 to 120 florins yearly

wages. In large estates the »convention« system is the favourite one.

The pay of farming servants and coachmen consists of free lodgings, 25 to 50 florins, 16—24 litres of grain, and in addition in many places a certain quantity of salt, bacon and vegetables, likewise firing. In the lowlands in many parts straw also, half or the whole of a yoke of land, and the right of keeping a cow.

The total value of the wages of a married servant consists of 180 to 240 florins. Besides these, there are unmarried servants, called minor servants whose pay is 40 per cent less. From the above information it will be plain that the conditions of farm labour cannot be pronounced unfavourable.

If nevertheless here and there indications of peasant socialism are to be found and if the emigration of the working classes takes constantly increasing dimensions, the causes of these facts are to be sought in special local circumstances.

The movements of labourers in the Alföld have been chiefly caused by the changed relations of earning through the want of work in the winter-time, and through the part-profit system which degenerated into land usury.

On the further side of the Danube the vineyard labourers who through the ravages of the Phylloxera were deprived of their chief source of profit, form the main contingent of the emigrants; while in the thinly populated districts of Upper Hungary and Transylvania the wretched conditions of existence compel the working classes to leave their land.

This evil is gradually diminished through the fact that agriculture is constantly progressing, great industrial undertakings are constantly spreading, and colonisation is carried on in ever larger dimensions.

The rapid advance of our farming production we must ascribe preeminently to those great reforms which have come to pass in respect of the utilisation of the land.

At the beginning of the fifties in Hungary the productive land reached 26,866.000 Hectares, non-productive land, 5,056.482

Hectares. The latter therefore occupied 15·84 of the whole territory. Until the eighties the productive land increased, in consequence of the great embanking of rivers and drainage operations which took place between, to 30,709.383 Hectares, while the non-productive land decreased to 1,791.333 Hectares, so that at the present the productive land is 94·5 and the non-productive only 5·5 of the entire country.

Also in individual branches of agriculture essential changes have taken place, to indicate which we make use of the data of the last survey.

According to this, at the beginning of the eighties the following were the figures :

Branch of Culture	Hungary and Fiume Hectares	per cent	Croatia Slavonia Hectares	per cent	Hungarian Dominions Hectares	per cent
Plough Lands	11,584.385	43·42	1,303.304	32·36	12,887.689	41·97
Gardens	347.797	1·30	52.836	1·31	400.633	1·30
Meadows	2,993.616	11·22	464.948	11·55	3,458.564	11·26
Pasture-Land	3,709.625	13·90	603.889	15·00	4,313.514	14·05
Osier-beds ..	90.174	0·34	2.686	0·07	92.860	0·33
Vineyards ..	358.045	1·34	67·452	1·66	425.497	1·36
Forestland ..	7,598.293	28·48	1,532.333	38·05	9,130.626	29·73
Total	26,681.935	100·00	4,027.448	100·00	30,709.383	100·00

In Croatia-Slavonia forest-land still holds the preponderance. In Hungary on the contrary plough land occupies the greatest part of the cultivated ground. But it was only in later centuries that the latter attained this rôle, for at the beginning of 1850 it was only 8 million Hectares, while in 1870 it was 9·98, in 1880, 11·59. in 1890, 11·81, and in 1895, 12·2 million. Within 40 years the extent of arable land has increased more than 50 per cent; while the extent of other branches of agriculture has not essentially changed. So that the extension of arable land has been at the expense of the various domains of other and different productions, although ploughed meadows and pasture land, felled forests have in a great degree contributed to this, yet the loss of the latter is again compensated by the draining of extensive swamps, the filling up of morasses, and the afforesting of waste ground.

To these creations of tilth and improvements of the ground, not only the numerous draining companies have greatly contributed, but also and especially the institute of Engineers, by whose co-operation since the year 1879 when the institute was founded about 450.000 yokes of land have been improved through draining, and about 20.000 yokes of meadow land &c. have been prepared with brilliant success for irrigation.

In relation to mountains, the distribution of arable ground is a very different one. In the mountain districts of the N. and E. counties plough land only constitutes 30 per cent of productive ground. In the hilly districts it reaches the percentage of 40—50. In the great Hungarian lowland it exceeds 70. The real home of Hungarian agriculture is consequently the great lowland and its neighbourhood, with hilly land stretching through small and large plains.

Besides the above mentioned causes the *transformation of the farming system* is a further essential factor in the increase of our farming products.

Till the middle of this century the *three-following* system was the ruling one. The autumn crop was sown in the fallow field, then followed the spring crop, while meadows and pasture land contributed fodder for the horses.

Gradually instead of the three following system came the *rotation of crops*, which in large estates is now the ruling system, and is applied in all sorts of variations according to the natural and agricultural relations of the various districts.

In the Alföld the chief product is wheat, which is sown in fallow lands or after rape, fodder or maize, the spring crop after maize and turnips sometimes after autumn crop. In the counties on the far side of the Danube the following rotation is common: 1. Maize and turnips. 2. Summer crop. 3. Fodder (clover, vetch, with oats millet). 4. Autumn crop. 5. Fodder. 6. Autumn crop. The rotation common in the Highlands differs from the preceding in that potatoes are used for maize and turnips.

Despite the general extension of the rotation of crops, in peasant proprietorships the old three field system is still common, with some improvements, which the rotation of crops which exists in many places compels them to.

In the fertile plains of the lowlands there is a two crop species of farming prevalent according to which wheat and maize are planted in turn, while in the small Hungarian plains in many places one finds a four crop species, according to which three crops of wheat succeed one fallow year.

A great change has taken place also in Agricultural industry. In 1870 the ordinary wooden plough was so extensively used that the number of them was half that of all the ploughs employed. Gradually it was superseded by Vidats' plough and lately by the »Sack« plough. Besides the other agricultural machines were employed in ever better construction, while the steam plough obtained more and more favour on large estates.

It is very natural that the application of perfect machines has created a more careful cultivation of the land, simultaneously with which a more liberal manuring has been used.

Systematic manuring has been employed by farmers of mountainous and hilly districts for a long time past, though in most cases not in the proper relations. In the rich districts of the plains predatory farming prevailed up to the latest time. Straw and manure were used as firing, and people were of opinion that the fertility of the land made manure superfluous.

Such farms however to-day are rarities. The great mass of farmers recognise the importance of manuring and endeavour to manure their land at least every 4 to 6 years.

Besides this the use of artificial manures is spreading widely, particularly in the sugar producing districts.

It cannot be maintained that our agriculture has raised itself to such a pitch of intensiveness as the most prolific employment of the land would require. On the contrary we meet in many places, particularly in the east and south parts of our land, with the primitive system of farming. Despite this a great advance cannot be denied in the employment of arable

land, which shows itself mostly *in the gradual diminution of fallow land, the continual increase of land under cultivation, and in the better proportion of the produced plants.*

In Hungary in 1870 there were still 2·14 million hectares i. e. 22·55 per cent of the whole arable land fallow. In 1880 fallow land was reduced to 18·7 per cent, and in 1895 1·72 million hectares i. e. 14·2 per cent. In the Borderlands from 1885 to 1894 from 22·8 to 15 per cent.

The amount of fallow land is still considerable, but this is because in the districts which lie far from the market and possess unfertile ground, e. g. in East Upper Hungary and in a part of Transylvania, the farmers are compelled to keep land fallow. Hence fallow land occupies there 25 to 28 per cent of the arable land, while in more favourable parts e. g. in the counties of Csanád, Csongrád, Torontál, the fallow land makes scarcely 2 per cent of the whole.

Land under cultivation has extended in Hungary from 1870—1885, from 7·9 million hectares to 10·4 million hectares, i. e. within 25 years about 2·5 million hectares, and still greater is the increase of the lands actually mown.

A more or less large proportion of the seeds are from year to year spoiled by different elemental disasters. In Hungary, floods, draught, hail, and mildew, are the commonest. The destruction of seeds caused every year by these plagues shows great variety. At the same time it is a favourable circumstance that while in the interval between 1880 and 1886, in round numbers 486.000 hectares i. e. 5·5 per cent of cultivated land was ruined, this calamity affected only 215.000 hectares in 1887—94 i. e. 2·2 per cent. This was partly due to the regulation of the rivers which checked floods, partly to the careful cultivation which diminished the other disasters.

The decrease of fallow land and the limitation of natural disasters has raised the absolute and relative value of mown lands. In Hungary the mown lands rose from 1880 to 1895 from 8·76 millions to 10·19 million of hectares; taking the whole plough land into computation: from 75·60 to 83·88. In the borderlands from 1885 from

one million to 1·2 million, namely from 78·6 to 85 per cent, which naturally was of great influence in the increase of our crops.

The most important production in the plough land is *wheat*, which owing to its excellent quality recognised in the whole world not only plays a rôle in the first rank in our production and internal consumption, but also in our industry and our external trade. In Hungary the wheat land occupies three million hectares, that is, 30 per cent of the land yearly under cultivation. In the lowland counties where the best wheat grows, namely in the counties of Temes, Torontál, Szolnok, Arad, Csanád, Csongrád, and Bács-Bodrog wheat land occupies 40 to 50 per cent of the whole land under culture. In Croatia-Slavonia wheat occupies only 200.000 hectares, that is, 17·5 per cent of the total land under cultivation.

Maize takes second place in economical importance. It is principally cultivated in the south-east parts of the land, where in several counties it occupies 40 to 48 per cent of the total land under cultivation. *Rye*, *barley* and *oats* are grown in large quantities, each of these varieties occupying about a million hectares, so that all the fore-mentioned cereals occupy 85 per cent of the total land under cultivation. For the other plants especially the pod varieties and fodder only 15 per cent of the cultivated land is left, which is an incontestable proof of the one-sidedness of our farming. We may look for an improvement however since the production of industrial and fodder plants increases from year to year.

Among the pod plants the production of *vetch* shows great advance, which goes hand in hand with the increasing production of fodder. *Pease* and *lentiles* are only occasionally cultivated, while *beans* form an important article of export and are cultivated chiefly as a companion product to maize and wine. The production of *millet* and *buckwheat* has diminished of late years. *Potatoes* are the chief and marketable plants in the north-eastern districts of the land, in the counties Liptó, Árva, Szepes, Turócz, Sáros, where potato raising takes up twenty to thirty per cent of the cultivated land and forms

the basis of the spirit and starch industry there. Potatoes are grown in all Hungary for food.

The growing of *rape* which once was important is now on the decline; also *tobacco*, which before 1848 occupied 90.000 hectares while now it scarcely occupies 38.000. This decline is chiefly owing to a change of taste in tobacco smoking.

The culture of *flax* and *hemp* has never attained much importance, but in *beetroot* we meet with signs of a rapid increase, since from 1870 to 1894 it has risen from 18.500, to 91.000 hectares.

Besides the market plants above mentioned, *poppies*, *sun-flowers*, *hops*, and in the south of the land, *rice* are grown, but these do not attain any particular importance.

On the contrary the raising of *artificial fodder* has made very gratifying advance. At the beginning of 1870 turnips were grown over scarcely 40.000 hectares. Up till 1894 this increased to 150.000. The plants which give grass fodder namely clover, lucerne, sweet clover and vetch, occupied at the beginning of 1870 nearly 200.000 hectares. Since then their domain has continually extended and increased up to the year 1894, in Hungary to 600.000, and in Croatia-Slavonia 70.000. Among the clover species the production of seeds has taken larger proportions, the result of which has been that we have a considerable export in clover, lucerne and sweet clover seeds. It is undoubted that this increase of production of fodder has had a favourable effect on our stock. The production of artificial fodder occupies still only 7 per cent of the acreage, and the land laid aside for fodder together with meadows and pasture ground makes only 36% of the agricultural land; a relation which cannot be considered a satisfactory one so far as the maintenance of the productive power of the land is concerned. In consequence of this insufficiency the greater part of our farms have not sufficient manure and therefore they cannot show corresponding average harvests.

These figures give the true development of our farming productions. It is evident from them that our harvests, especially the more important products, rise in a surprising quantity, and that this increase is not so much due to the extension of the production as to its having become more intensive; for while in the case of wheat within 25 years the extent under cultivation has only increased 37 per cent, this increase for each hectare was of 86 and on the total year's product 150. So with maize; along with the increase of ground 22 per cent there is a rise of average production 68 the hectare and on the total harvest 100. A similar advance we may notice with other cereals.

From the preceding data it is evident that our agriculture during the last 25 years has taken a more healthy direction for while from 1870 to 1879 the cereals occupied 67·5 per cent, in 1890 to 1894 they occupied only 63·8 per cent, which was a consequence of the limitation of corn production. The area of other vegetables has increased, in an inverse proportion to such restriction the consequence of which is that the relation between the crops is at present more favourable than it was.

A new result of the increase of harvests is that our agriculture now contributes in a much greater degree to our national prosperity than formerly, although the fall of prices in the leading productions has diminished this effect. In the eighties the value of the products of ploughland was estimated at 640 million florins, in the nineties at 800 million.

The harvest in the borderlands remains greatly behind that of the mother country. The most important product there is maize, which occupies an extent of 342.000 hectares, 30 per cent of mown lands. Wheat follows with 190.000 hectares, that is 17 per cent, rye with 160,000 hectares, that is 14·5 per cent, oats with 95.000 hectares, that is 8·5 per cent, and barley with 66.000 hectares, that is 6 per cent. On a similar large scale, artificial fodder was produced, while turnips were only produced over 11.000 hectares i. e. one per cent. In a

larger proportion, potatoes and millet were produced while the other vegetables played only a subordinate part.

The harvest of wheat per hectare may be indicated by 9 q., of rye 7·2, of oats 5·3, of barley 8, of maize 11 q. so that the yearly production of wheat in Croatia-Slavonia is 1·7, of rye 1·2, of barley 0·5, of oats 0·5, and of maize 3·5 million metercwts.

A great part of the agricultural products serve for internal consumption. None the less there is still a considerable part left for export, so that Hungary still belongs to the lands which export raw products.

Our exported wheat is the most notable, which is the principal grain for bread in most parts of the land. This export in 1880, was 30 per cent, in 1890 25 per cent, which decreased was caused partly by the increase of internal consumption, partly by the fall of prices.

Another change has affected our wheat export. While in 1870 we chiefly exported raw wheat, of late years the export of flour has obtained the preeminence, which is owing to the gradual increase of our mill industry.

Two million metercwts. of rye are exported, which in upper Hungary is the grain of bread, while 3 million of barley principally malt barley, partly in the form of malt, are exported; while fodder barley is chiefly used for pigs. Considering our superb breed of horses very few oats are exported — in round numbers about 1 million metercwt. Of maize which is raised in large proportions only 2 million metercwts. are exported, while the greater part is applied to pig feeding and the manufacture of spirits of wine, and in the south-east districts is used as food for people.

Besides these products we have considerable exports in pulse, rape, tobacco, clover and lucerne seeds. The principal market is Austria where from 75 to 80 per cent of our exported products go.

In realising our farm products we are still dependant upon foreign markets, although there is some improvement in the

fact that the export of our farm produce has not increased in proportion to the increase in production, a phenomenon due principally to the fact of an increased internal consumption, in consequence of generally improved conditions of life.

Another gratifying symptom is that in realising our farm produces abroad the export of manufactured or refined products is gradually gaining the upper hand. While the value of exported farm produce from 1870 to 1890 rose to 125 million of florins, that is 40 per cent, the export value of manufactured farm produce, (flour, sugar, spirit, malt) rose from 38 to 70 millions, i. e. 84 per cent, which is an evident sign that Hungary is gradually rising out of the rank of those lands which content themselves with the export of raw products.

Contrasted with the rise of our farming industry is the deterioration of our *vineyards*. And yet our vineyard industry is not only one of our oldest productions but also a main source of our national income, to which many districts owe their well-being. The vine was acclimatised by the emperor Probus in Syrmia in 276. From that time till the battle of Mohacs the Syrmian wine was considered the best of Hungarian wines. Since that time Tokaj began to take front rank and has since then become the king of all European wines.

In general most of our vineyards are centuries old, and since wine production is a favourite industry with the Hungarian farmer this branch of industry is cultivated everywhere where climate and ground are suitable. Apart from the counties on the north, wine is grown throughout the whole of Hungary in the mountains as well as the plains, but the superior class of wines are only produced in individual spots favourably situated.

Among these Tokaj Hegyalja stands pre-eminent, where from the unpromising grapes the sweet Aszú, the fiery Szamorodni wine is pressed. Rust on the Lake Fertő gives white «aszú» wine; Ménes in the Hegyalja (Arad county), red aszu wine.

Excellent white wines are produced in the Balaton lake district, the Érmellék hills, the neighbourhood of Sopron,

Pozsony, Neszmély, Magyarád, Miskolcz, Nagyvárád, Fehértemplom, in Transylvania in the Küküllő district. Red wines in the wine districts of Buda, Eger, Visonta, Villány, Szegszárd, Versecz, Karlócza. The garden wines of the lowlands are of inferior quality but are gaining more favour, especially the so-called »Sandwines.«

Our most extensively known varieties of grapes are in Tokaj Hegyalja, in the Balaton and *Fertő* see districts, the *furmint*, in the Érmellék district the *bakator* grape, in the Neszmély district the *Sárfehér* grape; in Magyarád the Muscatel grape; in the Red wine districts the *Kaderka* grape. Many other, especially foreign sorts are cultivated here and there. Principal among these are the *Risling* grape, and the *Chasselas* with its numerous species.

Among the methods of culture the polled method is the most common; here and there stem cultivation, and especially in Transylvania the ring cultivation.

Before the appearance and the universal spread of the vine-louse and till the year 1886 our wine territory increased more and more, so that in the last named year in Hungary 431.328 hectares were contained in it, of which 362.562 hectares fall to the mother country.

Since then there is a gradual diminution, so that the extent of vineyards in Hungary sank to 219.842 in 1894, and it is only due to the numerous new plantings that the deterioration has not taken greater proportion.

In ten years the wine districts of Hungary have decreased by 143.000 hectares i. c. 40 per cent and taking into consideration the new plantations the districts ravaged by the vine-louse may be taken as 180.000 hectares, the loss to national property at 100 million florins.

In still greater proportions *wine production* diminished, especially since in addition to the ravages of the vine-louse the epidemic of the *peronospora viticola* must be added. In the seventies and eighties, our yearly wine harvest exceeded four million hectolitres in the value of about 45 million florins. The aver-

age harvest rose gradually from 11·4 to 12·2 hectolitres per hectare. In 1891 only 1,230,620 hectolitres were produced, in 1892 796,560, in 1893, 938,987, so that the harvest per hectare in the years mentioned sank to 4·84, 3·20, and 4·16 hectolitres. In the last two years we again had larger vintages exceeding 2 million hectolitres, which was principally due to the new wine gardens and to the general adoption of protective measures against the peronospora.

The erection of new vineyards has taken great dimensions since 1888. From then till 1894, 40,332 hectares of new vineyards have come into being; on sandy land free from disease 16,718, on other ground 23,614 hectares, of the latter 5700 hectares are planted with American vines. It is owing to these new gardens that in 1895 our wine districts rose to 223,500 hectares.

The phylloxera epidemic has not only injured our vintages but has also changed the direction of our wine industry. This influence showed itself chiefly in the fact that our wine-production becomes more and more displaced to flat sandy districts and leaves the mountains. Consequently the vineyards on safe grounds which were only 20·5 per cent of the wine district in 1891, were in 1894 quite 32·1.

From ancient times our wines were the main articles of our export. In 1730 our yearly export was 50 to 60,000 hectolitres, in value from 5 to 800,000 florins, so that the value of the wine export greatly exceeded that of the wheat export. It grew with the development of transport and with the better organisation of the wine trade. It reached its height in the eighties when the yearly export was over a million hectolitres. Our grape export likewise continually increased and so has contributed greatly to the rise in value of grapes.

Along with the fall of our production wine export has also fallen, so that of late years our import has the superiority. This phenomenon however is merely temporary and will disappear as soon as we can remedy those causes which have injured wine production.

Our wine growers in searching for these remedies, helped therein by government, have already been so successful that we hope the systematic continuous labour of some decades will raise our wine industry to the level which it ought to occupy in virtue of its economical importance.

Where grapes grow well circumstances are favourable also for *fruit culture*, and our celebrated wine districts are at the same time remarkable for their excellent fruit production. In the south, south-east and northern parts of the land the production of *Besztercze* plums play a great part. From these are made prune-brandy, (Silvorum) dried plums and plum jam, which form not only for internal consumption, but also for export an important article.

The better kinds of fruit such as apples, pears, cherries, mazards, and plums are produced here and there throughout the whole land; in the warmer districts apricots, peaches, almonds, nuts and figs. In the west especially in the neighbourhood of Sopron, the chestnut forms great forests, while the hazel-nut is everywhere domesticated in our forest-plantations.

Districts celebrated for fruit are, Sopron, Pozsony, the environs of Lake Balaton, in the County of Vas the district of Ikervár, in Trencsén county the district of Puchó, in Gömör county the environs of Csetnek, Rozsnyó and Jolsva, in Bihar county the district of Érmellék and in the county of Arad the district of Hegyalja. The fruit production in Kecskemét and Nagykőrös has great repute, whence abundance of apricots and apples are sent not only to Budapest but also to foreign parts principally Dresden, Berlin, Hamburg, Moscow and St. Petersburg.

In many districts especially in Heves county the production of melons has taken great dimensions and supplies not only the home but the larger foreign markets.

We do not know the quantity of our fruit production but the data of fruit traffic permit the conclusion that this branch of production is continually increasing. Until the middle of the eighties our balance remained passive so that the import

exceeded the export by one and a half million florins. Since then our export has steadily increased. If we take nuts and hazel-nuts, dried fruit and marmalade into computation our exports exceeded imports of late years by between four and five million florins.

Kitchen gardening is practised particularly in the neighbourhood of our large and populous towns. Its principal productions are cabbages, which are cultivated almost everywhere, and the yearly amount of which is estimated to 750 million heads; also onions, red pepper, horse radish, which plants are produced wholesale in some parts, while other vegetables such as salad, yellow parsnips, parsley, celery, cucumbers, tomatoes, green bean, pease, etc., are grown in small quantities everywhere.

The most noticeable gardening industries are at Budapest, Szeged, Félégyháza, Czegléd, Fajsz, Makó, Kalocsa, Baja, Pápa, Győr, Pozsony, Nezsider. Not only our peasantry concern themselves with gardening, but also Bulgarian gardeners have the control of this class of production, who pay for suitable fields 50 to 60 florins per yoke.

If we reflect on the present condition of agriculture we cannot otherwise than declare that it is still far from that stage where it can fully fulfil its economical vocation. But the continual and gradual increase of production and its development in an intensive direction must be recognised, which development has produced the consequence that our agriculture has made greater strides in the last 25 years than in former centuries.



Cattle Breeding.

In very old times cattle breeding was the leading occupation of our people ; partly because the primitive people had few wants and products could not be transported owing to the inadequate means of transit ; partly because in those warlike times the farmers with such a moveable property as cattle could most easily flee from an invading enemy.

Horses, Oxen, Sheep and Swine were bred, or rather preserved and increased. Excellent conditions were forthcoming in individual districts of the land for each of these domestic animals.

For the horse the large and small basins of the land ; for cattle the enormous tracts exposed to inundation, the river valleys with rich meadows. Sheep found an excellent pasture in the dry hilly districts, in the flats productive of verdure, and on the Alps. Swine found in the thickly foliated woods and in the woody tracts by the banks of rivers easy and good nourishment, and could be reared at little expense.

The great river basins, the lakes, the marshes, the woods, as Archbishop Nicolas Oláh declared in the 16th century, made the climate damp. Hence there were rich pasture-grounds on which »many cattle found room, and if it were exhausted soon grew again«.

The great proprietors had great meadow lands ; every agricultural community their common pasture ground. In the

marshes of the parish fallow farming or three field farming was carried on, and thus the fallow fields, the stubble fields, and lastly even the sown fields supplied rich pasturage.

There were meadows in abundance, and cattle breeding progressed without hindrances. There was plenty of cattle; and in many places cattle of excellent quality. Farmers preserved and increased the breed of Hungarian horses, which (though no longer in its former excellence) we can still see in parts that have remained in the pasturing stage.

The Hungarian horse, which belongs to the group of inferior Eastern horses, was not an animal which we should describe as beautiful to-day, but corresponded excellently to the needs of its time. It bore heat and thirst, was hardened against cold, ate what it got, trod courageously the soft soil of the Alföld. It waded through sand from morning till evening, and bore hunger if it was compelled, whence it was very valuable in those times without roads for our land and our farmers.

Our farmers also kept our beautiful, silver-grey, iron-grey, and white, large horned Hungarian cattle. It is a pity that they do not breed them any longer in such quantities, as formerly, for in our land agriculture is connected with the existence of this race of cattle. Two kinds of sheep were then spread over the land, the Hungarian sheep with curved horns, and the meadow sheep, both of which kinds were milked. Sheep-butter was then an important article of food.

Our nation had brought these three animals with them at the conquest, the Horse from their original home, the sheep from the coasts of the Black sea or the sea of Azow, the cattle from the basin of the Dnieper most probably, where this breed is still reared. Further eastward than that this original race is not any more to be found.

The swine, particularly that family, which was reared a few decades ago across the Danube, was found in Hungary by the conquerors. Our ancestors soon grew fond of the swine, and bred them in the woody and meadowy districts so fast,

that those who were intrusted with the charge of droves formed real colonies, and the pasturage of animals was regulated by laws and royal ordinances. In 1194 this branch of cattle-breeding was attacked by a pestilence which decimated nearly all the swine of the land.

The swine being a fertile animal soon overcame the injury caused by the forementioned pestilence, and its condition improved in places under favourable conditions.

After several centuries the culture of a plant spread in the land, which offered a substitute for swine mast in treeless regions — maize. Henceforward were two sorts of swine, the Bakony and the Szalonta red kind, the latter of which was indigenous to the east of the land, almost in the farmyard of every farmer.

The face of cattle-breeding was changed about the middle of last century. The first steps of this radical change took place in sheep-breeding. Maria Theresa and Joseph II. imported Paduan sheep, then Merino sheep. Proper distribution, pairing, but particularly a thorough crossing produced not only a revolution in sheep-breeding, but by lifting this branch of cattle-breeding into the foreground, altered the working of great estates, nay affected the economy of parishes and the so-called sheep-farms.

Merino sheep were divided into three classes in Hungary, the superior, small bodied Electoral; (fine, superior wool) the Infantado-Negretti variety, which derives its character from abundant and good wool and massive bodies. From these two the *Electoral-Negretti* type is developed, which produced cloth wool, and were famous for a long time.

The Negretti type has made its way eastwards partly by the formation of flocks, partly by the help of shepherds which came from abroad.

These shepherds rented pastures on the great plain, kept their flocks or went into service as participants, crossed the sheep which were found there with their rams and thus extended the merino type. Thus arose under the influence of that

soil the Alföld Mestizo Merino sheep, which afterwards transformed itself by means of rational breeding to the precious Hungarian long-fleeced sheep.

The improvement in horses began likewise at the time mentioned; and the basis of all that is valuable in this sphere was laid under Maria Theresa and Joseph II. by the establishment of the studs in Mezőhegyes and Bábolna, the first of which did not receive its productive character until the beginning of the present century.

With the development of sheep-breeding and horse-breeding, farming also advanced in the land. Ground landlords began gradually to seek for better methods also in the breeding of other animals, and aimed at the breeding of more fertile and therefore more profitable races. In 1830 this was the case in pig-breeding. There was an eastern type, which loosened the characters of breeding in both our old native types, and ultimately destroyed them.

There was a market in the neighbouring western countries long ago for swine reared in Hungary, and great multitudes of lean young pigs were sent from the East and Servia to Austria, and even to Bavaria by way of Sopron.

The dealers in lean pigs had their own way which they followed. Proceeding westward, they went from farm to farm, gave the farmer their beasts on credit, and took the price on their return home, beginning once more their toilsome journey.

A second direction of this trade was towards Győr. On this route only improved and fattened animals came from Bakony, and afterwards from Servia. The fattened pig trade of Servia had two routes. One went on the right bank of the Danube, the other on the left — from Orsova past Budapest to Győr, at that time the head centre of the Hungarian swine trade. A drove of pigs, fattened on the way, reached Győr market in about 130 days.

In such a drove of fattened animals on the right bank of the Danube, our great Palatine the Archduke Joseph once saw the new-comers from Servia, and resolved with that

breed to establish a pig-breeding farm in his property of Kis-Jenő in the county of Arad. He did this, and this breeding place established the breed of *curly-bristled fat pigs*, with which variety we played an important rôle up till now in the markets of Europe. By crossing with the light curly bristled pigs, Mr. Bartholomew Szunyogh produced the black, or rather the black-blue fat pigs, which likewise can be called a very valuable race.

The trade on the left bank of the Danube has also left its traces and particularly the centralisation of the swine trade in the capital and residential city of Budapest.

1840 marks a new epoch in cattle-breeding. The cutting down of the woods had already begun with us last century, and with our immediate neighbours, but it only attained great dimensions only in the fourth decennium of our century. Then, large clearings were taken in hand. Next came the partial operations in connection with the water roads, and as the result showed, these had an essential influence on our climatic relations, making them more continental, which rested on pasturage and on the produce of the meadows, which decreased and prejudicially influenced our cattle-breeding.

Then came the time when the bondsman became free, and disposed of his land at his own will, and like his former landlord had the wish that all communion should cease between them.

They divided therefore the common pasture grounds; and the former bondsmen took the flats which fell to their lot, and tilled them. They were compelled to do this by the conditions which then existed, by the ravages of cattle-plague, the high price of corn which arose in consequence of the export rendered possible by the newly opened lines of railway. Where formerly great herds had pasturage, the plough now made its numberless furrows.

In most districts the plough put out the flocks and herds; and now the long expected time would seem to have come where the intensive cattle-breeding would have to naturalise

itself, supported on the growth of fodder grasses and pasture meadows, and introduce that farming which can be productive by maintaining the productive power of the land.

This time came not. The open pasture ground was sacrificed. The meadows grew dry, and since while regulating the rivers there had been neglect in attending to the possibility of the irrigation, they faded, and were ploughed up by the peasantry.

But something else happened. At first the usual method of three crops was upheld, later two fields were sowed with corn, while the third, instead of being allowed to become fallow, was planted with maize. On the other side the amount of cattle decreased i. e. there began that system of forced-farming whose effect in many places after a few years made itself felt in the decrease of the harvests.

The former bondsmen tried to obviate this evil, but did not do so with the necessary thoroughness, but piled evil upon evil. Instead of remaining true to three crop farming, they decreased in many parts, particularly in the Alföld, the amount of cattle, and adopted two crop farming.

Maize followed wheat, and then wheat came again, and thus real forced-production came about, which diminished the amount of cattle, of which the quality fell away likewise, while the cattle-plague foreboded a sorry future for breeders. Professional circles drew a mournful picture in which large proprietors were the only ray of hope, because cattle-breeding was treated partly by advanced principles, partly on conservative ones and only among a few ground landlords — those who worked their own ruin — any retrogression was visible.

Professional breeders based their hopes on the spread of technical knowledge, and on those improved methods of breeding, by whose help the farming industry of our land and also cattle-breeding were led to better ways. They hoped that from these methods of breeding — if only a proper man be found to make a beginning — the right method of breeding, the best blood, would gain more and more ground. Owing to the

decrease of the productive power of the land, many people were induced to follow the example of the leading men. Our Ministry of Agriculture supported these aims most vigorously, by offering everything possible in this direction according to the means placed at its disposal.

This action was undoubtedly successful and success only failed, where it could not be reached owing to the character of the conditions.

Owing to our army-purposes, our means of communication, and also to our inclinations, the rearing of horses was attended to first and foremost. We must be grateful to the founders of our state-studs. These studs were the thing which gave the material first for checking the decline and later for improvement, which in many places is incontestable and is proved by the fact, that the improved breeds can be noted as sires of individual strains in special breeding places.

Yet there is still much to be done in this branch of breeding.

The transformation of studs, and in that connection the proper regulation of the management of stallions; further in consideration of the yearly increasing demand for draft-cattle and the deplorable and steady deterioration of the number of Hungarian Transylvanian cattle the rearing and multiplying of heavy farm horses &c. &c. are tasks whose proper solution is reserved for the next ten years.

The heavy horses are to be found in the border-counties on the west, whither they have come from the neighbouring »Noria«. The draught-horses used in farming originate in the Muraköz, and are exported thence in large numbers for tramway work. Somogy County used to supply very good light saddle horses, but of late years there has been a decrease in the mind for horse-breeding there. In the other districts beyond the Danube very good riding and carriage horses are found. In Bácska and the border-counties, the amount of horses is larger and steadier, and excellent animals are brought there for state-carriages and for the artillery.

There is scarcely a place whence so many horses are

exported as Szabadka, and the prices freely paid prove that breeders there go the right way. The County Bács-Bodrog is called to play a leading rôle in this matter. In the remaining parts of the land the conditions are well adapted in many places for breeding riding and carriage horses. Draught horses are only to be found in the N.E. and E. border-districts.

The amount of *horned cattle*, on account of the above stated circumstances, and also owing to the indolence of the breeders, has diminished greatly in quantity and quality, both with large and small proprietors. This diminution has taken portentous dimensions in the case of cattle belonging to the former bondmen.

Professional circles have pointed to the threatening danger. In 1879 the National Agricultural Society dealt with the matter, and in 1880 the Ministry of Agriculture began to study the question. It was proved that the greatest evil was the want of bulls, and that advance was only possible if parishes arranged for the supply of good bulls in sufficient quantity.

Action was taken on the basis of a plan worked out on professional grounds. The land was divided into rearing districts, and the breeds to be reared in each of them were settled. Thus a great part of the land was reserved for our precious Hungarian breed. The west border-counties were designated for the heavy red-dappled Swiss cattle, the north-west mountains for the lighter red-dappled types, the N.E. for the grey-dappled as far as Csik county. For the E. and S.E. mountain regions, the lighter red-dappled breed, especially the Pinzgau cattle were chosen as the type of the breed.

In order that bulls of pure blood might be furnished with adequate health and of the proper quality, breeding stations were established on state properties and depots, especially in the farms of the agricultural institutes and the farm-schools. Further those ground proprietors, who declared themselves ready to erect breeding places for the

animals designated for their district, were supported by government. For the latter government imported breeding animals and they were allowed to pay the price of them in instalments spread over three years. It was necessary to take particular care, that by the founding of such breeding establishments no other type was produced than those intended. Only thus could the infusion of foreign elements be obviated, which would hinder or spoil the breed.

From these breeding places, and from old renowned herds the bulls were and are brought for the communities, partly at the expense of the Ministry of Agriculture, partly from the fund established or endowed by the Ministry of Agriculture, which is administered by the County Farmers Associations and the Farmers Commissions.

The breeding bulls are bought by parishes on payment by instalments with a deduction of from 20—50 per cent. The price is paid usually in three yearly instalments. Parishes who have no means or are the victims of calamity receive bulls gratuitously, and these animals, if they become unfit for the purpose are put up to auction and the price they fetch added to the breeding fund of the county.

By this means the cattle-breeding of the land is greatly aided, and the results would be multiplied if more care were spent on the assigned animals, if they were better tended, fed, and rationally used. This condition is only to be obtained if the parishes are under strict control, and if the intelligent farmers pay more attention to these matters in view of the general interest.

This interest ought to be respected: for this branch of cattle-breeding, along with the milk trade which depends on it, gives the surest profit in the present critical state of farming. Even if prices do fluctuate in this respect, their fluctuation is slight, and considering flesh and draught-cattle, the increase is sure, for the inquiry after the latter as well as the meat consumption increases year by year, and at present in Europe there is not a pound of flesh too much.

Dairying has been also supported by the ministry of agriculture, and has made a remarkable advance in the last few years, and supplies now not only the consumption of the towns, but also serves for export. The establishment of Communal Butter and Cheese Companies which save many hundred thousand litres of milk from vasting, secures a considerable income to the communities and exercises a healthy effect on the development of cattle-breeding.

The buffalo is a domestic animal in Hungary and there are places in the land where it is still an important domestic animal, e. g. in Somogy, Tolna, Kolozs, and some eastern border-counries. But it is only in Kolozs, in the district of Kalotaszeg where the buffalo can be esteemed of any great importance, although even here he will lose importance if milk-farming attains wider dimensions, because the buffalo despite its fatty nourishing milk is not a favourite with dairies.

The buffalo develops slowly, and is difficult to rear as a calf. The buffalo cow sometimes yields milk for a long time, sometimes ceases to yield very soon. Buffalo milk in coffee is much liked. It is not adapted to cheese making. Buffalo butter is fat, but not tasty. Buffalo meat from the stall is good: from the pasture it has the buffalo flavour, and fetches as a rule half the price of the meat of the dappled mountain bullock.

When and whence the buffalo came to Hungary is not known. To Somogy he came probably from Italy. The Armenians probably brought him to the Transylvanian districts. The most beautiful and strongest buffaloes are in Fogaras and with some breeders in Somogy.

As a draught-animal the buffalo, despite its slowness, must be mentioned most favourably. He is unequalled in drawing heavy loads. In Somogy there are in every large farm 1 or 2 teams of buffaloes. In Kolozs the buffalo is the draught animal of the small proprietor.

A less happy picture than the breeding of cattle is that of sheep. While the former despite the injuries from infectious

lung disease, exhibits a forward tendency, Sheep-breeding, in the first place of the merino type, shows gigantic retrogression especially with respect to quantity.

This has been occasioned by the bad price of wool. Our sheep-farms are sacrificed to the manufactories, in which everything became cheaper, excepting cloth, and there is only some advance in the finish or dressing of the cloth by means of which poor foreign wool attain the gloss of a better quality.

The merino sheep is gradually disappearing, and there is probably no exaggeration in setting down the diminution of the total by 3 millions since 1884. The improvement in the amount of cattle cannot compensate for this loss, and this circumstance confirms the fact of the diminution of sheep.

If the fact could be apprehended, that with a retrogression to the amount of 10—12 sheep, the amount of cattle increases one, this could be regarded as a gratifying advance, which spoke well for the spread of our intensive farming.

The amount does not decrease, and the quality shows a slow development in the long horn sheep and the so-called *Czigaja* sheep (with the exception of the Hungarian sheep with curved horn). If the circumstances of these has become unfavourable in respect of wool, this is compensated for by the rise in prices for cheese and lambs. The demand for fat animals for the home market has of late somewhat improved the incomes of the farmers depending on this branch.

The sheep for milking are chiefly in the hands of the small farmers. This is a very profitable business in the case where only whey is made from the milk, or the milk is prepared for cheese or preserved milk by the shepherd provided he is clever at his work. Better and more sure is the profit, if the sheep-owner hands over his milk to the cheese-maker for Roquefort cheese, and sweet cheese for making the soft Liptó cheese. The cheese-maker makes out of the large quantity better cheeses of equal quality ; he can enhance their price, and thus secure a greater profit to the sheep-owner.

Milk-sheep with the aforementioned values are chiefly

reared in the N. mountain districts and in the parts beyond the Királyhágó, particularly in the borderlands, where it can be greatly developed by the spread of technical knowledge and the establishment of collective stations in properly chosen spots, but more than all through example and the improvement in the condition of sheep.

The Ministry of Agriculture endeavours to satisfy all these demands, but can make but slow progress, because in the class of population concerned with sheep farming the tendency to association is wanting, and technical knowledge gains but slow entry. The initiative is taken: the value of the best breeding animals is recognised. In the few places where this took place, the establishment of collective stations does not meet with difficulties any longer, and the cheese-maker can procure the material for the beginning of his work.

The question is, over and above milk-sheep farming which has perhaps a future before it — what is to become of the establishments which breed wool-sheep (Electoral-Negretti) and merino-sheep?

Prosperity can scarcely be hoped for, especially for those who breed the cloth wool, because the production of such wools cannot be protected with prohibitive duties, and also for this reason that in consequence of the crisis which has lasted since 1869 there will soon be a complete lack of people who understand the trade, and are thoroughly conversant with the breeding and classification of woolly sheep.

The greatest advance is seen in *pig-breeding*. Considering that 50 years ago in the W. districts, only the smooth bristled Bakony breeds were found, in the E. part only the red bristled Szalonta pigs, and this breed was ejected or transformed by the curly bristled swine, we may see that the farmer must have gone to work in this branch of breeding with intelligence and industry, and that which is a grand principle in breeding: consistency. We have to thank them for the great results they have achieved in pig-breeding.

Pigs are reared in two ways with us. In large farms in

permanent herds, in parishes in herds assembled for the day, which are brought together, and after the animals have picked up what food they can on the common, are again dispersed in the evening, and each beast goes back to its own sty.

The first of these methods is far more advanced than the others. We may say of it that there are no bad swine there, but only good and better. There are breeding places so equally managed that in every 1000 pigs only 3—6 per cent are rejected, and the maturity for pork for the whole herd at fattening time is comprised in an interval of 10—12 days.

Of the second method spoken of the same cannot be said. The daily herds are miscellaneous. There are good and bad animals in them — light, black, blue-black, and crosses of them all. Even the best beasts are not on a level with those of the land holding breeders. Better prices are paid for the latter than for the former.

The former too could easily be improved and equalised, where the curly bristled swine are bred. But it would be necessary that proper boars be furnished, and the breeding concentrated in April.

The breeding of fat pigs is in its infancy. The district is certainly ready in the N. border-counties, for one special variety, i. e. the Polish smooth haired pig, which has already effected an entry in the herds driven there for acorns or for meadow pasture. Yet these swine can with difficulty hold their own, despite the fact that they are bought by dealers concerned with the ham trade e. g. from Kassa.

Many attempts have been made with the rearing of English fat pig. The Berkshire and Yorkshire breeds have been best acclimatised. The American Poland-China breed is spoken highly of by its rearers. In Nagy-Vázsony and neighbourhood, the attempt is made, by crossing with the Yorkshire breed to produce a characteristic type, and breeders think the attempt will succeed.

The pig trade which is connected with swine fattening

has also contributed to the improvement of pig-breeding. Pig-fatteners have established great fattening places, which are at the same time sale markets. The largest of these is at Kőbánya, where of late years 400.000—600.000 animals were fattened yearly. Of these Budapest consumed 177.000 and 350.000 were exported to Austria and other counties.

There are fattening places also in Debreczen, Czegléd, Monor, Kecskemét, Szeged, Szabadka, Barcs &c. Of late the fattening in farms shows great improvement.

Every farm-industry has its good and bad years. As such bad years for the pig-breeding, 1895—96 must be mentioned, in which this branch of breeding suffered in consequence of the swine pest a loss of at least 25—30 million fls.

Two more domestic quadrupeds must be mentioned: the goat and the tame hare. We need say little of the latter. Its flesh is despised as food, and therefore it is not bred. It can only be rarely found, so that even specimens for scientific experiment cannot be obtained in a sufficient quantity. Things are different with the goat, which can be found everywhere. There is scarcely a parish in the land where the swineherd has not 2 or 3 goats. The goat is generally a sign of pauperism, and so there is only cause for congratulation when the ox drives it out. But where there are pastures only profitably by way of goats, and where the animal can do no harm to the woods, it is sometimes very important for human sustenance.

The goat can be found in the largest numbers in the mountain districts, but not the short haired Alpine goat, but the longhaired Carpathian goat, which is handsomer, and stronger, but less productive of milk, than the other.

The breeding of the white haired variety can be more recommended, for it is better paid seeing that the milk has less of the buck flavour.

Poultry rearing which at first sight seems unimportant, deserves particular attention. The amount which poultry breeding brings yearly to the county is from 20 to 25 million

florins. This sum comes chiefly to the smaller farmers and lightens the existence of the poor.

In every peasant's yard there is poultry breeding, also in the farm-yards of smaller landowners. In many parts of the land fowls and geese form the majority. In mountain valleys along rivers waterfowl take the first place. The turkey is only occasionally reared.

Poultry forms without doubt a considerable part of our agricultural property. Our country with respect to its great corn produce, has all the conditions necessary for a successful trade in poultry-breeding, nevertheless farmers have not devoted that interest to this branch of industry which it deserves. They went the old way, quite indifferent to the wishes of consumers, and took no trouble to gain a place in the markets.

There were some advocates of poultry-breeding, who took pains to promote it, and specially three Societies which manifested great activity. They made breeders acquainted with the right methods and by founding exhibitions with the right sort of animals. Finally, they tried to spread the necessary knowledge by means of technical literature. By this means they set a healthy movement in motion, though there was little vital diffusion. Wherefore the minister of Agriculture took action in 1890, and began, though on a small scale, systematic work in this sphere.

The first step was taken by the decision as to what breeds were to be reared and diffused. These were to be: The Emden and Toulouse geese, Bronze turkeys, Plymouth fowls, and for sandy districts the white Brahma fowl.

According to the means at disposal the first three breeding places were furnished with the aforesaid breeds and with the barenecked Transylvanian fowl in order that the capability for acclimatisation and the value of these breeds might be determined. Next four breeding places were established at different parts in order to diffuse the better animals.

The diffusion takes place by gratuitous distribution of pure

breeds, by the assignment of cocks to individual breeders, finally by the interchange of eggs. And inasmuch as government breeding places could not supply the demands laid on them, pure bred fowls were bought at exhibitions and handed over to breeders. The breeding places gradually were enabled to sell birds to the more prosperous breeders.

The same ministry supported the societies which undertook the poultry-breeding, protected the animals against distempers, also endeavoured to develop a literature on the subject and ultimately caused the importation of animals necessary to recruit the breed.

The results of this healthy action are visible already to-day but are still not sufficient.

Fisheries! They were once not what they are to-day. We remember the time when in the fish market of Buda-Pesth the carts of the Tisza fishermen stood. At the end of the cart there was a pair of scales and a poor man for a few pence could buy a kettle full of fish. In the river under the quay the fishing boats stood in a long line full of fish. In middle-class kitchens fish was a cheap food and not a dear dainty.

After the fishing at the lake of Balaton the carts were full of fish, and at the markets of the towns on the Balaton there was the choicest selection. The smaller varieties of fish were fried by hucksters and offered for sale at a moderate price, and offered to working people as cheap food.

It sounds like a fable if we hear an old peasant from Szegvár or Hódmező-Vásárhely tell how at the ebb of the Tisza he armed himself with a hook or with a spear, and stationed himself in the slough and caught the great skate-fish when they swam back in shoals into the Tisza from spawning.

The meadows on the back of the Tisza have disappeared and with them the spawning places. The renters of the fisheries in the Balaton have shut up the river Zala with a palisade so that the fish cannot swim into the small lake

for spawning and there be caught by poachers. Under such circumstances it is not to be wondered that in our rivers and particularly in the Danube the fish have decreased dreadfully. The crabs in our brooks have been exterminated by a sort of pestilence.

Something had to be done in this sphere. The activity of individuals and of society had to be aroused. Those who wished to be of any use had to be provided with the help of experts.

With this object before their eyes and considering that the demand at least in towns must be met as soon as possible and our rivers must be provided with fish-spawn and peopled, the ministry took the step of appointing an inspectorate of fisheries. This had the task of sketching the plans for those who wished to establish a pond-fishery, of supporting them in their execution, of making spawning places of organising breeding and fishing societies.

This inspectorate has for some years been in existence. It proceeds from step to step and will we hope one day reach its goal.

The *silk manufacture* derives its importance from this, that those people of the poorer class who are not of any use for harder and farm-labour can gain a livelihood in a short time by the silk industry.

The first attempts at this were between 1717, and 1832. General Count Claudius Mercy, who in 1734 died a hero's death at Crocetta laboured in the Banat to introduce and found this branch of industry. This is certainly his merit, and in Tolna it is probably to the initiative of his daughter that the first attempts owed their being.

After Mercy's death there was nobody who troubled himself with this apparently trivial industry. The interest disappeared, speculation crushed out any interest and this industry vanished. Only here and there a slight trace was left as evidence of the emulation that once had been. Supported by these traces and recognising the great importance of the matter Count

Stephen Széchenyi took an interest in it. He advised, stimulated, and influenced by his own example labours in this sphere.

He began work at Czenk in Sopron county. At the same time Stephen Bezerédj took it up in Hidja. He was the man who in the south awoke the silk industry to new life. To his activity and influence we owe the plantations of mulberries and also the taste for silk manufacture among the people there. He spared neither pains nor labour in this task and after the death of this true friend of man, Hidja was the only place where for the sake of his memory the matter was not allowed to drop.

None the less the silk industry had reached such decline that even state intervention could not revive it. It would have been lost if Paul Bezerédj the heir of the preceding had not taken up the spiritual legacy which was bequeathed him. In 1880, Bezerédj began to conduct this business and since then he has been unwearied in his promotion of silk manufactures.

The results of his activity are brilliantly shown by the following figures :

In 1879 scarcely a hundred families were engaged in the silk manufacture who altogether produced and sold 2507 kilogrammes of cocoons. In the first year of his activity the ministerial plenipotentiary Bezerédj raised the quantity of cocoons to 10.131 k. In 1895 1,499.845 k. were bought up. During his business life he has paid to poor people who have been concerned with the silk manufacture wages of nearly 13 million florins.

The central point of the silk industry is in Szegzárd, the manufactories are in operation in Ujvidék and Pancsova. Cocoon-stores have been built in 14 places.

The further development of this branch of industry meets with this difficulty — the deficiency in mulberry-leaves; but we may certainly hope that the activity of the plenipotentiary supported by the minister of agriculture will overcome this drawback.

Bee-keeping can also be considered as a small branch of cattle-breeding, since for a small cost and little labour it assures a fair profit to many, provided they understand the matter.

Bee-keeping was carried on in early times. The flowery meadows which once existed in great numbers, pastures and fallow fields, offered rich nourishment to the bees, so that the bee-keeper, found his profit even in the unproductive basket system.

When circumstances changed in time, the basket system which in gathering the honey necessitates the destruction of the bees, proved a great hindrance to development, even in unfavourable seasons bee-breeding was doomed to ruin. Since the bee-breeder concerned himself with his bees only three or four times a year their manner of life, augmentation and feeding were unknown to him, and he was not able to develop bee-keeping.

The best bee-breeders saw this and their efforts went to erect better hives and also to study the biology of the bees, to spread that knowledge and on that basis to carry on bee-breeding in beehives, and to get the honey while sparing the bees. Among these deserving bee-keepers we must mention Nicolas Grand, John Kriesch, and Benedict Göndöcs, who with unwearied zeal won over society for the future activity in this direction and laid the ground for those associations which at present were working with excellent results.

The first task to be done was the spread of better and more copious proceeding, in order that the technical knowledge might find diffusion and adoption by inaccessible classes of small farmers. The ministry of agriculture with the assistance of the minister of education organised the institution of travelling teachers. At present six teachers are at work under the guidance of one instructor to teach better information.

Bee-keepers without means receive loans for the erection of beehives on the proposal of the National society for bee-breeding.

The activity of the travelling teachers is already noticeable, for last year swarms of bees were reared in 54.132 hives. In ordinary bee baskets according to information sent in 253.830 swarms were kept.

Although in relation to the time since which the activity here mentioned has been in operation the results thus far are satisfactory, yet they have not reached that level which in the interest of the matter is to be wished. Yet we have good ground to hope that by the interest of the public, the zeal of the bee-breeding company, and the activity of the travelling teachers bee-keeping will reach in the immediate future that stage of advancement.



Forestry in Hungary.

The total extent of forest-land in Hungary amounts to 15,787.369 yokes, i.e. 9,074.121 Hectares. 13,108.043 yokes belong to Hungary, 2,659 326 yokes to Croatia-Slavonia.

The State forests amount to 2,758.375 yokes, i.e. in Hungary 2,224.640 yokes. in Croatia-Slavonia 533.735 yokes. Of this territory the exclusive forest property of the treasury amounts to 1,959.612 yokes in Hungary and to 500.019 yokes in Croatia-Slavonia ; while the rest serves partly as Alpine meadow-land, partly for purposes of manipulation ; to which 55.741 yokes must be added as infertile ground.

Of the total forest-land 2,010.655 yokes belong to the State, 2,632.526 to the Municipalities and parishes, 849.586 to churches, corporations and individuals, 117.215 to public foundations, 11.355 to private foundations, 957.613 to entailed estates 1,681.559 to joint owners, 254,384 to Joint-stock companies, 4,593.150 yokes to Private proprietors. In Croatia-Slavonia 19·14 per cent of the total Forest territory are State forests, 10·39 per cent in the possession of Municipalities, free towns and independent towns and parishes, 2·43 per cent in that of churches and ecclesiastical bodies, 41·41 in that of joint owners, 1·25. of Joint-stock Companies, 25·38. of private proprietors.

The Royal Ministry of Agriculture conducts the forest business. (S.C. 31. of 1879.) The functionaries for carrying

out the law are : the administrative committees existing in individual municipalities, especially the forest-commissions formed from of three members of each committee ; the royal forest inspectors who control the maintenance of the dispositions and prohibitions of the Forest law. For the state forest the Royal Hungarian forest officers ; and lastly the forest offices who conduct the management of the parish forests, the forests of noble proprietors or of the joint owners, the smaller church forests etc. which are taken under government administration in consideration of the costs of the management being paid by agreement.

The forests cover the greater part of the mountains of the country. On promontories and on plains from where they were cleared away for other purposes of agriculture, we find in but few places connected and extensive forests.

All forests regarded in a geographical, wood-producing and commercial point of view fall into the following five groups :

The first group reach from the mountain country formed and enclosed by the Little Carpathians, the Fehérhegység, the Beskid, the Babia Gura mountain chain, the Eperkes-Tokay mountains, the Bükk, Mátra and Börzsöny mountains south as far as the Danube. The climate is generally temperate. The production variety of wood is copious, and the forests give on an average a very beautiful material of wood of slow growth and excellent quality.

To the second group belong the north-east, south-east, and the Transylvanian counties. Their chief mountains are the hills that enclose the Highlands of Transylvania, the north border-chain of Transylvania with the Czibele group ; the east border-chain with the Gyergyó Group, and the Hargita mountains, the South border chain, the Fogaras snowcapped Hills, the Retyezát, the Karansebes Snow Hills, with the Szemenik group and the metalliferous mountains of the Banat. Higher up the hills of Bihar. The climate in the northern parts, in the S.E. Carpathians of Transylvania, in Beszterczenaszod, and Csik is inclined to cold. Generally it is temperate enough,

may the country of the S. and lower mountains is moderately warm. The Tree production is good. The white fir gives an excellent material in certain parts.

In the third group there are the forests of the great Hungarian Plain. The climate is warm, with a temperature verging to extremes.

The W. forests form the fourth group in the counties right of the Danube. The climate is less inclined to extremes, it is mild and towards S.E. is warm. The conditions of wood production are in general favourable.

The fifth group is formed by the South forests in Croatia-Slavonia and Fiume. The climate on the high hills is cool, on the flat land warm. Wood production good. It grows quickly and evenly. The oak yields excellent French staves, the fir beautiful building material of great dimensions.

The districts occupied in the state forests by the individual classes of wood are in per cents in Hungary, Oak forests 27·88. Beech and other foliage trees, 44·49. Pine forests, 22·63. In Croatia-Slavonia, 21·99, 52·38. and 20·73.

All those varieties of trees are found in the forests, which are indigenous to central Europe.

Before the *forest laws* not only the economic management, but also the maintenance of the woods was almost confided to the forest proprietors alone. And although in forests belonging to the state and to great domains and trustees, systematic management was applied for a long time, the treatment of other forests was with justice stigmatised as bad, on the average. The mismanagement which occurred was chiefly in the waste of wood, and in the neglect of replanting exhausted tracts; besides this in such places, where the soil seemed adapted for farming, very many forests were sacrificed, while in high mountain country the limitless extension and unrestricted use of the right of pasturing, was the cause, why exhausted tracts were not afforested, and many tracts were burnt down for the purpose of creating better pastures.

The reckless destruction of the forests and their application

to pasture purposes, or to meadowland more or less injurious to the land, has been revenged in many places, and posterity had to remedy the errors of their forefathers with great labour and at great expense. Examples of this are the marshy districts along the Danube, Tisza, and the Temes or the gritty lands in lieu of the cut out forests along the Maros: the bald and ravineous districts, in Zolyom and Nógrad. The most remarkable example is the Karst district on the coast of Hungary whose territory destined by nature for forest, has been ruined by the pastures recklessly made by the inhabitants.

The forest law of 1879, agreeably to higher economical interests has declared that those woods, whose land is not adapted to permanent agricultural operations (Agriculture, Pasturage, Gardening, Vineyards) must be maintained, and within 6 years after having been stripped must be afforested. The transgression of these orders can be punished by a fine of 10—100 florins per yoke and per year. On land not absolute fit for forest culture, private proprietors can uproot the forests at their own responsibility.

The law, besides the maintenance of the forests, also exerts its influence on their management, in ordering that those forests proprietors, whose forest is an entail-property, and who are enumerated in § 17. must manage their forest according to an officially approved and systematic plan. A similar necessity is imposed on private proprietors, only in connection with preserved woods, which are to be managed unconditionally according to an officially appointed plan.

The *afforesting of exhausted tracts* is managed by natural or artificial means in several ways, according to the difference of the style of management required by the purposes of the cultivation.

The *afforesting artificially* is managed by seeds or by the plantation of saplings, as a substitution for the afforesting by natural means. A special method of artificial afforesting practised in systematic forest management is afforesting with intervals of farming land, which in some places is effected

on mountains particularly on promontories or flat forests, so that the land may be broken up, worked with the plough or the hoe, and the intervals left in the rows of saplings for 2 to 4 years applied to the production of plants.

An important rôle is played by artificial afforesting in the re-plantation of bare or watery tracts, the filling up of quicksands, the draining of marshes, which works have been undertaken of late years with happy results.

To maintain the taste for afforesting and partly to diminish the burden of the task, the Minister of Agriculture has instituted several schemes. One of these is the distribution of *prizes for Afforesting* among proprietors of such afforested tracts, whose execution of their plan has proved beneficial in respect of public interests. One part of these prizes are given to that individual who has managed the afforesting. The Minister also distributes, in order to promote the taste for afforesting, gratuitous seedlings every year to forest proprietors. From 1883—92, 92,019.000, in 1893, 10,448.000, in 1894. 19,758.000. of such seedlings were distributed.

For the afforesting of bare flats S. C. 26 of 1884 offers a good means to public forestry, touching »the creation of a fund for the buying up of forests«, according to which the sale price of wood of treasury forests which have been sold for reasons of regulation or of management, or for purposes of colonising, is to be applied to the formation of a special fund.

Forest culture adopts special methods in *Preserved forests* and in *forests with quicksands*. Since the ground of such forests is continual need of protection and improvement measures must be taken in their management and utilisation, according to the forest law, with particular caution and care.

Among the universal tasks of forest-culture it is of great importance to apply special care to the production of those sorts of wood, which are indicated by their nature for that care, and are also valuable by reason of great demand.

Such a national species is the Oak, in whose culture in former decades extensive neglect was practised.

Valuable oaks were used in increasing proportion, but no sufficient care was taken for the afforesting of exhausted tracts.

In the afforesting and re-plantation of Oak woods especially in the counties on the far side of the Danube the plantation of the chestnut was also carefully attended to during the last decade, which besides the admirable adaptation of this kind of wood to industrial aims is also recommended by the production of valuable fruit. In high forest ground, where pines used to flourish, the beech has usurped a very extensive domain.

Lately prized varieties of tree are the Acacia and the black Fir. Both varieties are pretty unpretending, and therefor are particularly applied to bridging over quicksands along with the mallow and with the caspian willow among the willow varieties; also to afforesting bare and ravineous tracts with great success.

Along with the cultivation of our domestic trees the necessary attention is paid in the branch of forestry experiment to the acclimatising of *foreign varieties*, with special regard to the fact whether they are worth such treatment.

The care for the *protection of the forests* forms either an administrative task or belongs to the professional department of forest-culture according to the dangers and detriments they are exposed to. For the first the forest law and the government regulations offer a basis, (Forest trespass, forest police offence) while the matters of the second group require a professional treatment, with support from the administration. Such are the damages caused by insects, snow-falls, hurricanes, fire etc.

The *utilisation of the forests* limited itself until the middle of the present century to the supply of wood for the neighbourhood, and was regulated without regard to economical principles reposing on experience and the interests of the future merely by the demand and the local relations which influenced the satisfaction of the same. Only in places where the continuous demand for wood for other branches of industry had

to be met, e. g. in the case of mines, do we find traces from old times which testify to any efforts for maintaining the continuance of the wood supply and regulating the systematic utilisation.

The universal lack of system which otherwise generally prevailed in the management of the woods was decidedly injurious and lead to ruining the condition and to a depreciation in the value of the forests.

That this injury took no great dimensions until 1850, was a consequence of the fact that the means of communication were not fit for transporting the rich and heavy wood material to great distances in those days. Accordingly the demand for wood limited itself to a small amount, and also the trade in wood thrived only on the transport between approximate neighbourhoods. In places, however, where circumstances permitted the cheaper transport of wood — in parts of high forest near navigable rivers — the damage to the forests reached back to the most ancient times.

Since in the beginning of our constitutional era the dispositions of the Austrian forest law only retained their power for Transylvania, while for the rest of Hungary the old laws (1807: 20 and 21. 1840: 9. 1844: 10.) were restored to their validity, the responsible government in the absence of proper means, could do but little in the interest of the maintenance of the woods and the limitation of their exhaustion, and limited itself actually to remedying the complaints which here and there were heard. Although much was to be done in this respect.

Along with the increase in the demand for wood, wood merchants began to bid, first in the forests on the old roads laid down by nature, next in those which had been rendered accessible by the newly made roads and railways; and forest proprietors willingly and heedlessly consigned their forests to the axe almost unlimitedly.

The bad results of the injurious waste of wood in the forests were increased by the immoderate use of the pas-

ture land which was permitted in the forests as only an occasional utilisation. After the axe came the pasturing cattle, and when the former had plundered the costly production and the thrift of the past by a cheap rate of sale and the glutting of the market, the latter ruined the hopes of the future by plucking up the sprouts which had grown up on the trunks of the new forests and had sprung from the seed fall of the old trees. Nay, the use of pasturage, especially in the east of the country, being preferred to the production of wood, thousands of yokes were sacrificed to the fire, in order to increase the pastures after the destruction of the wood.

This was the *picture of forest management in the past times*, which generally is only not applicable to those smaller forests, which were in possession of the state and individual landlords, and were worked according to the demands of principles securing durability.

The apparent results of bad management and the sad forebodings which had proceeded from the discouraging consequences of the errors of past times, matured in 1867 that tendency whose supporters increased not only from professional foresters, but also from forest managers, and which aimed at the reformation of the reckless waste of woods, and the basing of forest management on a solid foundation.

This tendency alone had its good effect. And when by the co-operation of the National Forest Society, founded in 1866 in the interest of the Administration no less than of forestry, and since then ever increasing in power, the forest law was passed in 1879, a thoroughly new era began, in which the permanent maintenance of the land and a continuous economic management of the forests may be regarded as assured, inasmuch as the forest law does not only aim at retaining the land adapted for forest-culture in continual cultivation, but also that the utilisation of the woods as well as their afforesting and management should be conducted on strict principles laid down by the science of forests.

By the *regulation of the quantity of the fellings* not only

the existing supply of wood and the yearly production of the same are taken into account, but also the division of wood production in the point of view of Varieties, of the situation of transport, and of the prices etc. i. e. commercial relations. Thus we have the proportionately greatest deficiency in oaks, which is explained partly by their value of this variety and partly by the circumstance that the oaks are to be found as a rule in easily accessible plains, hilly countries, and promontories. Comparatively less is the deficiency in pines, but here the deficiency of the partially exhausted forests is counteracted by the saving which is apparent in the pine forests which have remained untouched in consequence of the difficulty of communication. On the contrary there is still a great superfluity of Beech, which tree owing to its smaller value is only used to a limited extent. There is on the other side a deficiency in the following valuable trees which seldom form homogenous forests but grow promiscuously among other predominant varieties, e. g. Ash, Elm, Maple, Nut, Chestnut, Linden &c. These admirable varieties of wood for all industrial purposes we are generally felled where they grew, but little attention was paid to domesticate them elsewhere.

- The development of systematic management, and the improvement of commercial relations and the example of the great landowners and the state among them who were inclined to rational measures have brought the older extensive forestry particularly since the passing of the law nearer to intensive management. Once the object of the ground landlord was the production of firewood, while at the present day the pressure of the now cheap coals and the great demand for building wood and the better price of that material has directed attention to the production of building and art wood.

For intensive forestry along with the increase of establishments working up wood for industrial purposes the increase of the number of saw-mills contributed.

Among the *occasional uses of the forest* the most important is pasturage, in so far as it offers a great support to cattle

rearing: a profitable branch of public economy which is carried on to a great degree in the country. The ground landlords however have inflicted a severe blow on forestry, in that they have placed cattle-rearing in the foreground which induces a nearer and more apparent profit and for that reason rented their forests for pasturing purposes.

In weighing economic interests forestry cannot refuse to consider the question how along with the restriction of forest-pasturing the interests of cattle-rearing can find satisfaction in a measure which occasionally exceeds the strict bounds of forestry. This question is answered by the establishment and application of a regulation of pasture forestry according to which new method the necessary wood for the continuous security and improvement of the fertility of the ground is very thinly planted, (0.5—0.8) and so the utilisation of the wood on grounds managed in this new way along with the utilisation of the pasturage in the first place is only employed as a secondary branch.

In the southern districts and especially in Croatia-Slavonia the production of acorns in the oak-woods and here and there in the beech woods which serve to feed swine is an important secondary source of profit and likewise the gall-apple which is employed in tanning.

The collection of the seeds for planting forests was formerly done only in quantities sufficient to satisfy local demands, while of late years in consequence of the re-plantation of woods and the busy afforesting, the collection of seeds was not only more extensive but served as a means to aid in commercial enterprises.

At present *hunting* which up till now was only a pastime has become one of the sources of profit in the forest and it must be acknowledged that the rational breeding of game besides the noble pastime of shooting which it offers can also offer a considerable profit, but in this respect proper moderation should be observed, for great detriment is caused by certain varieties e. g. the higher orders of game and the

hare gnaw off and bark the saplings, and the wild boar turns up the provision of acorns.

The forests of the land lie generally on a good fruit soil; about half the forests lie on excellent fruit soil and the other half on moderate or inferior. Accordingly the relations of growth can be designated as satisfactory.

The *wholesale production* will not only fully satisfy the demand for wood in the land with the advance of rational forestry, but also the requirements of export trade.

The *quality of the products* is also of great importance. The wood production of the land in consequence of its excellent quality in individual articles of commerce is at present fully able to compete with foreign products, and since rational forestry lays great weight on the care and cultivation of the forests and chooses species of wood possessing a better and more costly material and tries to win a place for these instead of the less valuable kinds, we may confidently expect in the future that the wood production of the land not only in relation to the mass of its production but also to the quality of its material will surpass the present production which owing to the errors of the past is not yet quite satisfactory.

In consequence of the slow growth of the forests more favourable condition of circumstances can only come after some time and it wants generally as many years in the future as the employed rotation demands.

The division of our forests *according to the management* and the total yearly output of wood of the forests will be evident from the following table *) :

	Hungary		Croatia-Slavonia	
	yokes	m ³	yokes	m ³
Oak :				
High	1,951.474	3,407.494	515.128	1,018.533
Middle	13,877	—	20.023	—
Low	1,689.636	2,477.648	49.433	137.279

*) For ample details refer to A. Bedő's work »Economical and commercial description of the forests of the Hungarian State«.

Beech and other leaved trees :

High	4,612.491	7,384.670	1,270.453	1,861.396
Middle : : .	35.746	62.234	150.723	197.833

Pines :

High	2,953.828	7,040.191	302.634	526.286
Middle	11.960	34.009	—	—

The conditions of the realisation of wood have not developed proportionately, but from the advance of general farming and commerce they have received a sudden impetus, so that violent changes took place in the conditions of the realisation of forest products. The woods which lie along public roads and those made more easily accessible by new means of communication were opened to merchants and projectors who were quick to buy, and the proprietors, who came upon a hitherto unknown source of income in their woods, surrendered them without consideration at the lowest prices to the dealer who carried on their work with great destruction of wood.

The want of system in forestry was a great prejudice to a proper development of the conditions of realisation and along with the want of professional knowledge the circumstance that the proprietors would not cut down the woods themselves but gave that task to the buyers and assigned to them also the task to make at their own cost all the investments necessary for the transport of the wood.

The crisis of 1873 had likewise an unfavourable effect upon the utilisation of the forest and diminished the prices when they began to improve.

Small sales diminished and with them the number of wood merchants of small capital; and their place was given to purchases based on contracts of long duration, and to the manipulation of dealers who disposed of great capitals.

The beginning of a healthy development of *trade relations* may likewise be set down as from the end of the seventies and still more from the passing of the forest law: not only because the economic development of the land had risen and

in general was more steady than before, in consequence of which no great vacillations could happen in relation to the measure of the demand for wood, while the means of communication were continually improving: but also because with the beginning of the systematic forestry the regulation of the felling set bounds to overproduction in certain places.

In our forests *all methods of valuation* are applied. The tree in the forest is sold, on condition that the buyer must himself provide for the felling and the transport. Or the proprietor manages the felling, the stacking, the grouping (building, cabinet, and firewood), and sells the wood either in the forest or brings it to market in the neighbourhood of certain transport lines. Or finally the proprietor works the wood to half finish, or to complete articles, and brings it as sawn planks, railway sleepers, vinepoles, shingles, fire wood, or charcoal, to market.

Oak has the first place in point of value, which reaches the price of 6 to 10 fls. in South Hungary, 10—16 fls. in Slavonia, the cubic-metre. Its price as building and cabinet wood was 40 to 50 fls. of late years, or even 60 fls. The Carpathian and Transylvanian pines as building and cabinet wood reached a price of 3—6 fls. while the market price of plank was 16—40 fls. The price of leaved-wood varieties for industrial purposes is of 5—10 fls. or even 15 fls, and when sawn they reach almost the price of oak. Such a high price is naturally only paid for wood, when the material is excellent and the market is favourable.

In judging the commercial relations which influence the value, those symptoms are of supreme importance which call forth remarkable fluctuations in import and export.

From 1884—1893 we exported on an average yearly: to Austria 10,650.000 fls., to France 7,550.000 fls., to Germany 4,056.000 fls., to Italy 2,176.000 fls., to Switzerland, Great Britain, Roumania, Belgium and Holland 622.000—247.000 fls. worth of forest products, smaller quantities to Russia, Servia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, and Roumania, to the other

states in the Balkan peninsula and elsewhere. Our total export ran yearly on an average to 27,568.000 fls., our smallest export being in 1886, 20,628.000 fls. and our largest in 1891, 31,311.000 fls.

Among the varieties exported during that decade were staves at 1,373.000 fls., hard sawn wood 3,405.000 fls., tan 2,743.000 fls., soft sawn wood 2,025.000 fls., hard building and cabinet wood 1,522.000 fls., soft 1,263.000 fls., railway sleepers 700.000 fls., gall-nuts 650.000 fls., charcoal 562.000 fls., sticks and tobacco-pipe tubes 411.000 fls. and firewood 362.000 fls.

Besides these we have exported willow-rods, sumac and as transit-article Wallonea, all of which fetched but a small price.

Our import was on an average for 10 years 6,221.000 fls. a year. The smallest in 1886 4,173.000 fls., the largest in 1893 9,692.000 fls. Most valuable was soft sawn wood 3,263.000 fls., soft building and cabinet wood 770.000 fls., staves 800.000 fls. Soft sawn wood reached the highest level in 1893 (5,563.000 fls.), soft building and cabinet wood in 1892 (1,320.000 fls.), and staves in 1891 (1,864.000 fls.).

Of late years the new French customs tariff has caused the greatest fluctuations. During its discussion in 1891 our export rose from 7,283.000 fls. to 11,301.000 fls., for dealers were anxious to use the rates then existent, to the full. With the introduction of the new customs tariff, the export sank suddenly to 5,423.000 fls. But since the materials of export are important and indispensable articles, the export increased anew in the following year and exceeded in 1893 the average export of the 10 years mentioned.

Our import shows of late (from 1886 onwards) a steady rise, in which Galician pine is the leading article. Since the production of the Carpathian woods could not supply the demand, and the Transylvanian wood could not be brought into the interior in sufficient quantities owing to the difficulties of transport, the sudden demand secured a new market for the Galician wood, which the Galicians tried all the more

to occupy, inasmuch as they had meanwhile lost the good markets of Germany.

Since the constitutional government has applied special care to the improvement of *means of transit*, in the economic interests of the land, very happy results ensued on the development of the state railways and the extension of water communication, by the regulation of rivers. The ramifications of the transport lines are sufficiently extended nowadays. If only the construction of vicinal railways which has lately commenced in a very promising dimension for the purpose of connecting the leading lines with one another and with remote districts, will be carried on in proper proportion, forestry, which is vastly hindered by difficulties of traffic, would take a step nearer intensivity, particularly if the carriage rates on railways were more cheaply arranged for sortments supplying a need of the first importance, but possessing only a small market price.

Waterways, which are formed of the upper part of great rivers and the tributaries which cleave their basin, as secondary means of transport, were from the earliest times concerned with the transport of forest products. Since then they have been adapted in a great measure by regulation of the rivers, and by water-works made in the interest of the facilitation and security of transport to bring to market the wood of otherwise inaccessible forests. Very churlish are the relations of high forests with respect to *roads for carriage traffic*. The reason of this is that the proprietors of the forests, who sell their wood on the ground, do not trouble themselves to improve the means of transport, while the buyers concern themselves only with the making of temporary roads, and have adapted their durability and direction not to the universal interest of forestry, but to their own advantage. The forest law has very important provisions in relation to the transport of forest products.

In the present state of development of forestry where the proprietor only carries on to a very small degree the

troublesome and fatiguing work of felling, preparing and transporting, but leaves this to the dealer or the contractor who buys the wood on the stock, the relations of the people who are compelled to do forest work are awaiting for improvement. This improvement however will come sooner or later with the development of forestry and the attainment of greater intensivity. At any rate there is no doubt that forestry since it offers occupation and continuous earning to a people living under unfavourable natural conditions, plays a great rôle in our national economy even to-day. This is proved incontestably by the fact that the population of such places, in which the practice of forestry offering occupation and livelihood is limited or neglected for certain reasons, are impoverished and compelled to migrate or move into other regions.

Pay varied of late years in individual forest districts of the land between the following limits. The pay of constant workmen was of 40 kr. to 1 fl. and of occasional, 60 kr. to 1 fl. 20, in works which require great experience and cleverness 1 fl. and 1 fl. 50.

The forest law did not only aim at preserving the woods but also for systematic management which secured a permanent utilization, when it ordered that all forests with the exception of those in private hands should be managed after a systematic plan.

Systematic forest management is elaborated in more or less detail according as the forest in question is more or less adapted to intensive working which is particularly influenced by the extent of the forest, its position, its economic condition, by local traffic and value i. e. its commercial relations. The competent minister of agriculture has made orders with regard to this in a special decree. According to this decree in forests of small extent which cannot be worked intensively considerable facilities are allowed.

The minister can relieve forests of very small extent from the obligation to pursue a systematic treatment. This obligation extends to all other forests specified by art. 17 of the forest

law (with the exception of private property.) If however a private proprietor manipulates his forest according to an approved plan of management, all the benefits are extended to his private forest which art. 16 of the forest law secures to the forests managed according to an approved systematic plan and which consists in this, that the parish tax should be fixed only in proportion to the half of the direct tax.

Preserved forests specified by art. 2 of the law must be managed according to systematic plan without regard to the title of the proprietor. This plan must be sketched out by the proprietor. If he neglect this the forest commission of the administrative committee makes a report to the minister of agriculture at the proposition of the forest inspector and the minister fixes the management of the forest agreeably to the proposed plan. If by the management made on basis of the thus fixed plan the utilization of the forest appears to be considerably lessened for the benefit of public interest or of that of the protected neighbouring forests, or if such management shows a positive loss, the proprietor of such forest is granted an abatement or an exemption of taxes (for 5—10 years).

In consequence of the regulation of feoffs in the second half of this century extensive tracts of forests came into the hands of the people who understood little or nothing of how to manage them. These forests with the advance of economical life were used too much, and through the immoderate pasturing were injured while little care was given to their maintenance.

To remedy the prejudicial results and to improve the economic condition of the parish co-proprietorship and of other similar small properties S. C. 31, of 1879, placed all such forest lands under state control and ordered their administration to be made according to systematic plan by professionally trained foresters.

This way of management could not satisfy economic interests and where it still subsists there is cause for complaint,

for properties lying separate for the sake of economy were united to extensive districts whose administration one forester could hardly undertake ; further because the proprietors themselves as a rule must care for the arrangement of the woods for management ; in the case of scantily paid offices changes are frequent, and since the places remain some times unoccupied the order of administration is frequently interrupted etc.

In consequence of the complaints which made themselves felt and in order that the conditions of forestry might be thoroughly improved in forest properties which though small in themselves yet form together an important factor in the economy of the land and that their systematic administration might be secured with the greatest profitableness, the state forest management declared itself inclined to undertake the administration of the woods on easy terms. In settling these conditions, the interest of the proprietor and the general interest took first place in consideration, so that the administration of the state forests is generally speaking a sacrifice.

Till the end of 1895 besides the forests of the Fehértemplom co-proprietors and the woods round the late Naszód districts, the parish-syndicate-church and school forests in the districts of 32 municipalities were taken under state management besides these the forests of 5 free towns, a town with ordered magistracy, an independent parish syndicate forest and several fee-tail forests, whose extent amounts to almost 2 million yokes. In forestry according to the forest law forestwards professionally trained and with proofs of their professional skill must be appointed with the exception of private forests.

For the training of foresters there is the forest *academy* in *Selmeczbánya* founded 1807. After the production of testimonials on the prescribed branches of instruction and after two years practical service the students must pass a general forest examination.

As ordinary pupils in the forest academy only those are received who possess a proof of maturity from the gymnasium or the upper polytechnical school, for the public examination only

those are admitted who in the academy or in similar home or foreign institutes have passed the examination in the subjects prescribed for ordinary pupils, and then have had practical experience without interruption for two years. The qualifications necessary to foresters according to forest law demand unconditionally that the pupils should pass the examination in Hungary, (at present in Budapest). In Croatia-Slavonia there is a school of forestry at Kőrös which is only adapted to elementary education. For a long time past it has been intended to raise this school to a higher level. The education of forestwards is either theoretical and practical or only practical. For the first there are four professional schools. In the curriculum of these institutes that object is aimed at that pupils leaving the institute may be employed as forest managers in small forests, concerning which S. 22 of the forest law permits the union of the office of an administrator with that of a ward. These as well as those individuals trained in practice during a service of at least 3 years are only regarded as fully qualified if they have satisfactorily passed the forest examination.

The National Forest Society founded 1866 serves for extending forest interests in the field of social life, supporting the development of professional science, spreading technical knowledge in larger circles and for securing the interests of foresters. The union of forces in this society resulted in its quick and powerful development so that at present it possesses a fortune of about 350.000 florins and numbers 2.100 members, and secured against any occurrences exercises the utmost activity in the discharging of its functions.

This activity extends besides professional functions to the support of its members. The members who have fallen into distress, the widows and orphans of dead members, receive yearly considerable support from the resources of three benefit funds which possess a total capital of nearly 50.000 florins. Another fund with a capital of 13.500 florins serves to support out of its resources two sons of members during their studentship in a forest academy with yearly stipends of 300 florins.

Mining and Metallurgy.

In some districts of Hungary, the first traces of mining lead us back to the period of fable.

The stone implements which have been brought to light in excavations are undoubtedly the witnesses to primitive mining since searching for hard stones easy to be split and fit for stone implements, and the practise of their softening with fire was the first practical hint for penetrating the mineral world.

The virgin gold which is found in quartz and other minerals, the virgin copper which is often seen in copper lodes in Hungary could not long escape the attention of the miners who handled unknown metals in the fire, as they were accustomed to do with hard stone, until a more or less extensive period of experimenting led them to the manner of utilising the same.

The next step was the continuous heating of the ore-bearing stone in the furnace in which the metal contained in the ore, agreeably to the nature of the mineral, was changed to a more or less solid metal. This was the first attempt in the domain of metallurgy.

In Hungary copper and iron are often found in the same place.

Both are dark brown and heavy, especially on the surface of the layers. Both copper and iron could therefore be melted,

either separately or together. The manipulation of the first was well known from virgin copper. There was not the same familiarity with iron. This knowledge came later, either from foreigners or in the course of travels connected with the traffic in copper, and in stone and copper implements. The once rich supply of copper in our land was favourable to the exportation of copper to distant lands, east and west, and this led to the introduction of bronze-industry.

With the more extensive use of Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron and Bronze, mining took greater dimensions, and when by the aid of iron tools perforations could be made into the interior of the mountains, mining became more systematic.

And when the Romans in their universal conquests in Pannonia and Dacia continued the industry in the mines they already discovered, they raised these branches of labour and metallurgy to a high level by means of their better tools and more thorough knowledge. But the metal and iron industries which had developed to a tolerable perfection were ruined by the inroad of the Huns, and could not revive under the longer and more peaceful rule of the Avars, so that at the time of the conquest of the country by the Hungarians mining stood at a very low ebb here, and was only occasionally practised.

The stormy troublous years which followed the conquest were still less favourable to mining. In the wearisome ravaging wars the leaders and princes of the land had at their disposal gold and arms made abroad, and paid little attention to home mining. Only when organisation of the state under St. Stephen created a certain order in public life and Hungarian silver money came into use, many foreigners who had settled here, encouraged by royal patents and privileges undertook the working of our metallurgic riches.

With mining for the precious metals, that of copper and iron also developed, owing to their organic connection; and since our Kings recognised the economic and political importance of metallurgy, they extended and confirmed it by privileges granted in the 12th 13th 14th and 15th centuries,

and likewise by the enactment of statutes regulating mining and laws influencing our mining for centuries.

To this must be added the momentous application of powder to blowing up rocks, which took place in Selmeczbánya for the first time in Hungary in 1627.

Another advance, not less important, was the pumping of water out of the depth of mines by means of machines. In Selmeczbánya in 1751 such a machine was set up.

Systematic mining on scientific principles was created by the School of Miners founded in Selmeczbánya in 1763 by Queen Maria Theresa. Technical literature extended the knowledge of its principles to wider circles.

Delius the first Hungarian professor of mining published such works as we have mentioned (1773 and Born 1774).

Metallurgy was almost the only industry in Hungary up till the end of the 18th century which possessed the character and weight of a great industry. In time it not only furnished a basis for many other branches of industry, but served as the start of much scientific research connected therewith.

Mining in Hungary is concerned, apart from iron, preeminently with the precious metals, i.e. gold and silver.

Hungary is the richest gold producing country in Europe. Its main place of production is in the metalliferous mountains of Transylvania.

The Venetian Ambassador in the 16th century writes that »the mines of gold, silver, salt &c. employ 3000 workmen, and that the King, if he wished, could draw as much income from them as from all his other lands put together«.

Gold is also found in tolerably large quantities in the districts of Selmeczbánya, Körmöczbánya and Nagybánya.

These districts have played since ancient times an important part in gold-production, nay, they had at their disposal mints of their own.

The papal Legate who estimates the income of King Matthias in 1480 adds that there were 4 mints, one in Nagybánya,

which yielded 20.000 gold and silver pieces yearly. Szeben yielded 6.000, Körmöcz 12.000 and Buda 6.000 Ducats.

The gold veins in Transylvania are found chiefly in eruptive stones (Trachyte, Greenstone, and Dacite) more seldom in crystalline lamina, Chalk, and Sandstone; sometimes containing virgin gold in very beautiful specimens (Verespatak, Bucsum, Kajanel, Rudna, etc.) sometimes gold in combination with sulphur and tellurium.

112 enterprises are concerned with the production of gold. The most extensive of these are the Treasury Company of Nagyág, the Orlay Szent Kereszt Mine in Verespatak, the Rudna 12 Apostles Mine, the Muszár Mine in Brad, the 1st Transylvania Limited Liability Company Goldmine in Boicza, the Kajaneler Mining Company, the Bucsum »Concordia«, the Vulker »Péter-Paul«, the Nagyalmás »Holy Trinity« Mining Company &c.

The buying and the melting is managed by the Royal Zalatna Foundry.

Among the *Silver* mines that of Selmezbánya takes the first place. It is a very interesting trachyte district. The mineral which contains the ore is on the Selmech side Greenstone trachyte, on the Hodrus side Syenite. The veins are almost parallel and contain besides auriferous Silver: Lead, Copper, Tin and Iron and Sulphur Dross. Mining concerns are: The Royal Hungarian Treasury (94 kilogrammes of gold, 4766 k. of silver yearly, and with redemption 442 kilogrammes of gold and 28.882 k. of silver). The Joseph John Geramb mining company (63 gold, 9021 silver) whose mining premises are erected at Hodrusbánya in excellent style; the St. Michael Mining Co (12 Kilogrammes of gold, 137 of silver, &c.

A large royal central smelting work exists in Selmezbánya, a smaller private foundry at Bélabánya.

The ore-bearing stone in the Körmöcz Mining district is Groundstone trachyte, which is so far different from that in Selmezbánya that it contains less chalk. Its veins are divided into two groups: the chief vein, whose composition is

Quartz, and the Sigismund-George veins, which are formed besides Quartz of Antimony, Pyrite and Fine Gold.

Besides the treasury (22.5 kgs. of gold, 108 kgs. of silver) the mine proprietor Dr. Arnold Rapaport works a mine in combination with exploration (38.5 kgs. gold, 30 kgs. silver).

In Upper Hungary there is an unimportant mine in Aranyidka (County Abauj-Torna) with a yearly yield of Silver of 1735 kgs.

The metalliferous mountains of the mining district of *Nagybánya* consisting of several kinds of Trachyte stone, extends in a long line of 200 kilometres from Nagy-Szőllős to Bukovina. The veins embedded in Greenstone trachyte are composed of several sorts of Quartz. Brown spar, Heavy spar, and chalk spar are found in places, in which Gravel, Virgin Gold, Virgin Silver, Red Silver ore, Grey copper, Galena, Antimony, Copper Gravel etc. are found.

The Royal Treasury works a celebrated mine in *Nagybánya*, in the district of Kereszthegy and Veresviz; in *Felsőbánya*, *Kapnikbánya*, and *Radna* (300 kgs. gold, 3760 kgs. silver). The last year's output of three private firms amounted to 99 kgs. gold and 149 kgs. silver.

Royal foundries are in *Fernezelye*, *Kapnikbánya*, *Radna*, and *Oláh-Láposbánya*.

The *amount and the changes of our gold and silver production* in the last decades are shown best by the following table:

	G o l d		S i l v e r		Total
	Kilogrammes	Value in Florins	Kilogrammes	Value in Florins	Value fls.
1867	1.827.3	2,467.880	27.113.0	2,440.186	4,908.066
1875	1.576.9	2,199.881	21.235.0	1,911.207	4,111.088
1880	1.804.1	2,237.675	17.440.0	1,569.943	3,807.618
1885	1.719.3	2,364.350	16.671.6	1,449.855	3,884.205
1890	2,131.6	2,973.042	17.049.7	1,599.907	4,590.947
1893	1.698	2,790.222	23.631	2,120.052	4,910.274

The continual increase of gold production since 1880 is the result of the chemical and technical modifications connected with the gold production in Transylvania.

The decline in silver production is due to the general fall of the price of silver.

There is at present *a mint* only in Körmöczbánya. Since 1832 this has been supplied with 16 Uhlhorn Stamping machines.

The first Hungarian money was coined by King Stephen in silver with his own name and royal title, and his successors exercised the same prerogative. This privilege has never been conferred on either ecclesiastical or political dignitary.

From St. Stephen to the time of Andrew II. the stamping took place on square plates with a hammer, and then the medal was cut round, about the stamp with shears. For this reason the old Hungarian money is so beautiful and provided with a perfect central point. From 1661 to 1710 a cylinder machine replaced the hammer, and from 1710 the screw-machine came into use, which along with other machines is still employed at the present day.

Lead production generally goes hand in hand with silver production, their manipulation being closely connected. Their ores also are generally found together. The market price of lead has fallen much of late, but this has exercised no influence on the amount of the output.

In 1867, 15.483 meter-cwts. of lead were produced, which were sold at an average price of 20 fls. 86 kr. the meter-cwt. In 1885 the production rose to 39.675 met-cwts. In 1893 it sank again to 23.135, although the average price fell to 13 fls. 88 kr.

Copper is at present exclusively produced as a companion product in gold and silver production. Copper-mining was once very remarkable in Urvölgy, (county of Szepes) and in the Csik-Szentdomokos mines. But after the price of copper having undergone extraordinary fluctuations, sank from 90 fls. to 51 fls. coppermines got into a critical state, and ceased working. The production of 1867 amounted to 23.817 Meter-cwts. at 2,079.432 florins: 88 fls. 30 kr. the 100 kilogrammes; of 1893 3431 Met. cwts. 174.772 florins: 51 fls. 60 kr. the 100 kilogrammes.

Of the other representative metals of the mines of our country, we must mention *Antimony*, *Cobalt*, *Nickel*.

Antimony is produced particularly in the counties of Zólyom and Liptó and in Bánya in Vas county.

The total year's output in raw and refined antimony is very variable: whilst between 1886—1890 it did not exceed 2000 meter-cwts. on an average, in the years 1891, 1892 and 1893 the output was of 8000—9000 meter-cwts.

The low price of Antimony which has sunk from 93 fls. to 46 fls. since 1880 checks the development of this industry.

Cobalt and *Nickel* beds are in Dobsina (County of Gömör). The ores have formed for years the subject of a rich export trade to England, though since the discovery of the monstrous bed in New-Zealand, this branch of trade is doomed to ruin in Hungary. In 1893 there were only 33.904 kilogrammes of Cobalt and Nickel mixture produced, of the value of 12.219 florins.

The great rôle which the mineral treasures of Hungary have played, which reaches back to the early middleages has declined year by year more and more in proportion as the highest factors of modern culture: Iron and Coal occupied the foremost place in European mining.

The most important representatives of our wealth in iron ore we find again in the mountains of Transylvania. Above Vajda-Hunyad, beginning from the district of Telek we can follow past Ploczkó for a mile and a half together the bed of the purest brown and red ironstone, which at Gyalár, embedded between mica and chalk, attains a thickness of 90 to 120 metres. The iron contents of this ore amounts to 45 to 55 per cent. For its manufacture there are 4 furnaces in Vajda-Hunyad and 1 in Govasdia with a production of raw iron of 800.000 Met. cwts.

From the Telek establishments the iron ores are forwarded to Kalán, where with a blast furnace 100.000 m.-cwts. of raw iron are produced.

The iron ores of Ploczkó are forwarded to Nadrág through the Nadrág Iron Company (County of Krassó-Szörény).

The most important iron beds in the county of Krassó-Szörény are in the territory of Moravicza and Dognácska. The first are Magnetised Ironstones with 45 to 50 per cent of iron. The latter are brown and red ironstones with 35 to 40. p. c.

All these ores form the property of the Austro-Hungarian Railway company, and serve for the feeding of 2 blast furnaces in Dognácska, 2 in Anina, 1 in Bogsán and 3 in Resicza. The yearly output amounts to 700.000 meter-cwts. of raw iron. Smaller and partly exhausted beds are worked by the Brassó company in this country for their Ruszkicza furnace, the yearly output of which is 32.000 meter-cwts. of raw iron.

The Vashegy and Rákos group of beds is of imposing importance in Gömör county. Lying in an extent of 4600 metres, and from 4 to 30 metres thick, rich brown and spar ironstone is worked for the following furnaces, which melt them mixed with other iron ores.

Likér, 3 furnaces, Nyustya, 1 furnace with a yearly output of 700.000 meter-cwts. (Rima-Murány and Salgó-Tarján Iron works Company Limited.) Tiszolcz, 2 furnaces 152.000 meter-cwts. of raw iron (Royal Treasury) Chizsoniz, 3 furnaces, 62.000 meter-cwts. raw iron.

A prominent mining is in Gömör county for Spar and Brown ironstone, in Dobsina, Oláhpatak, Felső- and Alsó-Sajó, Gócs, Henczko, Rudna, Rozsnyó, Krasznahorka-Váralja, Dernő, Lucska, &c. The raw production is accomplished by 2 furnaces in Dobsina, in Oláhpatak 1, Sajó 1, Gombaszög 1, Betlér 2, Berzété 1 and Szalócz 2. In Csetnek 2, Henczkó 1, Sztraczena 2, Dernő 1, Lucska 1, altogether 17 furnaces with a yearly output of raw iron of 700.000 meter-cwts.

In the *county of Szepes* the Kotterbach is one of the most important beds of Spar ironstone, which is the property of the Moravian-Vitkovitz Iron Manufactory. In the possession of foreigners are also the greater part of the ironstone works in Rostok, and the Bindt-Zsakarocz Iron beds. The Archduke Frederick works the latter for his Trzyniecz Iron Foundry.

The ironstone in Klippberg is worked in Krompach in 2 blast

furnaces: that of Knollhegy in Sztraczena, of the Rostok and Ó-Viz mines in Merény: of Prakfalva, Helczmanócz, and Remete in Prakfalva in 1 blast furnace. Lastly a part of the Metzenzef and Jászó ores in the Jászó furnace.

In the county of Szepes are at present 5 blast furnaces of small dimensions with a yearly raw production of 117.000 meter-cwts.

In *Borsod county* the rich ironstone mines in Telek and Rudóbánya are the property of the Borsod mining company. They send 1,600.000 meter-cwts. to foreign, 160.000 m.-cwts. to home ironworks.

A small quantity of ironstone is elsewhere found: in the counties of Arad, Bihar, Bereg, Zólyom, Liptó, Abauj-Torna, Nógrád, Zemplén and Ung. These ores are manufactured in several small furnaces of primitive construction.

The *total output of raw iron* in Hungary, which was 1,400.000 meter-cwts. in 1867, 2,400.000 mc. in 1885, and 3,200.000 mc. in 1893, can be set at 3,500.000 mc. at the least in 1894—95, owing to the new process.

The working and manufacture of raw iron is almost exclusively conducted in Hungarian manufactories. About 300.000 m.-cwts. are in the form of cast iron brought to market; the remainder is sent to iron and steel refineries for manufacture.

Among *refineries and mills* we may mention:

The Rimamurány-Salgótarján Iron work company, which put its output in Salgótarján, Ozd, and Nádas at 830.000 m.-cwts.

The Resicza and Anina Refinery and Mill of the Austro-Hungarian State Railway with a yearly output of 540.000 m.-cwts.

The Diósgyőr Royal Hungarian Iron and Steel manufactory with an output of 490.000 meter-cwts.

The Refinery and Mill of the Royal Treasury in Zólyom-Brezó and Kudsir with an output of 350.009 m.-cwts.

Principally concerned with the production of commercial varieties iron and rolled plates are:

The Zólyom Iron and Iron plate manufactory with a yearly output of 85.000 meter-cwts.

The Prihradny Iron Company, in Bikás with 65.000, and the Brassó Co. in Nádorhegy with 48.000 meter-cwts.. The Ironworks of Prince Philip of Sax Coburg Gotha in Pohorella and Nándorhutta with 35.000 meter-cwts.

The Nadrág Iron Company with 30.000 meter-cwts.

Inconsiderable small foundries are in Prakfalva, Boros-Sebes, Dézna, Szent-Keresztbánya, Kabolapojána, Dolha-Róka-mező, Munkács, Kassa-Hámmor, Felső-Remete, Toroczkó with a total output of 35.000. m. cwts.

The total output was in

1867		692,000 mc.
1881		1,077.870 »
1885		1,600.000 »
1893		2,480.000 »
1895		2,600.000 »

with a value of 31¹/₂ millions.

These figures give a brilliant proof of our advance in Iron production and also offer some information on the extension and the processes of modern technical art, which have been introduced into our iron works at the cost of investments of many million florins.

Regenerative Gas heating is everywhere used in the process of refining and welding. For the production of ingot iron and steel (over 2 million mc.) 2 Bessemer works, 1 Thomas Establishment and in most places Siemens Martin's furnaces are in use.

Reversible rolling mills of 1—3000 horsepower serve as rollers for railway rails and bearers. Nail-making, carriage and waggon axle-making, the making of tires, and iron of all sorts of construction etc. are actively engaged in.

Feverish activity and strenuous opposition to foreign competitions characterise our foundry industries to-day.

Coal is found in almost every geological formation in Hungary, from the black coal formation to the newest tertiary brown coal. Our oldest coal is in Sopron county.

The layers of brown coal (10 to 12 m. thick) lie there

on Mica-schist, covered by tertiary strata. The yearly output is 682.000 meter-cwts.

The Lignite beds of Count Nicolas Eszterházy (2—10 m. thick) in Lajta-Ujfalu belong to the Miocene formation, 1,027.350 m.-cwts. yearly output.

The Esztergom Coal district is worked by three companies.

The strata of Eocene and Oligocene formation are in places 1·8—3·5 m. thick (Csolnok, Annavölgy — the oldest mine — belong to the Coal and Brick company) in places 11 m. thick (Uj-Dorog, the same company). The possible output of the company amounts to 2·5 million meter-cwts. yearly.

The Trifail Coal Company produces in its own and in the rented pits of Dorog, Tokod, and Szarkás 2,010.165 m.-cwts. of Brown Coal.

The North Hungarian united Coal and Industrial Company Limited employs in its beds 1·25 m. thick of Oligocene, and 9·12 m. thick of Eocene, 300 workmen and produces yearly 3,700.000 meter-cwts. of brown coal.

In Nagykovácsi the Zwierzina's Mine Company produces in six beds 3 m. thick 117.000 meter-cwts. of brown coal.

In Veszprém county, in Ajka, in the middle and upper chalk-formation 3 of the coal pits are 2—3 m. thick.

The Vienna Coal Industrial Company produced there in 1893, 1,146.000 meter-cwts.

The Coal districts of the *counties Nógrád and Borsod*, by means of their geographical position are important factors in the development of our national industry. Of the mining companies the most important are, — The Salgó-Tarján: The North-Hungarian, The Rimamurány Salgó-Tarján, the Diósgyőr royal steel factory, The first Hungarian Universal, and the Brothers Radvánszky's.

The massive conchoidal Brown Coal of Salgó-Tarján is of Neocene formation.

The valuable seam is 1 to 2·5 m. thick.

Of the coal varieties of Borsod county several belong to the dull friable Brown Coal class. Their seams are 1 to 3·5 m.

thick. The total production of the mines enumerated amounted in 1893 to 18,828.123 meter-cwts.

In the *counties Baranya and Tolna* are 25 seams of coal recognised as belonging to the Lower Lias. 9 are worth working 1 to 3 m. thick in the territory of Pécs, Szabolcs, Somogy, Vasas, Tolna-Váralja, and Nagy-Mányok in the possession of the Danube Steamboat company.

Yearly output 5,413.917 meter-cwts. of coal, 341.890 meter-cwts. Briquettes, and 31.885 meter-cwts. Coke.

In *County Krassó-Szörény* there are the Black Coal works of the Austro-Hungarian State Railway company in Székul (coal formation) in Doma, and Stajerlak-Anina (Lias formation).

The four seams of Székul are 1—2 m. thick; in Doma 1.3 m. thick; in Stajerlak-Anina out of 5 seams one or two are 1.3—3.2 m. thick of excellent coal.

In Mehadia there is a brown coal seam, 7 m. thick, neocene, belonging to the Austro-Hungarian State Railway Co. with 37.000 meter-cwts. yearly output.

In Drenkova 300.000 meter-cwts. are produced in the three Coal seams of Lias formation belonging to the Guttmanns.

In Ujbánya near Eibenthal there is a thick Anthracite coal seam 20—40 m. thick, and in the parish of Vercserova a seam of brown coal 42 m. thick.

In the coal supply of *Transylvania* the mighty coal basin of Zsilvölgy, oligocene, takes first rank, its extent being 48 kilometres in a breadth of 6 kilometres. Of 22 coal seams 8 are worth to be worked. Their thickness is 1.30 m.

The yearly production of the Salgotarján Coal Co. amounts up till now to 2,344.340 meter-cwts. of the Urikány-Zsilvölgy Coal Co. 917.250 meter-cwts.; of the Zell and Arzt Coal Cos. 80.000 meter-cwts.

In the environs of Baróth the Erdővidék Mining Co. possesses 3 Lignite beds. The highest is 9.4 m. thick, and is worked with a production of 383.430 meter-cwts.

In the neighbourhood of Egeres the Brothers Sigmond have

produced 350.000 meter-cwts. of Brown Coal from a seam 1 m. thick, of oligocene formation.

The total coal output is in

1867	7,371.400	m.-cwts.	value	2,421.083	Florins.
1885	25,583.635	»	»	9,210.651	»
1893	38,948.861	»	»	14,826.447	»

Salt is a monopoly in Hungary, for this reason the working of it is undertaken solely by the treasury.

Salt-mining formed from ancient times a rich source of income to our Kings, and contributes to-day over 13 millions to the treasury. The Salt beds in the newer tertiary strata are in the Counties of Alsó-Fehér, Kolozs, Torda-Aranyos, Szeben, Szolnok, Doboka, Mármaros, Bereg, Ung, Zemplén, and Sáros in great extent, and of an open thickness of 40 to 200 metres. Places of production in Transylvania are, Maros-Újvár, Deés-akna, Torda, Parajd, Vizakna; in the county of Mármaros, Akna, Szlatina, Rónaszék, Sugatag. In Sáros county Soóvár (salt distilled from saturated salt-water).

The year's output in 1894, with 1123 workmen, was 1,242.634 m.-cwts. of Rocksalt.

73.767	»	»	Salt Bar.
41.514	»	»	Commercial Salt.
273.528	»	»	Flour Salt.
61.370	»	»	Bay Salt.

i.e. 1,692.813 meter-cwts. of the value of 13,668.540 florins.

The *relations of the working classes* are tolerably favourable in the mining operations of our land, both as to their numbers and as to their technical skill. In some districts especially in coal mines there is a want, in workmen now and then but this is merely temporary and is principally supplied by the overflow from other districts. Strikes are rare.

The relation between capital and labour is regulated by statutes, approved by the officers of the mines which have to deal with capability of workers and overseers, the employment of women and children, time of work, wages, treatment, aid in sickness, care, cases and manners of punishments and dismissal.

The total mining and foundry districts (except salt) employed in 1893, 57.132 workmen.

The proportion of employment and in individual mining districts is as follows.

	men	women	children	
Budapest	9.449	504	420 +	10.375
Besztercebánya .. .	8.907	78	828 +	9.813
Szepes-Igló	5.539	345	745 +	6.529
Nagy-Bánya	4.187	187	867 +	6.241
Oravicza	7.561	347	1.479 +	9.387
Zalatna	13.062	149	1.295 +	14.506
Zágráb	1.239	16	26 +	1.281
Total ..	49.944	1.528	5.660 =	57.132

Quot of these 11.625 individuals, that is 20.3 per cent with the treasury, 79.7 per cent in private companies, found employment.

Among these workmen occasional day-labourers, forest workmen, who serve the purposes of mining and foundry industry such as woodcutters, charcoal burners, watermen, also the carmen who transport the products of the mines and foundries whose number must be set down at a total of 15.000, are not taken into account. The daily pay is from 60 kr. to 1 fl. 90 kr. for men, 20 to 60 kr. for women and children.

In most mines and foundries the payment is by agreement; in this case the earnings are considerably better according to the industry and cleverness of the workmen.

Smaller pay is customary in metal mines, larger in coal pits and ironworks. In mines the length of work is eight to ten hours, in foundries twelve hours.

If the factory is some distance from a parish or a town the workmen receive in the colonies of the company cheap or free lodgings. In such cases there is a school kept up by the company, sometimes a nursery and according to the character of the company a Sunday school and an apprentice school. In most cases committees take care of the cheap supply of provision for the workers and employes.

To support the workmen in case of illness and inability to work there are funds to which the workmen according to their earnings and in most cases also the companies are bound to contribute.

The property of the poor funds amounted at the end of 1893 to 9,016.633 florins. Every workman therefore is allotted to 163 florins.



Industry.

He who intends characterizing the present state of Hungary's industry can do so best by simply stating the fact that, industrial activity of the old system is about to cease and that modern industry is fast gaining ground, to which many enterprises of importance amply testify.

If we compare old fashioned industrial works, which cannot possibly subsist with the present direction of economical development, with the extension of Hungarian industry taken in the modern sense of the word, we may perhaps find that the number of tradesmen was relatively greater in olden times when the word *trade* was identical with the word *industry*. But if we look at the existing modern developments, then — although this country is far from having attained that degree of industrial production, to which it ought to and to which it will arrive — we must admit that, both with respect to the invested capital and to the quantity and quality of production, our modern industrial activity has filled up in many ways the void which — if we may say so — arose by the disappearance of the industrial world of the middle ages. And those who judge in this way must not even heed what progress our industry has made, or how the number of our industrial undertakings has increased especially during these last five years.

This old Hungarian industry had two chief characteristics

one of which was that it only worked to satisfy the most immediate want, and the other that — through lack of means of communication — it was confined to the narrowest possible. This constituted its force but caused at the same time its weakness. The want of means of communication was an excellent protection for that industry, but it was the same reason which caused the tradesmen of that time to be caught totally unprepared by the new situation when the Austrian great industry came to the very place of their work to compete with them. Our tradesmen could not stand such competition, they were unable to withstand the great industry which produced finer, better, and cheaper works more quickly, which industry was more inventive and disposed of larger capital. This period of decay of ancient Hungarian trade lasted during the fifties and sixties of this century, which was the saddest period of Hungarian industry.

But although there is no hope ever resuscitating this industry, the new situation affords the possibility of making good the loss, of making our own industry occupy the place which, after the removal of old trade, foreign great-industry has taken possession of.

In connection with economical improvement also capital became more frequent and the searching for employment turned also towards industry.

Welfare increased together with the capacity of consumption, taste became more refined, the necessities of life multiplied, which were so many reasons not only for capital trying to seek for industrial employment in the country, but also for attracting foreign capital, for making foreign companies settle down in the country and assure themselves of the profit afforded by the vicinity of a great market of consumption.

This new development of the situation naturally falls in the era of our political arrangement with Austria which inaugurated a new epoch in the country in every direction. This fresh life lasted until 1873 when the great crisis weighed down like frost upon the young sprouts of Hungarian industry.

When the indirect consequences of that crisis had ceased, a new industrial activity began at the beginning of the eighties, which — after having shown in the Exhibition of 1885 what it attained up till then — showed more important results especially in the course of the last five years, greatly with the energetic support and under the guidance of government.

Further success of this progress is guaranteed by the fact that the country disposes of all the preliminary conditions required for the development of industrial activity. We have an intelligent people able to furnish an excellent working class for industry. We have raw materials which are the most indispensable means of industrial production, we have metals in great quantities and almost inexhaustible masses of coal of excellent quality. And we dispose of raw materials — up till now the chief production of the country — which are waiting to be worked up, being fit, even designed for that purpose, of which great quantities are still exported to foreign countries there to be worked up and to come back as ready articles of industry.

It is a natural thing that those branches of industry should be developed first which are in direct connexion with agriculture. In fact this was the course of development in our country. Thus originated and were improved the industries of mills, of spirits, of sugar, wood and iron, not to speak of coal-mining.

In order to give a picture of the development and the present situation of industry, we must premise the number of people who gain their livelihood by way of trade in Hungary.

There are 719.003 people who are occupied with strictly industrial works in Hungary (not included the trades with eatables and personal services nor the travelling-trades and house-industry) out of which 309.834 are independent contractors and 409.169 journey-men and other assistants. The latter number contains 156.996 journeymen and 88.928 workmen above the age of 16, so that, according to the statistics of industry of 1890 the number of industrial assist-

ant workmen amounts to 247.866, 1952 machinists included.

Besides there were 87.957 apprentices and 7495 workmen under the age of 16, the rest consisted of employers, assistant members of family and servants. Most of these people were occupied in trades relative to nutrition, building and clothing.

As to the independent tradesmen, 61·96% of them had no assistants at all and 21·15% also had but one assistant — most likely an apprentice — so that we may say that not more than 18% of the independent tradesmen worked with an assistant.

With respect to numbers the far greater part of industry belonged to the smallest branches of industry, this being, as a matter of course, the proportion also in countries of a more developed industry. There were only 1244 undertakings which employed more than 20 workmen, consequently there were in proportion but few industrial establishments of the nature of great industry, nevertheless their importance is so much the greater as in them were employed 30·95% assistant workmen, that is to say 112.345 men and just that class of workmen who are endowed with the greatest intensivity. Out of these establishments in 1890 we counted, 117 where the number of the employed personal surpassed 200, and 231 where more than 100 workmen were occupied. The number of assistants employed in these undertakings was 62.120.

The greater part of these important undertakings was divided between industries of iron, machinery building, wood, brick and sugar.

With respect to the proprietors of these industrial establishments 869 of them were owned by Hungarian single firms and partnerships, 40 belonged to foreigners living in the country; 143 were Hungarian limited Companies, 36 government undertakings, 12 undertakings of communities and ecclesiastical, 4 belonged to associations, 44 to domains, 70 to foreign societies or individuals and 26 to foreign limited

companies. The undertakings belonging to these latter employed 32.996 workmen.

We do not know what amount of capital is invested in these undertakings, but we possess data showing how much money was invested since 1890 in business of greater importance. In 1890 about 25 million of florins, in 1891, 9 million, in 1892, 12 million, in 1893 25 million, in 1894, 14 million was invested in industrial undertakings, which makes 85 million of florins in five years.

In consequence of these investments there are now in Hungary Proper 3907 such industrial establishments which work with the aid of motors or at least with twenty assistants.

The most essential of these establishments are the following:

Earthen ware and China		Candle factories . . .	12
factories	19	Match factories . . .	18
Mineral-oil factories . .	10	Dock yards	6
Leather factories . . .	38	Rolling mills	9
Furniture and joiners es-		Curved furniture factories	7
tablishment	51	Starch manufacturies .	29
Sugar factories	17	Printing offices	61
Sugar-Candy factories .	11	Stone-ware factories .	9
Cement factories . . .	14	Coach building factories	8
Cognac (brandy) factories	9	Blue dyeing factories .	8
Tobacco factories . . .	14	Stone masons shops .	14
Electrotechnical factories	8	Gas factories	25
Color factories	9	Liqueur factories . . .	13
Sawing factories	306	Locksmiths establish-	
Metal-ware factories . .	35	ments	21
Spinning factories . . .	13	Malt factories	11
Machine factories and		Steam-mills	1405
iron foundries	90	Oil factories	18
Machine repairing works	34	Paper mills	19
Paper ware factories .	11	Glass-works	30
Paper material factories	10	Iron-works	112

Cloth factories	26	Electricinductor Stations	11
Brazier's establishments	9	Chemical production fac-	
Distilleries	318	tories	22
Weaving factories . . .	20	Iron mills	16
Brick-kilns	238	Iron factories.	26

We are not informed of the quantity of the productions of these establishments nor what part of inland consumption is satisfied by inland establishments. So much is sure that there are few such branches of industry in the country which were not in need of a very great import of the respective articles; which shows on the other side what a vast field there is left for activity directed to the development of industry notwithstanding the doubtless considerable progress made until now.

The great results of these last years were partly the consequences of the consistent policy directed to the development of industry; hereafter we shall give a short account of the means and agents of this policy.

The highest administrative authority of industry is the Ministry of Commerce and its highest regulator is the new industry-law (XVII. law of 1884) which made the liberty of industry the highest principle of industrial administration, by requiring a proof of qualification for some branches of trade and prescribing licences for some others which public interest excludes from free trades. Already the first industrial law (VIII of 1872) secured a full liberty of trade, as the institution of guilds had ceased before. Instead of these latter industrial associations were formed by way of voluntary accession, some of which established funds for the support of their workmen, others again established common selling-places for their members or arranged for a common provision of raw materials. Besides these associations the new industrial law created the institution of industrial corporations, which corporations are invested with jurisdictional rights and occupations concerning smaller administrative matters, having also committees of arbitration to compose differences arising between masters and workmen.

The representation of the interests of tradesmen is based upon autonomous principles and twenty chambers of commerce and industry are entrusted with such representation.

Schools of apprentices are created for the general education of apprentices. In 1894 we had 350 such schools with 73,536 apprentices. In many places tradespeople receive instructions also in Sunday schools.

These are circumstances of great importance from the point of view of the instruction of the industrial elements of the country, but of still greater importance are — especially with regard to direct results — the professional schools created for the purpose of preparing young people for certain industrial careers.

The whole ground of this professional education is left to the national Board of industry as a consultative and superintending authority in order that such professional teaching should be made systematically and profoundly, correspondent to the actual requirements both theoretical and practical. In 1894 the Ministry of Commerce had the administration of 38 of such schools — not including the common school-work-rooms — with 2333 pupils. Of these schools there were 6 for machine, iron, and metal industry, 5 for stone and earthen-ware industry, and 6 for weaving industry. There is no doubt that this professional teaching will render excellent services to the development of national industry.

We have to mention here also the organisation of Sunday rest and also Act XIV. of 1891 regulating workmen's funds in an obligatory manner so as to oblige the owners of business to pay one third of the fees of members. At the end of 1894 there were 303 such funds, with 102 sick-funds for factories, whereby it must be observed that only those establishments are allowed to have special funds where at least a hundred workmen are employed. The total of contributions amounts to 2,134,877 florins, whereof 663,706 are paid by the owners of the establishments.

The superinspection of factories and the dispositions for preventing accidents are regulated by law XXVIII. of 1893.

As to the other means of promoting industry, we may mention also the fact that, in 1880, a law was passed respecting the facilities granted to home industrial undertakings, which facilities — for example exemptions from taxes — proved most efficient means for the introduction and protection of new branches of industry. It is the same purpose which is served by the National industrial and commercial Fund, created in 1890, which permits the Minister of Commerce to partake as a shareholder or partner or sleeping partner in the organisation or extension of any industrial undertaking, to grant loans even without interest, or to subsidize industrial establishments and to furnish them with machinery or other outfits.

At the end of 1894 this fund amounted to 806.740 florins 92 kr. and up to the same time 407.200 florins were employed for the aforesaid purpose by the government. It must be observed that subsidies for like purposes were granted also from the Public Administration Fund. Finally one part of the sums of our yearly budget admitted under the title of »Commercial and industrial purposes« is likewise expended for the above purpose. Besides also the Chambers often vote subsidies for like aims.

We must also mention the Committees for the development of industry organised in the Székely district, which has the task directing into a proper line the economical development of that district in order to restrain the population from emigration. With the help of these committees several undertakings have been already created, such as a sugar factory and a larger mill in Maros-Vásárhely, a larger brick- and tile-kiln in Sepsí-Szent-György, a brick- tile-kiln and a saw-mill in the county of Csik etc.

The questions of patent letters are regulated by law XLI. of the year 1893, while by XXXVII: 1895 a special office was created for the administration of these affairs. Also Trade Marks and Patterns find their due protection by Commercial treaties and other means.

These are the factors of the development both extensive

and intensive of Hungarian industry, these are the sources of its development in a comparatively short time.

In order to give a picture of the industrial activity of the different parts of the country, we give a table of the number of the larger industrial establishments existing in the different districts :

In the district of the Budapest	Chamber there are 170 establishments.
» » » » » Arad	» » » 271 »
» » » » » Besztercebánya	» » » 191 »
» » » » » Brassó	» » » 158 »
« » » » » Debreczen	» » » 509 »
» » » » » Fiume	» » » 14 »
» » » » » Győr	» » » 108 »
» » » » » Kassa	» » » 396 »
» » » » » Kolozsvár	» » » 182 »
» » » » » Marosvásárhely	» » » 94 »
» » » » » Miskolcz	» » » 178 »
» » » » » Nagyvárad	» » » 120 »
» » » » » Pécs	» » » 130 »
» » » » » Pozsony	» » » 218 »
» » » » » Sopron	» » » 164 »
» » » » » Szeged	» » » 243 »
» » » » » Temesvár	» » » 312 »
» » » » » City of Budapest	» » » 449 »
Total 3907 establishments.	

It is natural that the establishments of Budapest should be the most important, which is proved by the mere fact that 145,625 people gain their livelihood there, this being the number of the members of the tradesmen's sick funds of Budapest.

In 1894 there were 114 limited companies in Budapest organised for industrial purposes with a total capital of 110,196,000 florins. In the same year fifteen new establishments were created with a total capital of 7.9 millions. The net income of the old companies of the present year amounted to 11,101,000 florins and an average dividend of 7.88% was paid to the shareholders.

In the country we had 214 industrial limited companies with a total capital of 87,024,950 florins, out of which a sum

of 8,981.370 florins was represented by 63 mills. Thus the whole country had 328 industrial limited companies with a total capital of 197.2 million of florins.

In 1885 there were 43 industrial companies in Budapest with a capital of fl. 37.8 millions, whereas in the whole country there were but 131 limited companies with 59.3 millions. Thus the progress of one decade amounts to nearly 300 per cent, a fact so much the more remarkable as the greatest part of the capital newly invested in industrial undertakings was furnished by the interior. The above figures show a great progress even compared with the year 1890 when there were but 143 Hungarian limited companies of industry in the country.

This important increase of industrial limited companies is on the one side a proof of the progress of industry and on the other side accounts for the fact that Hungarian industry does not progress in the proportion rendered possible and even necessary by the great quantity of raw material waiting to be worked up as well as by the increase of our faculty of consumption.

Many limited companies were formed not for the establishment of new industrial works but merely to change existing industrial undertakings into a limited company which transformation is made and is necessitated by the reason that the proprietor of the establishment does not dispose of a capital required for the extension of the undertaking or of a capital necessary to carry it on the old scale.

The want of capital is the reason of the slower development of our industry.

It is true, there is an enormous quantity accumulated in our Savings-banks, which often hardly know how to fructify their stocks, but the capital seeking for investment in such institutions is not enterprising enough for industrial undertakings.

Now we may pass to a short notice concerning some of our most important branches of industry.

Our most important, in fact our distinctly national industry is the milling industry. The history of this branch of industry is a highly interesting one. The Hungarian flour of the excellent Hungarian steel-wheat could absolutely not compete with the flours made of far less valuable wheat because of its brown colour. The old fashioned grinding process crushed the husk of the hard Hungarian wheat to such a degree that the bran could not be entirely separated from the flour by any sifting-process. This lasted until the Hungarian grinding system was established which is based upon the speciality of Hungarian wheat and brings to valour its excellent qualities by preventing the hard husk mixing with the flour. This is the system employed by all our greater mills, in the first place by those which work for the export, and this is the system which all those countries are trying to imitate which produce hard wheat, which however until now were unable to attain the perfection of the Hungarian system.

It is a very natural thing that we have a great number of mills, if for no other reason, at least because we could not yet entirely free ourselves from natural-economy. But on the other side small water and dry-mills are always becoming less in number being replaced by larger steam-mills. At the end of 1894 there were 1636 larger mills in the country out of which 1405 were steam-mills. The number of milling limited companies amounted to 71 with a total capital of 16,431.370 florins. Besides the eight milling companies in Budapest there are also in the country at least thirty mills the capital of which amounts at least to 100.000 florins. We have no reports as to the production of these mills, but we know that of the Budapest mills. In 1894 these mills ground 717,820.300 kilogrammes producing 546,483.800 kilogrammes of flour and 154,284.200 kilogrammes of bran. The critical situation of agriculture certainly greatly injured the rentability and the former splendid prosperity of Hungarian milling industry, and the great American competition is pressing hard upon it

markets; but these unfavourable circumstances are still incapable of attacking the healthy roots of Hungarian milling industry and the good name of Hungarian flour remains unshaken, so that also in 1894 we had an export of 596,081.900 kilogrammes in a value of 67,595.687 florins. The chief figures of export of Hungarian flour in 1894 were as follows.

Exported to Austria	489,708.600	kilogrammes.
» » Bosnia-Herczegovina	7,816.800	»
» » Germany	18,255.700	»
» » Switzerland	4.844.900	»
» » Italy	705.300	»
» » France	13,536.900	»
» » Belgium	304.000	»
» » Netherland	223.100	»
» » England	52,483.100	»
» » Sweden	160.000	»
» » Servia	412.600	»
» » Bulgaria	139.100	»
» » Turkey	222.200	»
» » Brasil	7,155.200	»

In 1890 45.359 people gained their livelihood in the milling branch.

Out of the soil of agriculture grew the industry of spirits which is likewise one of the most important branches of industry of the country.

In the year 1893/4 84.499 distilleries were worked in Hungary, producing a total of 109,827.509 hectolitres of alcoholic degree. Ten years earlier, in 1883/4, there were 92,657 distilleries, but the production was only of 76,413.701 hectolitres of alcoholic degree; so that, the average of that time was of 825 hectolitres per distillery, whereas to-day it is 1300. Thus great production increased at the expense of small distilleries. This will appear also by a comparison of the faculty of production of the existing distilleries. A further explanation of this fact we find in the continual diminution

of the number of agricultural distilleries. In 1888/9 the number of agricultural distilleries subjected to excise of consumption was of 454, whereas to-day it amounts to 429.

In the sense of our respective laws we must make a distinction between distilleries subjected to an excise of consumption and distilleries subjected to a tax of production. To the first category belong those distilleries which work up floury substances or vegetable fibres, starch or molasses, whereas all the others belong to the latter category. The number of the first distilleries amounts to 500, that of the latter to 83.999, producing 103,949.539 and 5,877.970 hectolitres of alcoholic degree respectively.

The following table shows the different materials worked up by the distilleries according to the above distinction.

Material	Number of distilleries subjected to excise of consumption	Number of distilleries subjected to production tax	Total
Indian corn	209	16	225
Other corn	8	3	11
Potatoes	288	1	289
Potatoes and corn	40	—	40
Vegetable fibres and roots	—	2	2
Rape	23	—	23
Saccharine	5	—	5
Fruits	—	72427	72427
Skins of pressed grapes	—	872	872
Leas of wine	—	6097	6097

We may judge from this result the great importance which production of spirit has in an agricultural point of view. And since the far greater part of spirit is produced by distilleries subjected to excise of consumption, for which purpose almost nothing but Indian corn and potatoes are worked up, it is evident that industry of spirit has the greatest importance chiefly with respect to the production of Indian corn and potatoes.

By the spirit-tax law certain exporting premiums are fixed, which are of 5 kreutzers per hectolitres degree with the spirit subjected to excise of consumption and of 17.5 kreutzers with the other spirit.

Upon this basis Hungarian distilleries received in 1893/94 a total exporting premium of 514.749⁰⁰ florins, the whole of which was for the advantage of spirit subjected to excise of consumption.

With regard to the epoch of its development the third place in the industrial branches connected with agriculture, is occupied by the manufacture of sugar.

In 1893/94 seventeen sugar factories were in work with 240 steam engines of 6370 horse power. The number of workmen employed was of 8717. These factories worked up 991,592.200 kilogrammes of rape using 263,990.800 kilogrammes of coal; since 1883/4 the number of these factories only increased with two, but since the quantity of rape worked up in 1883/4 was but of 260,703.100 kilogrammes the production increased almost fourfold. While ten years ago the average of worked up rape was only 17,380.200 kilogrammes per distillery, now it amounts to 58,328.900 kilogrammes. This great expansion of Hungarian sugar manufacturing dates from the year 1889 which is shown by the following table:

Year of production	Rape worked up in kilogrammes	Produced sugar
1888—89	383,688.100	49,526.200
1889—90	611,903.500	78,326.600
1890—91	703,851.100	93,192.100
1891—92	848,596.500	109,569.900
1892—93	862,296.900	114,520.200
1893—94	991,592.200	138,624.000

A diminution of our sugar import is the result of this increased production; whereas our export is continually increasing in spite of the increased consumption. In 1893/4 our sugar factories exported a total of 272.784 m. cwts. of sugar through the custom-line of the Monarchy and received a total premium of 905.530 florins.

There is not one of our sugar factories that would produce less than 1,500.000 kilogrammes, while four of them had a yearly production which surpassed 10,000.000 kgrs.

Far smaller is the proportion of our production of beer, which nevertheless likewise shows a considerable increase in these last years.

In 1893/4 there were 106 breweries producing a total of 1,586,561 hectolitres of beer. Twenty-two out of this number produced at least 10,000 hectolitres and three factories had a yearly production of more than 100,000 hectolitres, their total production amounting to 926,780 hectolitres, a like degree of development can be observed in the production of iron. While in 1881—86 the average of iron-ore produced yearly was of 5.8 million of hundred kilos, it amounted to 9.7 in 1893, whereas the production of wrought iron increased to 3.2 millions from 1.9 million of hundred kgrs. These are the preliminary conditions of the fact that Hungary has now 309 great iron-works many of which are renowned even far beyond the country, and not only the manufactory of iron itself is developing and becoming more and more excellent also with respect to the quality of the production, but also our manufactory of machinery is fast developing and even working for export, as well as the manufactory of different tools, carriages, and ship building, which likewise show a progressive tendency.

We must lay a special weight upon the great dimensions shown in the development of our electric industry.

But if we must admit that, a beginning has been made in most of the branches of Hungarian industry and even very valuable results have been attained in many a line, on the other hand we must still say that there is yet an enormous field left open in Hungary for the display of an enterprising spirit of industry. And not only the economical independence of the country requires the realization of this spirit, but it is necessary also in order that agricultural production may find its due completion and also that all the treasures of the country waiting for industrial elaboration may be properly realised.



Commerce.

Those who are acquainted with the state of agriculture and industry of a country, as well as with the degree of its means of communication, will at the same time be familiar with the commerce of that country, for these three elements admit of a safe conclusion as to the dimensions, development and forms of the commerce of a country.

In consequence of this it is evident that commerce taken in the modern sense of the word is in proportion but a young organisation in Hungary, continually growing, changing and maturing as the whole economical life of the country is developing, as the commercial world continue to accept all those expedients which are in the service of developed commerce.

As long as the national economy of the country stood on the basis of rural-economy, as long as the surplus of agriculture could not be realised by want of means of communication, as long as we had no industry, at least no modern one, and the wants of life were scanty: so long there was naturally but a small field for commerce in the country. Narrow were the limits of commerce of agricultural productions because these productions are in bulk and require more developed means of communication; but also the commerce of articles of industry was rather a limitid one for tradesmen had either to work upon order or to become

merchants themselves. These circumstances only changed and were compelled to change, when the situation of Hungarian agriculture was transformed, when obsolete industry made room for a modern industrial activity. And so much the more had this change to take place at that time as it was the epoch when the customs-barriers were removed between Hungary and Austria.

These circumstances influenced our commerce which in the year 1870 had but 133,582 people engaged in it, while in 1890 already 174,925 people were engaged in commerce in Hungary, out of which number 154,357 were real commercial men, 14,313 were peddlers and 6069 agents and brokers. According to the statistics of occupation of 1890, among those engaged in commerce in the strict sense of the word 73,313 were independent contractors and 81,044 assistants; whereas in the year 1894 the Chambers of commerce counted 107,525 members. The great difference of these two figures shows clearly the development of our commerce.

This is still more evident if we consider how many merchants the chambers of commerce counted as their members in these last four years:

in 1891 there were	95.702	merchants.
» 1892 » »	104.772	»
» 1893 » »	98.884	»
» 1894 » »	107.525	»

This is the number of independent merchants.

The fact that our commerce is in its far greatest part retail business is proved by the proportionately small number of assistants and even out of these latter only 7206 are employers, 22,962 clerks, 3291 workmen, 3345 day-labourers and 10,561 servants, while the rest are composed of apprentices or assisting members of family. And as to the several branches of commerce the following Table including only the chief groups, will show the proportion of the commercial population of 1890, :

Earthenware and glass	1.967	merchants.
Wine	2.818	»

Leather	2.482	merchants.
Furniture	892	»
Fancy-goods	1.009	»
Haberdashery	3.390	»
Wood	6.489	»
Grocery	20.213	»
Corn	6.723	»
Manufactures and hard-ware	13.606	»
Books	1.167	»
Flour	1.851	»
Cattle	3.214	»
Cloth	2.850	»
Clothing	1.576	»
Forwarding and agency	1.241	»
Green-grocery	3.248	»
Iron mongers	34.870	»
Mixed articles	21.268	»

But not only the number of merchants increases, not only greater commercial undertakings become always more and more frequent, the means of commerce are likewise improving in selling as well as in buying. The use of letters of exchange is gaining more ground in order to supplant uncovered book-debts, which not only increases the exactness of negotiations but also effects an increase of the capital standing at the disposal of commerce. The means of payment likewise improve, the employment of checks is getting more general, while our Commercial and Exchange laws standing at the height of modern science, guarantee the surety of the means of payment and the arrangement of legal commercial circumstances.

The commercial schools of the country serve to heighten the level of commerce. We have 139 such schools with 887 teachers and 9122 pupils, out of which 38 are higher schools and 15 commercial courses for ladies.

Another token of the high standing of this level is given by the fact that the importance of the markets — the focuses

of old commerce — is more and more declining and diminishing in number, so that the commercial world is not disinclined to abolish them altogether. To-day the merchant's market is his shop and neither merchants nor customers have any need to meet in public assemblies or markets in order to know the prices and to make competition possible. Besides a journey under the present circumstances of communication is by no means such an enterprise as it was formerly when by this reason alone markets had to be tied to a definite place and time.

On the other hand our age has likewise created permanent and large markets corresponding to its own circumstances, in the form of exchanges. There are two such exchanges in Hungary: The merchandise and stock exchange of Budapest and the exchange of Fiume, which latter was organised only four years ago. The Budapest exchange had 1568 members in the year 1894 with 194 sworn brokers. On the corn exchange the effective sale was of 8,947.000 meter-cwts. while the business, done in term amounted to 13,753.500 meter-cwts.; the greatest part of the business is as a matter of course done in wheat. Out of the total effective sales 6,895.000 m.-cwts and of the term business 5,862.000 m.-cwts. consisted of wheat. After wheat the greatest sales were made in Indian corn, of which 724.000m.-cwts. were sold in the effective business and 5,609.000 m.-cwts. in the term business. The board of the Budapest exchange is endowed also with judicial power as an arbitration court. In 1894 this court has passed 1755 sentences.

The Lloyd Companies existing in several provincial places are commercial corporations resembling in many respect the institution of exchanges. One of these companies, the Lloyd at Temesvár is also authorised to exercise judicial rights. Among the institutions created for the promotion of commerce we must mention also the public warehouses. There are ten such public warehouses in the country, of which the largest is in Budapest, which is established on a really grand scale.

The *Commercial museum* likewise serves the interests of

commerce especially that of export, being destined to maintain a permanent exhibition of articles of industry and especially to gain markets in the East for our productions. The Information Office of this Museum gives information to merchants and tradesmen concerning the commercial situation of the country and especially of the East, and also as to the situation of credit of foreign firms, foreign commercial usages, questions of duty and tariff. In 1894 the Commercial Museum had eleven foreign agencies, by the medium of which export business was done to the value of 1.1 million of florins. But this figure is by far not to be regarded as a measure of the activity of this museum, for the chief task of those agencies consists in introducing Hungarian firms into oriental markets and bringing them into permanent connection with their names so as to make it possible for manufacturers and merchants to uphold their connections made with the help of the museum.

The interests of foreign commerce are finally supported by the Consulates which Hungary maintains in common with Austria.

Having thus given a short outline of the commerce of the country and of its institutions, we may pass over to an inquiry into foreign commerce.

Before entering on this question it is necessary to mention the relation which exists between Hungary and Austria, which is of an enormous importance from a point of view of our whole national economy.

Up to the 1st October 1850, Hungary was a customs territory independent from Austria, although with respect to other foreign countries Hungary was arbitrarily considered as an Austrian customs-district.

It was also a purely arbitrary arrangement that Hungarian legislation was not permitted to have an influence upon matters of custom, which were exclusively managed by the Vienna Court-chamber. After the defeat of our liberty-war the customs-barriers which until then existed between Hungary and Austria were

abolished by the decreè of the 7th June 1850 of the absolute government, and on the 1st July 1851 also the Austrian system of excise taxes were introduced in the country so that the territories of the two states became absolutely unified. When in 1867, the political arrangement was made and our common affairs with Austria were strictly determined, to which common affairs commerce did by no means belong, it was natural that the question of duty came into the foreground. The country did not revoke the community but legally sanctioned it by making with Austria a treaty of duty and commerce. The most important law of the arrangement, law XII. of 1867 declares as follows :

Art. 58. Also the community of commercial affairs does not follow from the Pragmatica Sanctio, because in the sense of it, the lands of the Hungarian Crown as countries legally separated from the other countries of the Monarch, are entitled to dispose by their legislative body and to regulate their commercial affairs by means of customs-barriers.

Art. 59. But whereas the points of contact of the interests common with Hungary and the other countries of His Majesty are important and numerous, Parliament is ready to make from time to time treaties of custom and commerce between the lands of the Hungarian Crown on the one side and the other countries of His Majesty on the other side.

Art. 60. This treaty would settle those questions which refer to commerce and would fix the manner of administration of commerce in general.

Art. 61. The conclusion of the treaty would be made by mutual agreement as similar agreements are made between two contries legally independent of one another. The responsible governments of both the parties shall, with common understanding, make a detailed project of the treaty and lay it before the respective Parliament, and the agreements of the two Parliaments shall be laid for sanction before His Majesty.

On this basis the Duty and Commercial Treaty was made,

which since then was twice renewed by the two countries, in 1878 and in 1887. In the sense of this treaty the territories of the two states form *one* duty and commercial territory for the term of the treaty — ten years — which territory is surrounded by one duty-boundary. During the term of the alliance neither of the parties shall be entitled to raise any import, export or transit duty upon those articles of commerce which are transported from the territory of the one State to that of the other State, nor to erect for this purpose an intermediate customs-barrier. Either of the parties may raise taxes from articles imported from the territory of the other party only in that proportion in which similar articles of its own territory are subjected to such taxes. In the sense of the contract the conclusion of commercial contracts — subject to the sanction of the legislative bodies of both the States — shall be made by the minister of foreign affairs on the basis of the agreements made between the respective ministers of the two States. The consulates are common and shall be subordinated to the minister of foreign affairs and are called to represent the foreign commercial interests of both the parties and this in a manner fixed by the minister of foreign affairs in common understanding with the two governments.

But the two governments may non the less have also direct communication with the consulates. Custom-laws can only be passed with the mutual understanding of the two legislative bodies, but as a matter of fact they may be passed separately by both the countries. The levying and administration of duties are reserved for both the countries — upon equal principles — against a round sum which is to be resorted out of the duty income. The merchant vessels of both the parties shall use the same flag showing the Austrian commercial arms together with the Hungarian arms. The two states shall bestow an equal treatment to their mutual ships and their crew and also the same marine civil-law shall be applied on the shores of both the countries. Railways as well as post-and telegraph-

offices shall be administered on like principles. Finally it is decreed by the custom-alliance that salt and tobacco-revenues as well as spirit, beer and sugar taxes shall during the term of the contract be administered by like laws and regulations on the territories of both the states.

A union respecting letters patent was likewise stated by the custom-contract, but this was abolished by law XLI. of 1893. The union which was decreed with respect to the Lloyd sea navigation company is likewise in obedience, while the union of money system has been, in 1892, exchanged for a money convention made for a fixed term.

At the time of the first custom-union there remained a whole series of separated customs all of which have ceased since then. The free ports of Fiume and Triest lasted longest, but this too ceased in 1891. When the customs-union was renewed in 1878 certain dispositions found a more favourable solution, which were prejudicial to Hungary with respect to the restoration of excises of consumption, but at the time of renewal in 1887 no changes of importance were made in the union.

This is the essence of the highly important economical relation which exists between Hungary and Austria with the common understanding of the two countries on the like basis upon which also other countries are wont to make commercial contracts. This relation may be best defined if we say that Hungary and Austria made for ten years a contract based upon the unity of the territory of customs, arranging in this contract all those questions which in consequence of the unity of customs-territory require equal regulation in both the countries.

And this union is based upon the fact that Austria is mostly an industrial country, whereas ours is mostly an agricultural one so that the union aims at assuring to Austrian industry a market in Hungary and a market for Hungarian agriculture in Austria. But this does not mean that Austria had to renounce agriculture and Hungary industry. Austria

has the right and the means of promoting its agriculture and we have a right and the possibility of developing our industry, which in fact is done by Hungary with excellent results.

But it is natural that the unity of customs-territory should require sacrifices from the two countries and in many respects — in the first place with respect to the policy of foreign commerce — check the liberty of action of both the countries.

At the conclusion of the first customs-union the general customs-tariff of 1853 was in vigour, which was modified on the 30-th of June 1865 and which had a decided protective tendency. This tariff was upheld by the customs-union (Section IV) and it remained in force until the XXI. law of 1878 created a new general customs-tariff for the Austro-Hungarian customs-territory. The time between the two custom-laws was occupied with customs-contracts, regulating our foreign commerce chiefly in the sense of the principles of free trade with the states that were most important for us, so that we had not to feel the chains of prohibitive customs-regulations. The new customs-law became necessary because the tendencies of European foreign commerce greatly changed during ten years so that we too had to think of means of defence against the progress of the prohibitive system especially when the negotiations concerning the newer commercial treaty with Germany had failed. Nevertheless it was not the customs-law of 1878 which finally broke with the system of free trade, but it was the custom-law of 1882 which greatly raised the customs upon articles of industry, introducing moderate duties upon agricultural articles, while the customs-law of 1878 laid the greatest stress upon financial customs. But also the law of 1882 did not remain in force longtime. When the prohibition system continued to get the upperhand in Germany and in France, we too came into this current and the law XXV. of 1887 was passed with higher financial, industrial and agrarian protection than the former laws were.

This law contains to-day the customs-tariff of Hungary and Austria, but our most important connexions in foreign commerce are not regulated by this tariff but by those commercial contracts which we passed in and since 1891, which situation likewise prevailed until 1878.

Before 1867 Austria had four commercial treaties: with Germany, England, France and Italy. These treaties were ratified by the first customs-union so much the more as these contracts were based upon the principles of free trade so highly important from a Hungarian point of view, which principles culminated in the renewed commercial treaty passed with Germany on the 9th March 1868 and in the supplementary convention made with England on the 30th of December 1869. Thus our most important foreign commercial relations were regulated by commercial treaties which remained in force until 1876 and 1877 respectively, and under the influence of which the international trade in goods became a favourable one. Before the expiration of the term of those treaties the direction of the policy of foreign commerce became transformed and a strong prohibitive tendency was shown also on the side of Austrian industry under the influence of which the supplementary convention with England as well as the French treaty had to be withdrawn, while the Italian treaty was withdrawn by the Italian government. In consequence of the transmarine competition the German treaty lost much of its value for us, while its charges became the more heavy, so that the situation became very much changed also with respect to this treaty, the term of which expired at the end of 1877.

After the fixing of the tariff of 1878 new negotiations were commenced for commercial contracts, but a tariff-contract could only be made with Italy, for a term expiring with the end of 1887, which however was replaced with a new contract passed on the 7th December 1887 which remained valid until the date when the new treaty of 1891 came into force. With France we could no more make a

contract, and only the concession of »highest favor« could be obtained. The same was the case with England as well as with Germany, although several trials were made to contract a tariff-treaty with Germany. We must mention the fact that we succeeded in making a contract with Switzerland on the 21st of November 1888, but with Roumania we had a regular custom-war up to the 19th of July 1891, since the 1st of June 1886 on which day our contract with that country had expired. Our relation towards Servia was regulated by the treaty of the 6th of May 1881 which remained in force until the contract of 1891 became valid.

Thus after 1878 the situation was this that with the exception of Italy and Switzerland, we had only contracts on the basis of »the most favored nation« with the other western states, whereas of the oriental States we had a contract only with Servia, while we had a custom-war with Roumania. Besides also the contracts of the »most favored nation« only differed in form from real hostile tariffs, for they did not protect us in the least against the prohibitive system which became more and more aggressive and which continually gained ground in the West and brought enormous prejudices to our agriculture.

This situation — though not completely nor satisfactorily — was altered by the treaties we made in 1891, 1892 and 1893, which entirely invalidate the positions of the general customs-tariff in our foreign commercial connexions, assuring to these latters for a long time to come at least that degree of certainty which is granted by the stability of rates.

As a point of issue for its endeavouring to follow a policy of contracts, Germany was chosen by the Monarchy not only because this country is our most important market, but also that we might have a basis for making further steps in the way of commercial policy, which are to be directed not only towards the West but also towards the East, in order to institute a united commercial policy, considering that towards the West the fundamental principle of commercial policy

cannot be aught else than to acquire facilities for Hungarian agriculture against favors granted to foreign industry.

Thus were made our commercial tariff-contracts on the 6th December 1891 with Germany, with Italy and with Belgium, on the 10th of December 1891 with Switzerland, all of which contracts came in force on the 1st of February 1892 and will expire on the 31st of December 1903. If these contracts could not assure us considerable advantages, nevertheless — besides the facilities obtained — they made us sure against the contracting countries' applying to our goods their autonomous tariffs of an almost prohibitive character.

At the same time with the passing of a commercial treaty we also made with Germany a contract concerning the protection of letters patent, patterns and trade marks and also a veterinary convention. With Servia we have made a contract on the 9th August 1892 available till the end of 1893, which contract was combined with a veterinary convention. With Roumania only a contract of a »most favor« was made on the 21st December 1893, after having previously made a treaty on the 28th January 1893, a treaty respecting the mutual protection of trade marks. The Roumanian contract has no fixed terme, it is subjected only to a year's notice, being merely a guarantee against customs-war. Besides this we have passed commercial contracts with Spain on the 8th December 1893, and with Russia on the 18th May 1894, while negotiations are in course with Bulgaria and Turkey. With France we are in a relation of a state enjoying »highest favor« which makes the prohibitive policy of this state have its full effect towards our country. This modern prohibitive policy is likewise disclosed also in the tariff-contracts so that our foreign trade has everywhere to reckon with this tendency which even the contracts could only mitigate in a small degree for the benefit of our exports.

The dimensions of our foreign trade are always growing greater and it is interesting to see how much this trade increased during the last ten years.

During the last ten years the value of our foreign trade, not including precious metals, was the following :

	Export	Import	Total trade
In 1885 . . .	fls. 396,148.000	fls. 448,889.000	fls. 845,037.000
In 1886 . . .	fls. 417,846.000	fls. 416,237.000	fls. 834,083.000
In 1887 . . .	fls. 402,528.000	fls. 443,504.000	fls. 837,032.000
In 1888 . . .	fls. 444,383.000	fls. 446,631.000	fls. 891,014.000
In 1889 . . .	fls. 460,563.000	fls. 459,478.000	fls. 920,041.000
In 1890 . . .	fls. 530,123.000	fls. 485,487.000	fls. 1,015,610.000
In 1891 . . .	fls. 545,207.000	fls. 502,780.000	fls. 1,047,987.000
In 1892 . . .	fls. 509,659.000	fls. 519,384.000	fls. 1,029,043.000
In 1893 . . .	fls. 524,543.000	fls. 513,696.000	fls. 1,038,239.000
In 1894 . . .	fls. 562,564.000	fls. 546,278.000	fls. 1,108,842.000

This table shows that since 1885 our export increased 42⁰/₀, our import 22⁰/₀, our total foreign trade 31⁰/₀, and we may well be satisfied with this result especially if we consider the result of the last five years.

If we do not consider the value but the bulk of this trade, we see that the quantity of imported articles has far more increased than that of the exported articles. This is explained by the fact that the bulk-goods which constitute the greatest part of our export, scarcely changed within the last ten years, whereas the import of those bulk-goods which were scarcely worth mentioning ten years ago was considerably augmented in those last years.

Let us now inquire into the principal classes of goods of our foreign trade. The results of the year 1894 were as follows :

Groups of goods	I m p o r t		E x p o r t	
	Value 1000 fls	%	Value 1000 fls	%
<i>A) Raw articles.</i>				
Industrial supplementary articles . .	53.773	9 ³³ / ₁₀₀	79.868	14 ¹⁰ / ₁₀₀
Provisions and objects of use . . .	61.909	11 ⁸⁵ / ₁₀₀	290.857	51 ⁷⁰ / ₁₀₀
Total of raw articles . . .	115,682	21 ¹⁸ / ₁₀₀	370.225	65 ⁸⁰ / ₁₀₀
<i>B) Manufactures :</i>				
Articles of consumption	44.489	8 ¹⁴ / ₁₀₀	111.632	19 ⁸⁴ / ₁₀₀
Yarn	11.290	2 ⁰⁷ / ₁₀₀	2.082	0 ³⁷ / ₁₀₀
Texture	161.394	29 ⁵³ / ₁₀₀	17.375	3 ⁰⁰ / ₁₀₀
Clothings and linen	28.151	5 ¹⁶ / ₁₀₀	6.853	1 ¹² / ₁₀₀

Leather wares	27.825	5 ⁰⁰	6.503	1 ¹⁶
Paper and paper-wares	7.884	1 ⁴⁴	1.319	0 ²⁴
Wood and bone articles	10.577	1 ³⁴	3.304	0 ⁵⁰
Chemical industry	19.281	3 ⁵³	11.250	1 ⁰⁰
Manufactures of organic stuff	17.656	8 ²³	5.471	0 ²⁷
Stone-, glass-, and earthenware . . .	12.269	2 ²⁵	1.642	0 ²⁰
Iron and iron-goods	27.537	5 ⁰⁴	8.861	1 ⁵⁸
Other metals and metalwares	23.759	4 ³⁵	4.942	0 ³⁰
Machinery, instruments and means of communication	26.508	4 ⁰⁶	9.017	1 ⁰⁶
Objects of literature and art	11.976	2 ¹⁰	2.088	0 ³⁷
Total of manufactures	430.596	78 ⁰²	192.339	34 ²⁰

Thus we see that of raw materials we had an export surplus in a value of fls. 254,543.000, while the import surplus of manufactures represents a value of fls. 238,257.000. This fact alone is sufficient to characterise the nature of our foreign-trade. We are exporting raw articles and importing manufactured, especially the products of spinning and weaving industry, as well as iron and metal goods. At any rate it is to be observed that in consequence of the development of our home industry our export of manufactures is constantly increasing which causes our import of raw articles likewise to be augmented.

In specifying the most important groups of import articles with respect to their value we get the following result :

I. Spinning and weaving industry :

Yarns	fls.	11,291.000
Cottonware	fls.	65,784.000
Linen, jute and hemp articles . . .	fls.	15,836.000
Woollen-ware	fls.	48,546.000
Silk	fls.	31.203.000

Yarns and textures together . fls. 172,660.000

II. Clothings, linen and toilet articles

articles	fls.	33,436.000
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III. Leather and leather ware

fls.	27,824.000
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Group I., II. and III. together fls. 233,920.000

The value of the chief groups of export goods is shown as follows:

<i>I. Corn, legumes, flour . . .</i>	fls.	171,043.000
<i>II. Fat Cattle and draught-cattle</i>	fls.	140,051.009
<i>III. Animal products:</i>		
Victuals	fls.	22,902.000
Industrial raw stuffs . . .	fls.	19,935.000
Groups I, II. and III together	fls.	353,931.000

As to the direction of foreign commerce, viz. from where we import our goods and where we export them to, the following table will give us information, which table however contains only the most important countries.

Country of import or of export	I m p o r t		E x p o r t	
	value in florins	%	value in florins	%
Austria	442,258.285	80.96	406,973.941	72.34
Bosnia and Herzegovina ..	6,824.867	1.25	7,273.918	1.28
Germany	28,837.860	5.28	73,451.427	13.06
Switzerland	1,362.248	0.25	9,098.710	1.26
Italy	10,913.541	2.00	10,017.077	1.78
France	2,240.745	0.41	14,273.918	2.54
Spain	157.132	0.03	216.201	0.04
Belgium	649.705	0.12	2,264.604	0.40
Holland	741.587	0.14	2,479.583	0.44
England	4,524.875	0.83	12,045.428	2.14
Russia	2,869.209	0.52	1,870.086	0.31
Rumania	10,950.146	2.00	9,642.762	1.72
Servia	21,450.187	3.93	4,991.832	0.89
Bulgaria	766.679	0.14	3,608.760	0.64
Greece	296.026	0.05	275.964	0.05
Turkey	2,353.141	0.43	2,320.545	0.42
East-Indies	6,330.740	1.16	35.924	0.01
Egypt	1,176.721	0.22	160.727	0.03
North-America	601.599	0.11	1,469.813	0.26
Brazil	584.017	0.11	1,190.776	0.21

76.59% of our foreign trade is done with Austria, which is a natural thing in consideration of the customs alliance. Austria is the chief buyer of our raw products and we are the chief buyers of Austrian articles of industry. But the figures

regarding our export to Austria do not show how much Hungarian produce is consumed in Austria, because Austrian merchants carry on a large intermediate trade with Hungarian articles so that a part of our goods exported to Austria are carried on farther and are consumed in countries beyond the customs line. Our most important markets besides Austria are Germany, Switzerland, France, Italy, England and the eastern States.

Among the articles imported from Germany, machinery takes the first place, the import of this article has greatly developed especially in the last three years on account of the continual increase of the number of our great industrial establishments. This country gives us further greater quantities of raw neats' hide, also books, seeds of vegetables, coal and manufactured tobacco, the greatest part of which comes from transmarine countries, so that Germany has but an intermediate part in this trade. Besides this we have a great import of woollen goods, pictures, coloured prints, furrier-manufactures, instruments, pig iron and threshing machines. Our export to Germany consists chiefly of raw materials, as we transport mostly pigs, cattle and barley; but we also export other agricultural products as bed-feathers, eggs, flour, wool, clover and seeds of lucerne, tan, bran, wood, wheat, poultry, vegetables and iron-ore.

From Italy we have imported much wine since the conclusion of the new treaty, besides this we make a considerable import of fireproof-stones. The most important export is made of raw sugar, also articles of wood and cocoons.

From Switzerland we import watches and silk-stuffs and export to that country wheat, barley, malt, vegetables, cattle, eggs, flour, pigs, and extracts of tan.

The articles chiefly imported from France are: silk and woollen-goods, all sorts of fancy-articles and Cognac. It is likely that our import from this country is greater than showed by the statistics as a good deal of French import-articles come to us indirectly. Our export to France consists

chiefly of manufactures of wood especially of staves, we also export flour, vegetables, cocoons and mineral waters.

From England we import pig-iron and steel, woollen goods and machinery, and in exchange we export flour, barley, extracts of tan, sugar and manufactures of wood.

From Belgium we get tobacco, machines, arms, and woollen goods in return for our barley, extract of tan and manufactures of wood.

From Spain we import lead, in return for our manufactures of wood and vegetables.

To Brazil we export flour in return for their coffee.

Among the eastern countries Servia is the most important for us. From there we import animals, corn, fruit and hides, and export wine, horses, manufactures of cotton, and wood, iron and steel, coffee and articles of iron-industry. The chief article of our import consists of pigs, while the other articles are: cattle, wheat, Indian corn, barley, prunes, hides of sheep, goats and lambs. Our commercial balance with that country is very passive.

It is the same with Roumania from whence we import wheat, Indian corn, millet, barley, salt-fish, pigs, raw mineral oil and wool, while our export consists of horses, manufactures of wood, sugar stuffs, parts of machinery and iron goods.

With Bulgaria our relation is more favourable. We export there spirits of wine, manufactures of wood, horses, hides, sugar, stuffs and other articles of industry, while our import consists of wheat, barley, Indian corn and hides.

From Bosnia and Herzegovina, which are comprised in our customs-territory, we import staves, prunes, tobacco, oats, iron and steel, while we export to the occupied country: flour, coffee, stuffs, wine, sugar, beer and mineral waters.

From Russia we get mineral oil in exchange of our wool, articles of tan, hides and machines.

In the value of our foreign trade of the year 1894, the sum of fls. 81,145.000 falls to the account of marine-trade.

The above figures and data give an account of the most

important features of our foreign trade showing at the same time the fact that this foreign trade is continually increasing. And although the dimensions of foreign trade cannot give a full estimate of a country's total commerce, nevertheless it can be said that the increase of foreign trade at the same time entails an enhancement of the entire commercial activity of a country. And since we see that also in foreign trade articles of industry in proportion are becoming always more and more important, we cannot deny the fact that this importance is increasing also in our home trade, which is also proved by the general situation of industry and the statistics of the forwarding Companies. This however does not alter the fact that agricultural articles still remain the prevailing element of our commerce.



Traffic.

Among the various outlays which modern Hungary submitted to in order to stand in the rank of cultured states those which were required by traffic and the various factors of intercourse were the severest.

There was a time when the finances of the land threatened to give way under the heavy burdens which were laid upon them in this way. If the land victoriously endured this severe trial, if our finances came out of the strife strengthened and increased, this is due to the circumstance that the various factors of intercourse, public streets, water ways and railways have developed and been perfected in such large dimensions.

At the beginning of this century the land seemed likely to be overwhelmed by its own exuberance, its possessions could not be realised owing to the sorry means of traffic. Roads were bad, at certain seasons of the year impassable; while navigation had to contend with numberless difficulties on our waters.

Any one who knows these times by hearsay or by description must be astonished at the enormous progress of our days. At present there is not a corner in the land of which one can say that it is out of the way, there is not a district which is not touched by the great lines of roads or which

has not some point of contact with the great network of communication.

And if Hungary like other lands in corresponding to the spirit of the age does most for the support of railways we must also agree that not a single element of intercourse is neglected. Great expenses are incurred for roads as well as for water ways and railways. Hereafter we will treat these three great elements of communication independently.

If we compare the present condition of our roads with that of 50 years ago, we must remember the fact that at that time the road formed the only means of communication, that the object of the roads was not the same as at present, namely to feed navigation and the railway, but the road stood in the same positions which railways and navigation now occupy. And yet how small was the extent, how meagre the condition of roads in those days compared with the present network of traffic. Even in 1848 the country had roads all in all of 276·5 geographical miles; the rest scarcely deserved the name of roads, they were only tracks whose direction was generally doubtful.

Apart from certain causeways which were made at the expense of the state at the end of the reign of Charles III., some advance is observable since 1825, when the counties took up road-making and made the roads by the help of the public labour which was at their disposal, whereby at their own discretion they imposed the burden of labour on their own dependents but themselves determined the manner and character of the expense of these public works. Although the government had the right of supervision over road-making, the counties conscious of their autonomy paid no heed at all to this right. This condition of things underwent no essential change when Act. 9 of 1844 settled public works in a manner incumbent on the whole land and decreed that the power of supervision belonging to the royal government should be upheld by the present law.

The epoch of absolutism called into being in Hungary the

conception of the public roads. Absolute power in order to subjugate the land more completely ordered that the more important roads should be taken under official administration and the cost of their maintenance and renovation should be defrayed by the treasury. This was equally significant with the classification of the roads. Along with state roads there were high roads and communal roads. The system of road maintenance underwent continual changes, yet it must be noticed that the era of absolutism which till the end of 1866 took under official administration 5162 kilometres of roads spent 38.050.000 florins on the maintenance of the roads of Hungary and partly on the making of new roads. The length of the high roads amounted in 1865 to 12.991 kilometres, of which 4708 were still unmade, while of the state roads only 680 kilometres were in this primitive condition. At the end of 1865 the country had 11.962 kilometres of made roads against 2098 in 1848.

After the compromise with Austria an energetic road-making began. Roads in consequence of the making of railways lost much of their significance in connection with the general traffic of the land, but their significance increased in respect to local traffic. For the cheaper the railway rates the more burdensome was the expense of local transport over bad roads.

Changes in the character of many roads occurred in consequence. Numerous roads which had lost their significance in a national point of view were given over to the administration of the counties, while others which had been administered by the municipalities were taken over by the state. But in all essentials the system remained till 1890. There were state, county, and communal roads.

For the maintenance and making of the first provision was made by the state budget, for the county roads the counties made provision with the help of public labour which was now based on the principle of general taxation, while the maintenance of the communal roads fell on the parishes. The administration of the state and county roads was attended to by state officials.

At the end of 1889 the length of the state roads was 7177 kilometres, of which only 7 kilometres were unfinished. The length of the county roads was 33.394 kilometres, of which 9994 kilometres were unfinished.

Act. 1. of 1890, has fixed on new principles the administration of the roads, the management of the cost of maintaining and making the roads. Agreeably to this law which corresponded to a need of reform felt continually urged since 1867, public roads were classified as follows:

1. *State roads* which are of importance for the whole land, are made, administered and maintained by the state.

2. *Municipal roads* which are administered and maintained by the municipality.

3. *Roads leading to stations* the cost of which is defrayed proportionately by the counties and the interested parishes, companies and railways and which as a rule are administered by the counties.

4. *Communal roads* which several parishes join together to defray the cost of.

5. *Communal field roads*, which serve for the local traffic of individual parishes.

6. *Private roads* the cost of which falls on the proprietors.

With regard to state roads there was no change touching the defraying of the cost.

Agreeably to this law the maintenance of county roads is by means of road tax which all males from 18 to 60 have to pay. The minimum of this tax is 1 fl. 50 kr., the maximum is 10 per cent on the direct state taxes and can in extraordinary cases rise to 15 per cent.

The maximum of the road tax is decreed by the municipality according to the requirement and with the assent of the minister of commerce. Municipalities can permit the road taxes being paid in kind to the amount of half. The municipalities are supported by the state in the maintenance of roads important for strategic purposes.

For the maintenance of communal roads there is the res-

ource of public labour and ultimately the redeeming of the same. Every inhabitant is obliged to take his share in public labour, if he possesses beasts of burden with these, if not, with his own hands. For each beast of burden two days of work must be performed; the minimum of work is one day, for the proprietor of a house four days at the most. The work can be performed by deputy or redeemed with money, as the parish can compel the redemption on behoof of public works. The parish representatives decide on the amount of public work. The fore-mentioned law which at present arranges the question of public roads also determines the question of customs and lays the administration of the roads on better principles and has more effectually organised their supervision by the state.

The law was introduced in 1891 and its healthy effects are still to be felt although flaws are not absent now and then.

The road tax which was imposed in 1894 amounted altogether to 8,200.593 florins, while the redemption value of conscript public labour before the passing of the law, amounted yearly to an average of about 7,063.118 florins. The amount of the road tax has therefore become much larger but its burden is more easily borne at present because it is distributed with greater justice. The larger total renders possible a better maintenance of the roads.

At the end of 1894 the length of the state roads was 7760 kilometres of which 28·8 kil. were not macadamised. On the administration and maintenance the state expended from 1867 to 1894 101,856,522 florins; on bridges 3,701.150 florins, on repairs 1,781.859 florins, on the making of new roads 4,969.822 florins. For 1895 4,300,361 florins were laid aside by the budget for road purposes and for 1896 4,432.050 florins.

The length of the county roads at the end of 1894 was 34.675 kilometres, of which 10.545 kilometres were not macadamised. The length of the communal roads was 30.164 kilometres, of which only 9502 were macadamised. The communal field roads amounted to 62.887 kilometres and to a great part were not macadamised.

The circumstance must be particularly noticed as a remarkable advance that macadamised roads are increasing even in the Alföld (lowland) which was once very much behind-hand in respect of roads.

In order to improve the condition of the roads on the low plain between the Danube, Tisza and Kőrös, to enable the railways to tap this district energetically and to give an example of road-making to the district, the cutting of a great crossroad was undertaken in 1894, whose length is about 259 kilometres and the cost of which will run to 3,855.000 florins, the greater part of which about three millions and a half the state itself bears. This road begins at Baja, touches Keczel, Halas, Félegyháza, Csongrád, Szentes, Kun-Szent-Márton, Szarvas, Csaba, Gyula and Székudvar and debouches near Erdőhegy into the state road of Debreczen to Fehértemplom. The works on this road are in full progress.

Another interesting incident must be remarked.

Partly for the execution of Act. I. of 1890, partly in consequence of other changes occurred as to the importance of the high roads there was required a new arrangement of the network of state roads. The necessity arose to hand over to the municipalities those which had lost their importance for trade or strategic purpose and further to complete the system of state roads by undertaking new lines. In 1895 this system was revised and in 1896 the carrying out of this plan for ten years takes its commencement. For the latter we had to allow a long interval in order not to burden the finances of the municipalities and the state. Accordingly the state system of roads was increased by 205 kilometres in 1896, while agreeably to the carrying out of the plan every line of road, of any public importance, whether for purposes of trade or for strategy, and naturally the new transverse road will fall into the hands of the state. The state system of roads will then form a united whole from east and west of the Danube to the frontiers, from the north frontier to Pozsony and Komárom, with four lines from the north to Budapest and

from there further to the south frontier and in numerous lines from the north to the south-east frontiers. In specially large numbers will it penetrate Transylvania.

After the project is perfectly carried out the system of roads already 135.000 kilometres long will be still more imposing.

After all we cannot say that the high roads have lost their significance. They have only changed their rôle. The importance of this rôle will increase in proportion as the efforts of our traffic policy to elevate navigation succeed and as the tendency which is pronounced in all Europe succeeds in winning that importance for water-ways so long neglected for purposes of traffic which they naturally enjoy. And as the high roads which run along lines of navigation have been most neglected, the greatest attention will be paid to these.

The water-way is the means of transport for goods in bulk possessing relatively small worth but which in an economical point of view are the more precious, such as grain, and coal. And although the direction of our rivers does not always correspond to that of our commercial traffic, it is a great benefit to the land that it is precisely the countries pierced by the great water-ways which produce the most grain, which are in want of the largest number of the stones which are produced at the upper course of the rivers and, which consume the most coals and will consume them specially in the future. Therefore our navigation policy has made such a step in advance as to correspond with this new arrangement of things and further to establish the necessary contact and cooperation between boat and railway. The length of the navigation lines under state control is 3094·5 kilometres. Of these 350 kilometres for the two navigation canals the Béga and Francis canals, and 120·5 kilometres for the lake Balaton must be deducted. On the navigable rivers there are 2624 kilometres and of these 2504 kilometres are open to steamers, a smaller traffic with rudder boats and rafts is in existence also on other rivers. For navigation most important naturally is the Danube line of 1033 kilometres and

the united lines of the Tisza, Save and Drave of 1294 kilometres and the two navigable canals.

In the interest of the regulation and navigability of the rivers the Hungarian state has done much. It makes many sacrifices at present and will do so in the future, and since the last decade the systematic regulation of rivers has been carried on with particular reference to the interests of navigation.

Agreeably to the special regulations of the Budapest portion of the Danube, Act. 8 of 1885 determined the regulation of the upper Danube from D  vény to Dunaradv  ny, for which 17 million florins were set aside. The result of this regulation is important for navigation, for the water has now the desired depth, the constant raking of the bed has ceased, lading and unloading of the boats so as to lighten them are unnecessary, the distance by boat is shorter and the towing is easier. In 1895 a united regulation of the middle Danube was decided on at an expense of 52 millions, from which enormous advantages will result for navigation. The systematic regulation of the Tisza is in progress and also the transference of its junction with the Francis canal, works which require an expense of 17 millions and will likewise be of great advantage for water traffic. And something which ought to have been mentioned in the first place, the great work of regulating the Iron Gate is attaining its completion, a work which will obviate the worst hindrances to the Danube navigation, will raise the walls which almost close the most important river of Hungary against the east and will render it possible that even the greatest river boats can ascend the Danube as far as Orsova.

To show the great sacrifices which modern Hungary has made on this department of navigation we must mention that the country has spent on its water-ways 80.2 millions from 1867 to 1896.

With regard to canals the two existing ones are of old date — the Bega canal was made in 1777, partly by utilising the river bed, the Francis canal was made between 1793

and 1801 by a limited company at an expense of 3,200.000 florins. In 1842 the canal became the property of the state, who handed it over in 1870 to a company for 75 years, which obliged themselves to keep the canal in full repair, to make a tributary canal from Baja to Bezdán, to make the Sugovicza arm of the Danube navigable and to construct a navigation and irrigation canal from Kis-Sztapár to Ujvidék. The Bega canal forms a medium of transport of the first class for the raw products from the rich land lying south of the lower Maros towards the Danube and the Tisza; while the Francis canal forms less a transit way between the Danube and the Tisza than a means of communication for the neighbourhood since it secures the communication of this district with the Danube and the Tisza. With regard to the making of new canals many plans have arisen in this century, of which not one has been realised.

Act. 38 of 1840 granted the concession to the making of a canal which should bind the Danube with the Tisza from Budapest and Bölcske to Szeged, Csongrád and Szolnok. Also the first Hungarian loan was devoted to the purpose of making canals as well as railways. Plans were also started for the making of canals from Tisza-lök to Gyoma, from Szatmár to Gyoma, from Vukovár to Samacz, which latter was also intended to open a water-way from the Danube to Fiume, and the minister of commerce has granted once more the concessions at the beginning of 1896 to commence the preliminary work in making this canal.

In the interest of navigation measures have been and will be taken for the necessary winter stations.

On the fore-going lines navigation is undertaken partly by inland, partly by foreign companies and syndicates, apart from the ferry companies of which there are nine and among which those of Budapest are naturally the most important. The Hungarian companies had at the end of 1894 113 steamers with 19,590 horsepower, also 1280 tugs with a draught of 266.950 tons. In the same year they carried 197.394 pas-

sengers i. e. 6,472.763 persons-kilometres and 1,406.441 tons of goods i. e. 307.844.068 tons-kilometres.

The greater part of the water traffic in Hungary is carried on by the Austrian Danube steamship company founded in 1830, which owes its magnitude to count Stephen Széchenyi. The company which received a privilege in 1846 and settled in Vienna proceeded from small beginnings until in 1894 it possessed 154 paddle-boats, 25 screws, 8 chain-ships, a total of 183 steamboats with 62.990 horsepower and 766 iron tugs with a capacity of 288.567 tons. This company made in Hungary in 1894, 62.250.368 persons-kilometres and 718.022.840 tons-kilometres. Furthermore the Bavarian South German Danube steamship company made 22.212.664 tons-kilometres and the boats of the Roumanian steamship company 10.034.400 tons-kilometres.

As the privilege of the Danube steamship company expired in 1856 in consequence of the Paris treaty, Hungarian steamship companies were soon founded but they could not compete with the great Austrian company. In 1871 the United Hungarian Steamship Company was founded by the fusion of the Budapest steamship syndicates with a capital of 8 millions, but this could likewise not endure the competition, and when the state refused an application in regard to the guarantee of interest it was compelled to liquidate. Their fleet was bought by the Danube steamship company, along with which only the Hungarian steamship limited company existed as the only undertaking of importance, but not as a company as would have been desired to represent the interests of Hungarian traffic in water-ways.

For the fulfilment of this mission the Hungarian River and Sea navigation Company limited was founded at the beginning of 1895 on the strength of Act. 36 of 1894, with a capital of 10 million florins and a yearly subvention advanced by the state of 400.000 florins. The company was constituted on the ground of an agreement concluded with the treasury and incorporated in the just mentioned law, according

to which the company is prepared to maintain a regular passenger and freight service on the Danube between Baja and Apatin, Vukovár and Ujvidék, Zimony and Galatz, on the Tisza between Szolnok and Szeged, on the Save between Sabácz and Mitrowitz, also on the Danube from Orsova to Galatz and from Pozsony to Ratisbon. The company also forwards ordinary goods in bulk of transport on the Danube, Tisza, Save and Drave. The foregoing contract secures to the government the control of tariff, while the company serves the interests of Hungarian traffic in relation to Hungarian waters. The company rented the fleet of the Hungarian state railway and has acquired the ships of the Hungarian steamship company and of the firm of Luczenbacher by purchase. It was first founded in 1895 and though not bound to be in full working before 1897, it has already now at its disposal a considerable fleet which consists in 1896 of 30 steamers of 10.330 horsepower and 212 tugs with a draught of 100.400 tons, and will shortly undergo a considerable increase. In 1895 the company carried 165.363 passengers with 6.177.650 persons-kilometres and 309.316 tons of goods with 106.955.456 tons-kilometres. One of the tasks of the company consists in working in cooperation with the state railways and in remaining in communication with them, for water-ways have the vocation of being a valuable and powerful supporter of the national state system of railways, in the service of those important interests which are connected with the advancement and distribution of our raw products, our industrial activity, and our commerce to be achieved by a developed system of traffic.

To attain this object the great transshipment stations are used of Szolnok, Vukovár, Zimony, Básiás and Mitrovitz and particularly the great junctions of Pozsony, Budapest and Orsova, which will be erected in the near future; among which the Pozsony station will be of great importance, because it will extend the tariff power of the Hungarian state and the activity of the commercial system of the Hungarian railways towards the west. The station of Orsova will be of

high importance because by its means the regulation of the Iron Gate will receive its full value and the system of the Hungarian state railways will be connected with the sea and ultimately with the Black Sea. The contract concluded with this object with the »Adria« Hungarian Sea Navigation company orders this company to have two of their ships at least perpetually stationed there and so to effect communication with the ports of this sea and particularly with Constantinople.

We must mention that the Hungarian government at the beginning of this year with the object of furthering nautical education established a course for naval officers. And now we may speak of Hungary's naval traffic.

Hungary is but little touched by the sea but we have learned to appreciate the importance of these small coasts by experience as well as by those wars of railway tariffs which intended to block up our exports.

Until 1880 the Austrian Lloyd managed our marine exclusively. This company we subsidised in common with Austria until 1891, when we cancelled our contract with this company and entrusted the interests of our marine exclusively to the »Adria«. The Lloyd managed the traffic from Fiume and Trieste, partly with other Austrian, partly with Eastern ports. The »Adria« founded in 1830, became a Hungarian company in 1881, the contract concluded with it was incorporated in Act. 13 of 1882. This company received a yearly subvention of 150,000 florins and had to make 150 voyages for that to west European ports. The business done by the company was at first considerable but it had great difficulties to contend with because its capital was insufficient, so that in order to carry out its voyages it had to charter too many ships. Act. 30 of 1891 entirely abolished this bad state of things by settling its yearly subsidy at 570.000 florins and compelling the company to increase their fleet; further instead of the 192 voyages of 607.980 miles yearly settled in 1884, to make 279 voyages of 911.400 miles. Accordingly the company had to undertake seventy-eight voyages from

Fiume to English ports, 36 voyages from English ports to Fiume, 24 from Fiume to French ports and back, 18 to Spain, 12 to Italy, Malta and Tunis and back, 6 to Hamburg and Brazil and 15 extraordinary tours yearly on the same lines.

And the »Adria« fulfilled its obligations, although its own boats are not yet sufficient to manage the traffic. After the convention with the Austrian Lloyd ended simultaneously with the conclusion of the »Adria« contract it was provided that those steamboats of the Lloyd which manage voyages that are of importance also for us should touch at Fiume without subsidy, while the Spanish voyages of the »Adria« should touch at Trieste.

Along with the »Adria« the Hungarian-Croatian Sea Navigation ship Company enjoys a subsidy from the state which manages the coast traffic along the Hungarian-Croatian littoral. The voyages between Fiume, Venice and Ancona are also subsidised.

By these subsidised voyages the traffic of Fiume and that of the Hungarian-Croatian ports is secured and also the continual increase in the business of these ports, for which purpose the state also supports shipbuilding.

To give some figures with regard to the above we must mention that the »Adria« which made two hundred and fifteen voyages in 1884, carried out 610 in 1894 and carried 609.692 tons of goods, while the length of the collective voyages was 1,336.061 miles.

The Hungarian-Croatian company forwarded 639.409 tons of goods and 198.755 passengers. The traffic on the Fiume, Venice and Ancona line comprised 179.642 tons of goods and 6188 passengers.

With the officials at Fiume 473 boats are registered with the capacity of 66.186 tons and 7226 horsepower draught, among these 65 steamers of 36.952 tons. Among the steamers there are 31 sea-steamers of 34.128 tons and 5.654 horsepower, 33 coasting-boats of 2729 tons and 1482 horsepower and 1 steamboat for long coasting voyages.

Among the sailing-boats there are 54 sea-going of 26.814

tons, 126 coasting-boats of 1920 tons and 1 sailing-vessel for long coast voyages.

The number of fishing-boats is 227. We must especially mention that sailing-vessels are on the decrease but steam-boats on the increase.

The state also took measures for the increase of the sea traffic not only by systematising the voyages but also by a proper making of havens. The complete cost of making Fiume haven was 42 million florins, and similar sums were spent on the other and smaller ports. These great efforts bear their fruits. Hungarian traffic is constantly increasing; in 1879 the number of steamers which touched at our ports and left them again was only 9336 of 843.803 tons, but in 1893 30.721 boats of 2,630.534 tons. From Fiume in 1879, 2276 steamboats of 298.472 tons left the harbour, while 1656 boats of 206.463 tons entered it. In 1894 7196 boats of 1,072.176 tons left and 7170 boats of 1,070.625 tons entered. Corresponding with the ship traffic the trade of this port has also increased. In 1879 the total freight was 3,054.931 metric-cwts. of the value of 29.6 million florins. In 1894 10,513.489 metric-cwts. of the value of 127 million florins. The gradual increase is evident most in import, the greater part of which comes from the Austrian, Brazilian, French, East-Indian, English, Italian, Russian and Spanish ports.

Of the imports in value of 60,606.253 florins 26,920.985 florins fall to Hungarian, 12,296.664 florins to Austrian, 21,388.604 florins to other foreign ships. Exports go principally to Hungarian, Austrian, and Belgian, Brazilian, French, English, Dutch and Italian ports, 33,702.718 florins fall to Hungarian, 6,307.194 florins to Austrian, and 26,411.918 florins to other foreign ships.

We must mention that the Hungarian state railways have supported by tariff arrangements the traffic of Fiume, which has at its disposal large storehouses; and we now go to the most important most effective and most modern factors of traffic, namely the railways. At the end of 1894

the length of the railway system in the dominions of the Hungarian crown was 13,141.928 kilometres, of which 8,504.889 kilometres fell to the principal railways and their dependencies and 4,637.035 kilometres to local lines. These railways had altogether 2106 engines, 4297 carriages and 49,011 waggons, 1892 stations, out of which 181 were joint and 20 frontier stations. The effective capital invested of the main lines was 877,070.102 florins, of local 160,788.054 florins. Of the invested capital for strictly building purposes 746,719.121 florins, with the main lines and 153,796.169 florins for local lines. For carriages the main lines have spent 141,223.494 florins, local 6,991.885 florins. The nominal amount in the main lines was 1,115,720.569 florins, in the local 178,410.392 florins.

The railways made 59,289.598 engine-kilometres, with their passenger carriages 437,551.404 ax-kilometres, with their luggage waggons 1,737,540.418 ax-kilometres, with post-waggon-carts 52,364.352. The train traffic with passenger trains amounted to 31,209.157 kilometres, by luggage trains 23,045.668 kilometres, in freight trains 775.260 kilometres, so that the total traffic through all the railways was 55,030.085 train-kilometres.

The railways have carried 49,578.839 travellers, i. e. 745.934 of the first class, 9,080.210 of the second, 38,303.724 of the third and 1,448.971 soldiers, these passengers having accomplished 2,026,891.744 kilometres. There have been forwarded 27,514.743 tons of freight and despatch goods, 13,200.469 tons of goods in bond, and 14.542 tons of baggage, which have been carried 458,342.047 kilometres.

Among the goods were 219.183 tons of express luggage, 3,560.760 tons of parcel goods and 23,730.800 tons of goods freight. According to the kind of article there were 5,238.495 tons of coal, 413.199 tons of pig iron, 651.342 tons of wrought iron, 815.861 tons of wheat, 5,969.374 tons of grain, 1,269.620 tons of firewood, 2,604.483 tons of planking, 1,463.638 tons of flour, 435.321 tons of salt, 459.056 tons of wine, 1,695.361 tons of stone, lime and bricks, 165.692 tons of beer, 257.548 of

mineral oil, 149.359 tons of spirit, 416.250 tons of cask staves, 125.214 of plums, to mention only the most important articles. Of parcel goods 15,881.771 tons to inland traffic, 4,388.580 tons to export, 2,995.478 tons to import, 468.971 tons to transit.

The main lines had receipts of 97,568.218 florins; expenses of 54,190.628 florins. Local lines had receipts of 10,079.285 florins, expenses of 5,587.810 florins and surplus of 4,491.475 florins.

The duties of the lines were discharged by 6735 officials and 26.872 subordinates and servants.

These figures show the train system of modern Hungary in general outline and offer the best standpoint for judging what economical relations are personified by the railway lines of Hungary and how far these are able to meet our economical necessities. To give a still better basis for judging the object and services of the lines we must go into details.

The length of the main lines is 8,504.³⁹³ kilometres. The government possesses 7184.⁹⁰⁷ kilometres of these, while the length of private main lines is only 1,319.⁸⁸⁶ kilometres. Two private lines have however great importance: Kassa-Oderberg which possesses 426.110 kilometres of which 362.641 kil. are on Hungarian soil: and the Southern Railway line of which 701.⁵⁴⁷ kilometres are likewise on Hungarian soil. But apart from this these figures show that the government lines control the Hungarian railway Traffic.. It is also plain what small importance the so-called joint lines have at present, i. e. those which have lines in Hungary as well as Austria and which played such an important rôle in Hungarian traffic no very long time ago.

With regard to the local railways, at the end of 1894 3,541.³²⁹ kilometres of the system of local railways (4,637.⁰⁸⁵ kilometres long) was under the administration of the Hungarian state railways, so that the management of the latter had at its disposal at the end of 1894 over 10,726.²³⁶ kilometres, that is over 81.62 per cent. of the whole Hungarian system. This was direct control, and not merely a management of the tariff regulations, which extends equally to all railways.

The system of Hungarian state railways extends if not in great

dimensions yet continually, and also the number of local lines is fast increasing whose administration was taken over in virtue of the law about local railways. The frontier line Máramaros-Sziget-Kőrösmező is begun to be made. This will make a new point of contact with Galicia. The legislature has ordered the making of the Transylvanian lines, whose total length will be 329.5 kilometres and of which the line of Sepsiszent-György-Csik-Rákospály Gyimes will be first ready. Thus the Hungarian state lines in 1896 together with the »peage« lines and foreign junctions have already 12,201.²⁸⁷ kilometers in administration and with the industrial lines 12,454.¹⁰⁰ kilometers, so that the principal portion of the railway system is in the possession of the administration of the state, which therefore has a mighty system at its disposal, in which it exercises a powerful influence on the course of our national economy.

The management of this system is conducted by the central board along with nine subordinate offices. Subordinate to these latter and in cooperation with them there are 13 administrations of traffic and of management which control the external service with 29,421 men, i. e. 4,862 officials, 8,099 subordinates and 14,964 servants. For the education of the officials there is a regular official course.

The system of state railways does not only increase in size but its activity is more and more intensive. The stations are always being enlarged, new stations are being built, double lines laid, station lines increased, wooden bridges changed for iron bridges, signal, heating, and lighting arrangements completed, tires changed for heavier and steel tires, engines and carriages increased. In 1894 the state railways had 1,704 engines, 3,518 carriages, and 40,843 freight waggons.

With regard to the *tariffs* we must remark that all the traffic regulation and all the general arrangements of tariff are the same for the railways of Austria and Hungary in virtue of a contract.

The present tariff for passengers the so-called zone system was inaugurated on the 1st of August 1889, according to

which there must be distinguished long and short distance. The former is divided into 14 zones and the price is regulated by sections. In short distances there are two degrees, the first to the next station, the second to the next following station.

On the 1st of March 1896 this tariff underwent some change in consequence of experience, so that the tariff for passengers in Hungarian state lines is now as follows.

Distance	Zone	Dist. in kilometres	Passenger Trains			Express Trains		
			I.	II.	III.	L.	II.	III.
			C l a s s			Fare in Florins		
Short	1	1—10	0·30	0·15	0·10	—	—	—
"	2	11—15	0·40	0·22	0·15	—	—	—
"	3	16—20	0·50	0·30	0·20	—	—	—
Long	I.	21—25	0·60	0·40	0·25	0·75	0·50	0·30
"	II.	—	1·20	0·80	0·50	1·50	1·—	0·60
"	III.	—	1·80	1·20	0·75	2·25	1·50	0·90
"	IV.	—	2·40	1·60	1·—	3·—	2·—	1·20
"	V.	—	3·—	2·—	1·25	3·75	2·50	1·50
"	VI.	—	3·60	2·40	1·50	4·50	3·—	1·80
"	VII.	—	4·20	2·80	1·75	5·25	3·50	2·10
"	VIII.	—	4·80	3·20	2·—	6·—	4·—	2·40
"	IX.	—	5·40	3·60	2·25	6·75	4·50	2·70
"	X.	—	7·—	4·—	2·50	7·50	5·—	3·—
"	XI.	—	6·60	4·40	2·75	8·25	5·50	3·30
"	XII.	—	7·20	4·80	3·—	9·—	6·—	3·60
"	XIII.	—	8·10	5·40	3·50	10·59	7·—	4·20
"	XIV.	—	9·—	6·—	4·—	12·—	8·—	5·—

The zone tariff has contrary to former tariffs especially on the longest and shortest lines procured enormous reductions of fares, and consequently considerable increase in the numbers of passengers in these lines, and has increased the income of the state railways for passengers considerably. Moreover since Budapest became the central point by this tariff, the tariff has helped considerably to increase the business of the capital.

Most local lines and of the main lines, the Kassa-Oderberg line, have adopted the Zone system.

The local tariff for goods came into force on the 1st of

January 1890 and the common points of it making allowance for the changes on the 15th of August 1892 are the following :

Express Goods			S l o w G o o d s									
Distance	Ordinary	Reduced and special rates	I. Class (regular)	II. Class	Goods in bulk	Distance	Lowest Luggage rate					
							A) Class	B) Class	C) Class and special	1. Special-Tariff	3. Special tariff and Except	2. Exceptional
Price per 100 kilos in Kreuzers												
For 200 km.	1·3	0·6	0·72	0·52	0·9	For 200 km.	0·32	0·21	0·16	0·27	0·13	0·11
Beyond »	1·0	0·5	0·52	0·42	0·5	» 400 »	0·24	0·17	0·18	0·15	0·10	0·02
Manege						Beyond »	0·16	0·10	0·09	0·10	0·07	0·06
Rate ---	10·0	10·0	10·0	10·0	10·0	Man. Rate	6·00	4·00	4·00	5·00	3·00	3·00

As will be seen the tariff rests, apart from the absolute moderateness of charges, on a system of graduation so that the scale is proportionately smaller for long distances than for short ones. In reckoning the scale the unit is 10 kilom., so that for long distances of 80 to 90 kilom. the charge is reckoned for 85 kilom., from 90 to 100 kilom. for 95 kilom.

Along with this there is quite a quantity of exceptional tariffs, for the transport of important wares, if these are consigned in certain stations of the railway.

The total income of the Hungarian state railways in 1894 was 85,332.755 florins 33 kr. The expenses 48,628.794 florins 43 kr. and the surplus 36,703.960 florins 90 kr. Since however the call for interest and a sinking fund for the capital invested in these railways demanded 43,701.311 florins in this year it was necessary to supplement this with 6,997.350 florins from the state income of 1894. The cause of this lies in the unfavourable circumstances which had to be overcome until at last we succeeded in completing the present gigantic railway system.

The history of the Hungarian railways and especially of the state lines is full of hard struggles.

Act. 25 of 1836 indicated a complete railway system which

already comprises the main lines of the land. However the first 35 kilo m. of railway lines were first opened in 1845. At the end of 1866 the length of the railways was 2160 kilom. After the reestablishment of the constitution there was in the department of railway projection and railway making a feverish activity which lasted to the end of 1873. The length of the lines at the end of 1873 was 6253 kilometres certainly, but on the other hand this system was saddled with all those evils which occasioned difficulties of finances and traffic policy. When the government took the lead of affairs it found the system of interest guarantee already established and it could not let it drop without abandoning the construction of new lines. Further the government was faced by the difficulty that the necessary influence was not secured to the state over the two largest railways. The government did everything which was possible in the unfavourable financial relations of the state. It made the first step to call the state railways into life and to check the power of the influential companies which arrayed themselves in hostility to the interests of the land. But success was only secured when a beginning of state action was made by taking over the »Tisza« railway. Then came the buying up of the great lines between 1889 and 1891 which established the state railways in their present dominant position, to which the lines constructed at the expense of the state also naturally contributed. This policy also lightened the burdens of the state. An idea can be formed of the enormity of these burdens when it is mentioned that the state paid up till the end of 1894, 199.384.799 florins for guaranteed interest. The redeeming of the railways by the state helped the traffic interests of the land to triumph, but it could not quite obliterate the financial results of the older management, the expensive and reckless construction of railways.

At present we have done with the financial calamities and the war of tariffs which often enough were prejudicial to the reputation of the state ; now the fore-mentioned 6.997.350 florins (which sum besides decreases from year to year) are

no more of importance as the state railways first and foremost have to serve great economical purposes.

Along with the redemption of the great railways emulous activity began in the establishment of local lines. When the system of long lines was near completion there was the necessity that those districts should have a railway connection which were not included in the great system, not only from the point of view of the districts interested but also in the interests of the great railways, because the local lines were to act as collectors and feeders for the main lines. On the other hand the state could not take any special burdens on itself in the interest of these secondary lines, because the establishment of them was not interwoven with the direct interests of the land. The support of the interested districts was therefore necessary for that purpose, because the dividends of these lines were not likely to be such that private capital could undertake their construction without any support. In this way Act. 30 of 1880 and Act. 4 of 1888, which modifies it, were promulgated, which treat of the business of local railways, establishing the system of the support of the railways, of the contributions of those interested, determine the financing and the construction of these lines and order that the Hungarian state railways must undertake the administration of the same. On this basis the local lines have reached their present considerable development and are still progressing.

The effective capital invested in the local lines was 160,788,054 florins at the end of 1894. The state contributed under various titles 21,971,682 florins, the municipalities 12,275,572 florins, private individuals 20,418,033 florins, so that altogether 54,665,287 florins were contributed. These railways have issued shares of the nominal value of 61,069,575 fls. and preference shares of the value of 112,724,200 fls. For dividends on the preference shares 3,304,981 fls. were paid in 1894 and on ordinary shares 317,028 fls. Only ten local lines paid dividends and only one, the Arad-Csanád railway could pay six per cent.

To conclude we will mention the tramways. The length of these at the end of 1894 was 174 kilometres, of which 23 were worked by electricity 54·8 by steam and 96·2 by horses. The interest of these lines amounted to 6·46 per cent. of the invested capital in the fore-mentioned year.

In addition to this there were at that date 906. 3 Kilom. of traction lines of which 294·1 served for mining purposes, and 364·8 Kilom. for forest and 73·1 for agricultural purposes. Moreover, 1244.8 Kilometres of industrial lines were workable either by animals or by manual traction.

Such is the picture of the present system of the Hungarian railways. There is no room now and no need for the further development of the main lines. The time has arrived for the improvement of those we have and their thorough working.

Simultaneously with the railways, *posts and telegraphs* made rapid strides. At the end of 1894, there were in Hungary 4.463 post-offices, representing a traffic of 321 million letters and 16 million parcels. The increase has been prodigious since the constitutional era. In 1868 there were only 1337 post-offices, with a traffic of not more than 53 million letters. During the same interval the telegraph lines have been extended from 8.429 to 23.547 Kilom. the length of wires from 21.635 to 101.859 Kilom. The organisation of the telegraph stations and their movements developed in similar proportions. Finally, that most modern instrument for the development of human thought, the *Telephone*, has been acclimatised in Hungary, not only in the capital, but also in provincial towns, several of which are so connected. At the end of 1894 the length of telephone wires was 20.214 Kilometres.

Hungary, in all which relates to the means of transport and communication, is gaining a closer and closer resemblance with the civilised West. If its economic life is less stirring and less energetic, the character of that life is notwithstanding identical with that of western countries; and Hungary now competes with the great nations of the West on the arena of civilisation.

Money & Credit.

The first gold coins in Hungary were stamped by king Robert Charles in 1343 after a Florentine pattern with the lilies of the house of Anjou.

This clean stamped gold coin of fine metal marked with the lilies is as it were a symbol of the Hungarian nation. Western civilisation has impressed its stamp on the Hungarian nation but the nation has preserved its ancestral virgin purity just as the noble metal of our hills which was impressed by the chisel of the Italian artist.

The Hungarians as the last wave of the great migrations are called even at present par excellence »the eastern people«. And yet the Hungarians since the beginning of the XI. century have separated themselves sharply from the east and with the full strength of their passionate soul have attached themselves to the West whose civilisation they have emulously assimilated. This community of culture has extended also to our economic relationships. Mining, handicrafts, trades, although they had their individual traits, yet stood in vital connection with the related branches of industry in western Europe

The economic importance of Hungary was elevated by the circumstance that as one of the great routes of the trade with the Levant it was drawn quite into the current of European trade. A lively interchange of goods produces also a lively

interchange of money. To Robert Charles belongs the merit of having established the money system on a firm basis in Hungary. Yet even at his time Hungarian coinage was 300 years old. Our first king St. Stephen coined silver money. As the unit he used the Bavarian mark, but Bela I. changed it for the Hungarian mark which was like the later Buda »gira«. The weight and name of the coinage were continually changing and debasement of the coin agreeably to the custom of the time was prevalent. At the end of the twelfth century the coinage of Bela III. were conspicuous by their full weight and good alloy.

Our first king coined no gold pieces nor his followers of the house of Arpád. Along with the Hungarian silver money Byzantine gold pieces were in circulation. The gold pieces coined by Robert Charles and his successors are among the purest so far as their material is concerned and among the most trustworthy in weight. During a century neither their purity nor their weight had changed. For this reason they were not only much sought after, but they served also in Germany as standards for the different gold pieces.

Our silver money showed less permanence although the reforms of Robert Charles affected it likewise. In the second half of the reign of king Matthias silver money was coined of good quality, though both his weak successors flooded the market with coins of false weight and silver alloyed with copper.

After the catastrophe of Mohács, that great national misfortune, our money deteriorated more and more; the treasury and private people alike practised debasement of the coin. In vain a strict law was passed against debasement of coin by private people, in vain also was the circulation of bad money coined by the state supported by law. The confusion continued to endure and the credit of the bad coinage could not be upheld.

The quarrels about the succession and still more the Turkish invasion which dismembered the great and mighty kingdom

of Hungary and changed the most happy districts into desolate wastes undermined gradually the social independence of the land. That small strip of land in the west which along with the Holy Crown had remained in possession of the house of Habsburg could not maintain its own social independence against the hereditary lands of Austria. Also after the collapse of the Turkish power the land depopulated and worn out by long intestine feuds was not strong enough for the purpose.

Our mines yielded the noble metals in rich abundance. Maria Theresa caused 150 million florins to be coined between 1740 and 1773 out of the gold and silver which had been obtained from the Hungarian mines. In spite of our richness in raw productions and our primitive manner of life, gold flowed more out of the land through the channel of our foreign trade than into the land. This was a consequence of the artificial and violent distortion of our foreign trade. Even in the 18th century the old mediaeval conception was still dominant, which made no difference between national income and royal income, revenue was regarded as a royal income and its regulation was one of the privileges of the king. This was the cause of great evils at that time when the revenue ceased to be a mere source of money and gradually became a medium of political economy and the interests of Hungary were consequently sacrificed to the Austrians who lived under a common ruler. For nearly a century the chief hindrance to the economic development of Hungary was to be sought in that quarrelsome policy of duty-revenue which made our land a mere colony of the more advanced dominions of Austria. We had to patiently bear those financial disturbances which from time to time ravaged the well-being of Austria, but the sources of prosperity which so richly bloomed there were closed against us.

Grievous wounds were dealt to our finances by that epoch of paper money which began at the close of last century and ended at the second decade of this century with a double reduction in the value of assignats, by which the

small capital was destroyed which had been collected by the industry of our people and by the foreign trade which had grown more lively in the French war. With the bank-notes issued by the government Hungary had legally nothing to do. None the less they flooded the land and as they sank to a fifth of their worth and the bonds given in change for them sank to four tenths of their worth our land deficient in capital suffered enormous losses and public credit was profoundly shaken.

Our credit relations were also otherwise unfavourable. This was due not only to our want of capital but also to the deficiency of proper laws of credit. The slowness and insecurity of our law which allowed the germs of credit never to ripen was principally founded in that mediaeval conception of our old laws which protected the debtor against the creditor. It was grounded also on our ancestral institutions, on our right of landed property interwoven with the feudal elements with which society in those days was intrinched.

The best people in the nation who had imbibed the fresh spirit of the time felt the necessity of social and financial reformation. The great mass of the nation who had defended the ancestral constitution with tough obstinacy against the centralising und germanising efforts of the Vienna government feared that if the most important supports, the privileges of the nobles, were taken from our constitution the whole edifice would collapse. Hence their great diffidence in any reform, any innovation. And when in 1825 the national spirit once more blazed forth, the enthusiasm showed itself principally in the passionate speeches of politicians. A man must come as it were sent by providence who would lead his nation with the strong belief and the visionary eye of a prophet to their regeneration.

The noble conflicts of 1830—40, are connected with the name of the great Széchenyi. It was he who wrote upon his banner »Education and material Progress«. It was he who destroyed the old rotten arrangements which were no longer

heritages but hindrances to the development of our nation. Almost simultaneously with the birth of modern Hungary was organised credit born in our land. The efforts directed to that remained unfruitful as long as the credit laws so much demanded were not passed. Many evils of justice and property law were cured by the laws of 1836. But in 1840 along with the laws of exchange which stood at the highest summit of judiciary conception came the bankruptcy law and a whole multitude of commercial laws connected with it.

This year the first money establishment was founded, the Pest National savings bank. Andreas Fay the Hungarian judge, the excellent fabulist, the warm friend of the people founded this establishment, which from small beginnings has reached such a point of development that at the end of 1895 it had at its disposal 5 million florins share capital and 16 million florins reserve and security fund and administered nearly a hundred million florins of deposits. This establishment began its career under the protection of the county of Pest in two small rooms which were assigned it in the county court house. It was instituted as a philanthropic establishment in order to awaken in the lower classes the practice of industry and thrift. The first founders gave their contributions without any hope of profit in order to create the so-called security for the establishment, i. e. the necessary funded capital for the carrying on of business. In the same year and exactly on the same lines the second savings bank was opened, that in Arad, the flourishing town in the Alföld. In 1841 in Nagy-Szeben a savings bank was also founded as a philanthropic institute.

The first savings bank with shares was founded in Pozsony in 1842. Forthwith the new institutions all took the same form without exception and also the elder ones except those in Nagy-Szeben and Brasso passed over to this form in a short time. This transformation is very important, for by this means these institutions ceased to be savings banks strictly taken and became deposit banks. What was the

reason why these institutions which were planted in our midst in all their purity so quickly transformed themselves on Hungarian soil? It would be an unjust supposition that the cultivated classes who were called upon to lead the way failed through disinterestedness and want of public spirit, contrary to what has been the case in foreign countries. It was other circumstances which occasioned the change. Count Stephen Széchenyi saw the reason of the weakness of our nation in our material inferiority and in our poverty. He wished to see the Hungarians rich and prosperous and directed all his efforts to awaken in them the desire of material profit. Act. 18 of 1840 with its liberal institutions gave a mighty impulse to the formation of limited companies. No wonder if this example also affected savings banks.

Yet there were other reasons. The most important was that our towns had no real autonomy. They were under the strict guardianship of the royal chamber and a real parish life could not be developed. The Austrian and German savings banks are principally parish institutions and were in organic connection with the parish. Circumstances were very unfavourable with us for the above reasons for the founding of parish savings banks.

But the transformed institution showed great vitality. Not a year passed in which new savings banks did not arise and in 1848 there were establishments of this kind in 36 towns. The deposits entrusted to them increased rapidly and at the end of 1847 amounted to 11 million florins. This fair development was interrupted by the troublous events of 1848—49 and most of our savings banks entered on the absolutist epoch with severe losses and shattered to their foundations.

Seven years after the first savings bank the first Hungarian Bank arose: The Pest Hungarian Commercial bank. The notes of the Austrian National Bank founded in 1816 in Vienna circulated also in Hungary, but the bank gave no credit to the trade and industry of Hungary. And yet the twin capital of the land, Buda-Pest, had already made rapid advance and by

reason of its favourable situation was a central point of the Danube trade and the Hungarian wholesale trade. The trade which had been developed could no longer do without the help of a credit establishment. In 1830 the merchants of Budapest started a movement for the erection of a bank, but owing to the petty captiousness of the government imperial Concession could only be obtained in 1841. The Pest Hungarian Commercial Bank was founded with a funded capital of 2 million florins, and rendered signal service to Budapest trade by exchange, discount, and cash advances on goods. It received considerable deposits in return for bonds, and increased in this way its available capital. But that rôle which was properly recognised as belonging to banks of issue the commercial bank was far from filling, and public opinion expressed itself emphatically for the erection of a note bank. The parliamentary committee which was appointed in the interest of trade business and the questions connected with made in 1843 a project of a note bank which was grounded on the principles of bank freedom. But this bill never became law. The Vienna government prevented this, not wishing to shake the monopoly of the Austrian national bank which was in close connection with the imperial finances, although this bank had no legal basis in Hungary.

The first responsible Hungarian ministry created a separate Hungarian note bank in 1848. The finance minister Louis Kossuth concluded the contract with the commercial bank in 1848 with regard to the issue, the administration and the security of the bank-notes. The contract secured the necessary independence of the bank and likewise the supervision of the state. The specie for the notes was contributed partly by the output from the treasury mines, partly by the self-sacrifice of the nation. For in those glorious days of patriotic enthusiasm rich and poor laid on the altar of their country all the gold and silver they possessed. Old family jewels, silver plates were melted into bullion.

The bank issued one and 2 fl. notes, because the circu-

lation of such small notes was particularly needed, inasmuch as the Austrian national bank acting under the influence of the events of March 1848 suspended the redemption of its notes. But the life of the bank lasted only a short time. In the spring of 1849 the commander in chief of the imperial army Prince Windischgraetz, took possession of Pest and confiscated the bullion of the bank.

After the cessation of the war of freedom the absolutist government confiscated and cancelled the Hungarian bank-notes without any compensation and by threats of severe penalties. The people of Hungary suffered a loss of nearly 62 million florins. Especially the districts on the Tisza were severely injured; for on the collapse of the national cause the greater part of the notes had been accumulated there.

The laws of 1848 had changed the old feudal constitution, had placed the legislature on the basis of popular representation, had placed the exercise of administration in the hands of a parliamentary responsible government, had banished vassalage and the other feudal relics of the middle ages and had realised the great principle of equality. But the storms of the war of freedom and the unfortunate collapse of the national cause did not allow the great principles embodied in the laws of 1848 to come to practical use. This was left as a heritage to the absolute Régime. For the hand of time could not be pushed back and the ideas ripened by the spirit of time had to be realised in some way or other.

Such a great transformation is never perfected without a convulsion. It was all the more critical for the Hungarian nation in that unhappy epoch when the reform was carried through by a government which neither appreciated the Hungarian national spirit nor the circumstances of the nation, which fostered hostility instead of sympathy and saw nothing else in Hungary but an uncivilised barbarous land which by the help of the Austrian Bureaucracy and police system must be won to civilisation.

That fair development which had begun in 1830 and

had become still stronger in 1840 was succeeded by a period of torpor. A reflection of this is shown in the circumstances of our money establishments at that time. Our only bank the Commercial, was in consequence of the issue of bank-notes exposed to numerous vexations and repeatedly on the point of liquidating. There were numerous savings banks which through the confiscation of the Hungarian bank-notes lost nearly all their share capital. Some of them were compelled to liquidate in consequence of their heavy losses, others expected to do so every day. The Austrian company law having been extended to Hungary by the edict of the 26th of November 1852 withal its coarse police regulations and equipped with retrospective powers, even those savings banks were compelled to apply for the authorisation of their statutes which had for a long while possessed approved statutes.

The absolutist government wished to force the Hungarian savings banks disregarding their independent development into the Procrustean bed of Austrian regulation from 1844. In many savings banks the process of approving their statutes lasted more than ten years. They were plagued with numerous threats and paltry captious regulations. No wonder that the spirit of enterprise so active from 1840 to 1848, was quite impaired and although there was a lack of savings banks in many of the principal towns of our land from 1850 to 60, not more than 2 were founded.

Our savings banks were in a very difficult position. The excess of money and the low rate of interest from 1840 to 48, was succeeded by scarcity of money. The state fighting with deficiencies was continually in need of credit and the state bonds of 5 and 6 per cent withdrew from the savings banks the capital which was begun to be formed. To this must be added in the spring of 1853, the regulation of the Austrian civil code which limited the rate of interest of loans granted on security at 5 per cent.

Our savings banks could therefore not charge more than 5 per cent for the mortgage and loan business which they

par excellence carried on. While they could not lower the interest on savings deposits beneath this rate for fear of complete collapse. They therefore willingly took up exchange and discount business and the sources of credit for landed property lost one of its means of supply. The founded money having found investment in state bonds, ceased in a great measure to satisfy the needs of credit of landed property. And yet Hungary was never more in need of credit than then. The aristocratic landed proprietors who had lost the gratuitous service of their bondmen saw all of a sudden unknown taxes and public burdens fall upon them. Our farming passed without any transition from productive farming to money jobbing.

The legislature of 1848 had foreseen the critical condition to which the landed classes must come through the abolition of vassalage, and decided on the erection of a Hungarian Hypothecary institute guaranteed by a public fund. But they could not gain the concession; for the absolutist government saw in the mortgages of such an institution a prejudice to the monopoly of note issues of the privileged Austrian national bank.

At the beginning of 1856 the Austrian national bank established a hypothecary branch, which extended its activity to Hungary without being able to satisfy in the slightest the credit relations of Hungarian property. The desire for an institute therefore remained alive, and when the pressure of absolute power slightly slackened the national agricultural society which then embraced the notabilities of Hungarian intelligent class who were driven from the political field, succeeded in realising the long nourished idea. In 1863 the Hungarian Hypothecary Institute could be opened, which was principally due to the zeal of Melchior Lónyay, Count Emil Dessewffy and Anton Csengery. The institution was modelled on the Prussian institute of the same name on the basis of association whereby every aim at profit was a priori excluded. The noble traditions of the past have been maintained by this institute to the present day and the services are

priceless which in its life of more than 30 years it has performed in the interest of the consolidation and maintenance of Hungarian landed property. Amid unfavourable financial circumstances it could create a value for Hungarian mortgages: afterwards while profiting by every improvement in the money market it fixed a more and more moderate interest for its loans, made the burdens on Hungarian property ever lighter, and acted directly and indirectly by the powerful effect of its example.

What position the Hypothecary institute fills was shown clearly in the first epoch of its existence. From the 1st of July 1863 to the end of 1866, that is to say in three and a half years, it had floated 17·67 million florins in mortgage loans. Since that time it has shown steady advance. At the end of 1894 its mortgage loans were 100·82 million florins in addition to 121·80 million florins for drainage and land improvement. Although this institute renounces all idea of profit and from its debtors exacts only a small interest, one quarter per cent, under the title of management fees, it has in the course of 23 years collected a considerable reserve fund. At the end of 1884 this was more than 9 million florins. This is a great source of security to the debtors of the institute who took over the joint responsibilities as members of the society in the terms of the statutes.

At the end of 1860, which did not bring us the restoration of our constitution but prepared the Compromise, the foundation of savings banks began again. From 1861 to 1866, 23 new savings banks came into being besides several banks and companies. The restoration of the constitution however first made everything right.

The Compromise which ended the quarrel between the throne and the Hungarian nation obliterated the remembrance of unfortunate misunderstandings and placed the destinies of the nation once more in their own hands, brought an unprecedented advance in our land. In every sphere was a feverish activity developed so as to remedy in a few years the

neglect of centuries. Towns were built, manufactories founded, our seaports developed in large numbers. The Danube within the precincts of Budapest was equipped with splendid quays. Pesth itself made incredible advances. We reformed our justice, organised our education. The state hastened to do in every sphere what the strength of society not yet sufficiently developed was unable to accomplish. The favour of heaven aided our efforts, for Providence blessed Hungary with two rich harvests consecutively, farming being at that time its principal support.

Since the deficiency of capital and credit was a great hindrance to our financial advance the throbbing energy of enterprise applied itself pre-eminently to the founding of financial institutes. In one year 1872, when the spirit of enterprise had reached its climax, the minister for agriculture, commerce and trade approved the statutes of 361 savings banks, 94 large banks, 40 credit and people's banks, 28 agricultural and mortgage banks, 17 savings banks and 2 industrial banks. Naturally only a small part of these came into being, but the number of actual establishments was very great. From 1867 to 73, 144 banks and land credit institutes, 249 savings banks, and 187 associations were started

In 1873 however the reaction came. The government had not known how to regulate investments. The efforts which exceeded our strength had shattered our finances and caused a periodic deficit in our budget. Then came several bad harvests which all but dried up the largest source of our national welfare. The spirit of enterprise, no longer nursed by our weary economical life but the universal disease of the time the speculation carried too far kept it in an artificial excitement. When in 1873 the great financial crisis broke over Vienna and the western European exchanges a great crash came in Hungary, which along with card houses buried much earnest effort and honourable work in its ruins.

Most of our savings banks were untouched by this crisis; even their rate of interest suffered no loss. Our banks how-

ever suffered greatly, especially those devoted to great traffic, and their provincial branches. Several institutes broke at once, others broke after a few years. What ravages 1873 worked in our banks is sufficiently proved by the fact that while the share capital in them then was 67·65 million florins this sum had sunk in 1879 to 34·44 million florins when those banks doomed had almost entirely ceased to exist.

The crash of 1873 had been preceded by a smaller one in 1869, whose traces soon disappeared, but which was of importance so far that it brought the question of note banks on the tapis. The Austrian national bank in Vienna had erected branches in the commercial centres of Hungary which did not satisfy the needs of credit, but did good service to the trade and commerce existent of Hungary already. Trade had in addition taken rapid strides in consequence of the cessation of the customs union which divided Hungary from Austria. The privilege of the Austrian national bank was extended by the bank acts of 1862 and made valid for the whole territory of which was then called the Austrian monarchy. This regulation of the government was not legally binding on Hungary and after the restoration of our constitution we should have had the right of erecting a Hungarian note bank. But the Hungarian government knew the difficulties which would occur in the solution of this complicated question and found it better to seek a respectable *modus vivendi* with the Austrian government and the national bank, and to postpone a definite solution until the cessation of the Austrian bank privilege. It was evident this ought to have succeeded, and the bank tried with great earnestness to satisfy the demands of credit in Hungary and to consider the wishes of the Hungarian government but the failure of the revenue of the bank and the opposition between the Hungarian and Austrian governments in respect of the bank debt led to a change in the situation. The bank began to take a hostile attitude to Hungary and not only refrained from satisfying the increasing needs of credit but even limited the credit which had been offered before.

This unjustifiable procedure excited great feeling in Hungary and public opinion demanded the unconditional creation of an independent Hungarian note bank. But the crisis of 1873 came, and the shattering of the Hungarian finances and the fall of political parties impaired all action. The bank question was pushed in the background and only on the cessation of the bank privilege which was coincident with the renewing of the custom and commercial union with Austria did this question come forward again.

At that time a great party had arisen from the union of the Deák party and the left centre which led the destinies of Hungary with a strong and talented statesman at their head. None the less the artfully entangled web of the conflict of interests and the strength of the absolutist traditions were strong enough to delay an equitable solution for a long time, and two years passed until it was possible to establish the present double organisation of the bank. The institution newly organised since 1878 under the name of The Austro-Hungarian Bank retained the unity of its notes and its specie fund, and the unity of its conduct was secured by a general council and the general governor. But in Budapest a special chief office was created for Hungary and one in Vienna for Austria, and the minimum of endowment was settled which the bank must maintain for the satisfaction of Hungarian credit.

Although all the wishes of Hungary has not yet been realised and equality has not come into being in every department, yet a radical change for the benefit of Hungary has been effected in the business of the bank. At the end of 1876 the bills of exchange and securities discounted in the Hungarian branches of the bank was 26·84 million florins, i. e. 19·80 per cent of the total discount business of the bank. At the end of 1895 of 219·47 million florins of the bank 98·33 that is 44·81 per cent fell to Hungary.

The old national bank served the interests of Vienna and acted churlishly not only to Hungary but also to the Austrian provinces, but since the Austro-Hungarian bank has been

organised on a double basis a beneficial change in this respect has intervened and its credit is distributed far and wide. The bank had in 1895, in Hungary besides the head office, 81 agencies and 21 local branches and by the creation of personal credit districts the provinces have been enabled to enjoy the credit of the bank to the full.

The financial depression caused by the crisis of 1873 lasted for years. Our industry which in 1869 had taken such a fair development seemed to be dead like a sprout nipped with early frost. The spirit of enterprise was checked. Capitalists found it better to place their money at a high rate of interest in banking institutes or to lend them to private people on usury. The banks also raised their interest very high and only a few of them lent money on bills of exchange, Lombard or mortgage under 10 per cent. There were even some who under the title of management charges &c., raised their interest to 20 per cent. Although financial institutions reaped a high rate of profit yet there was no inclination to found new ones. Only associations rose in great numbers; but since these were purely mercenary in their motives they little fulfilled the needs of the time.

A change for the better was produced not so much by our own financial development but rather by the surplus of money in western Europe and particularly in France since 1879, which sought an outlet and depressed the rate of interest throughout Europe. Our national credit first profited by this improvement and then began the conversion of loans at high interest. Improvement in national credit produced that of private credit. French capital which sought a field in different Hungarian enterprises contributed to a superfluity of money. New money institutes were created, several of the old ones increased their share capital, and then began an epoch of development which attained gigantic dimensions of late years and still continues.

Along with the development and strengthening of the great banks whose activity is spread over all spheres of financial

life, the founding of credit associations has been carried on with success of late years which realise the principle of self-help in all its simplicity. The number of such associations in 1885 was nearly 400. In their statutes they emphasised the principles of Schultze-Delitzsch, but in practice they leand to the mercenary direction, which is proved by the fact that year by year a certain number of them take the form of Limited Companies.

About 1885 a movement arose indepentently in two parts of the land for the founding of regular credit associations based upon the principles of Raiffeisen. One came from the centre of the land in the county of Pest and with such success that 313 communal associations have been started which supported by central supervision developed great activity for the welfare of the land. The other central point is the Saxon district in Transylvania where the Raiffeisen associations perform an important mission among the people.

In 1885 the institution of post-office savings banks was naturalised among us. Along with the successful example in foreign countries the peculiar construction of the Hungarian savings banks co-operated in this direction. When our savings banks took the form of limited companies they ceased to be savings banks in the western European sense and became deposit banks. They did great service to domestic credit in this form but they could not discharge the tasks of savings banks entirely. Therefore the institution of post-office savings banks is doubly necessary with us, which does not attract to itself large capital for advantageous investments, but the modest savings of the common people. At the and of 1894, 4000 post-offices acted as collectors in various parts of the land so that there is now scarcely a place in the land where the lower classes cannot lay up their savings without trouble and inconvenience. At that date the post-office savings banks had 257.303 depositors and since one individual could only have one book this implies as many individuals. The amount of the deposits was more than 10 million florins. Each

depositor on an average has in the post-office 39 florins, in savings banks 770 florins. This proves that the post-office savings bank has quite another class of depositors.

The Royal Hungarian savings bank was extended in the year 1889 by the introduction of cheque and clearing business. At the end of 1894 the deposits in the cheque business reached the height of 281¹/₂ florins. This institution which renders possible a more economic use of the means of payment begins to make way in other establishments likewise. The sums deposited in the cheque business have reached a sum of 910⁰/₁₀₀ million florins in the savings banks, in the banks of 527⁷/₁₀₀. The first place belongs to the Austro-Hungarian bank in whose Hungarian branches in 1895 the receipts in giro business (in which accounts and orders were included) was 1347¹/₁₀ million florins.

The economic use of the medium of payments which more developed financial relations make unavoidable will attain special importance after the re-establishment of payment in cash. Since 1848 Hungary's finances like those of Austria have groaned under the weight of paper money. Twice have earnest attempts and efforts been made to restore bullion but unexpected foreign developments have twice made the effort useless (in 1859 and in 1866). Since 1867 the regulation of the standard of value was but a pious wish. In Hungary as in Austria the unfavourable state finances stood in its way which rendered impossible the redemption of the joint floating debt which was according to the Compromise Act. 312 million florins. But when in 1889 equilibrium was restored in our national finances and in the following years the total accounts were closed with great surpluses (31⁰/₁₀₀ million florins in 1890, 38¹/₁₁ in 1891) the Hungarian government in co-operation with the Austrian began the question of regulating the standard. In 1892 standard laws were made which changed the silver standard to a gold one, and determined the gradual redemption of the floating debt, with the preparation and restoration of cash payments.

In 1894—95 state notes decreased by 178[·]₆₆ million florins. The creation of the metal currency was more energetically carried on after the passing of the standard law. Since 1893 i. e. since the passing of the standard laws to 1894, the mints have coined 106[·]₁₈ million florins in gold. The sum of coined money from 1867 to 1894 will be plain from the following figures :

Gold coins	167,113.000 florins.
Silver	118,539.000 »
Small silver „ .. .	11,139.000 »
Copper	1,721.000 »
Nickel	3,160.000 »
Bronze	648.000 »

Our mines give yearly gold to the value of 2 to 3 million florins, but a considerable quantity of gold comes from abroad into the land year by year according to trade statistics. From 1885 to 1894 we imported gold for 136[·]₆₆ million of florins and exported only 17[·]₆₆ million florins in gold. During the same time our stock of gold has increased by 119 million florins. This allows us to hope that the channels of internal traffic will gradually be filled, so that we can take up cash payments without any danger.

Hungarian credit supports itself on a large system of credit-giving institutions. In 1894 there were in Hungary Proper 7 hypothecary institutes, 241 banks, 557 savings banks and 789 associations. The condition of the funded and reserved funds of our institutes — without the Austro-Hungarian bank which is a joint institute with Austria — is shown by the following figures :

	Paid up share capital	Reserve fund
Banks	73,826.406 fls.	17,679.110 fls.
Savings banks	52,819.959 »	45,692.384 »
Hypothecary institutes	13,040.000 »	19,641.483 »
Total ..	139,686.365 fls.	83,012.977 fls.

We can compare the reserve funds with the share capitals only in banks and savings banks ; the majority of the hypothecary institutes do not rest on the basis of limited companies

and therefore the reserve fund forms at the same time the share capital. In the banks the reserve fund make 23·94 per cent of the paid up share capital, in the savings bank 86·51 per cent. The last proportion is surprising, but is explained by the large outside capital which our savings banks draw to them in the form of deposits.

In our associations the amount of paid up shares reaches 38·80 million florins. The reserve fund on the contrary not more than 2·63 million florins. The reserve fund has in these institutes not such great importance, for they have gathered only 37·33 million florins outside capital in the form of deposits advances, and loans, that is, not so much as their own capital. Not so the savings banks. These administered in 1894 in the form of various deposits 551 million florins of outside capital, of which their paid up share capital made only 9·59 per cent. their share capital and reserve funds together 17·97 per cent.

The sums of the mortgages and communal obligations issued by them must be added making 80 million florins.

In Croatia-Slavonia in 1893 there were 8 banks, one hypothecary institute 45 savings banks and 53 associations. The paid up share capital of the banks amounted to 1·22 million florins, of the savings banks 1·55, the reserve fund of the latter 1·48, of the former only 379.000 florins. The shares and funded deposits of the associations amounted to 2·06 million florins, the reserve 134.000 florins.

Our institutes draw most outside capital in the form of deposits, which is with us so favourite a form that even large banks take deposits. At the end of 1866 the condition of the deposits in all our money institutes was 63·20 million florins. In 1894 with the exception of the post-office department 672·03, besides 32·54 million florins in the Croatian-Slavonian institutes. This is a welcome sign of the formation of capital which the crisis of 1873 could delay but not check.

The number of the savings books and the average sum on each book is according to the character of each institute stated in the following table :

	Number of Savings Books	Average of each book
In Banks	136.903	fl. 892
In Savings Banks	671.423	» 770
In associations	68,284	» 481
Total	876,610	fl. 766

The average figures of the deposits prove that there are not only small deposits. This is still more evident from the tables, in which the savings books are classified according to the value of the deposits.

Saving books	Banks	Savings Banks	Asso- ciations	Banks	Savings Banks	Asso- ciations
		Number of Books			per cent	
Amounts						
Under 10 fls.		14.706	64.680	8.323	10.74	9.68
From 10—50 fls.		24.941	112.375	14.275	18.22	16.74
» 50—100 »		19.478	95.778	11.097	14.23	14.27
» 100—500 »		39.346	209.725	20.683	28.74	31.23
» 500—1000 »		14.753	79.968	6.472	10.78	11.91
» 1000—2000 »		11.049	55.089	4.020	8.07	8.20
» 2000—5000 »		7.673	35.416	2.380	5.60	5.28
» 5000—10000 »		3.004	11.824	719	2.20	1.76
Over 10000 fls.		1.953	6.623	315	1.42	0.96
Total		136.903	671.423	68.284	100.0/0	100.0/0

From the total numbers of the savings-bank books 635.357 that is 72.47 per cent. fall among the deposits under 500 florins. We have not sufficient data to judge what part of the total deposits these represent. By striking an average in the individual categories 95 million florins belong to deposits under 500 florins i. e. scarcely more than 14 per cent. of the total deposits. Of deposits from 500 to 1000 florins there are about 76 million florins i. e. 11 per cent, so that almost 71 per cent. of the deposits are over 1000 florins.

The Hungarian money institutes, besides savings, receive deposits on current accounts, bonds and cheque accounts, but the quantity of these in 1894 amounted only to 94.87 million florins. Along with these the total deposits were 766.40 million florins.

The other source from which our money institutes draw the capitals running through the channels of credit consists

in the issue of mortgages and communal obligations. The first serve to satisfy land credit while the latter give the necessary money means to found the work of parishes and of companies of general utility. The mortgages of our banks, hypothecary institutes and savings-banks amounted in 1894 to 306[·]₀₀ million florins, while the communal obligations were 145[·]₉₀ million florins. The deposits mortgages and communal obligations thus made a total of 1218 million florins and it must be remarked that while the deposits consist of Hungarian capital only, a considerable part of the mortgages and communal obligations is placed in foreign countries.

If we look at the balance at our banks the bill of exchange department stands in the first place, to which 27·1 per cent. of the total assets belongs. To the second place belong the claims on current account, in which are embraced the various consortial and commission business in which our larger banks are by preference engaged.

The Credit Mobilier character of our large banks came more into prominence with the development of financial life. They like to concern themselves with the founding and financing of industrial business and other undertakings. Of the assets of our banks 13·8 per cent. falls to mortgage loans, 7·5 per cent. to communal and other loans, while their securities represent 6·1 per cent.

The business of our hypothecary institute agreeably to their special vocation is limited specially to the maintenance of mortgage and communal loans. This last branch of business began scarcely 10 years ago and is already so far developed that in 1894 it figured among the assets of our money institutes with 200[·]₉ million florins. A wide sphere lies before it. Our parishes and municipalities require for the founding and development of their communication, culture, sanitary and other arrangements large credit. Waterworks and drainage companies and other useful undertakings require also millions for profitable investments.

In the active transactions of our savings-banks mortgage

loans and exchange discount take a conspicuous place. In 1894 31.82 per cent. belonged to the first, 30.97 to the second. This relation seems to endure during the last ten years. Formerly mortgage loans were so numerous that they made more than 60 per cent. of the total assets. Those who consider the fluctuating nature of our savings-banks deposits often complain that the sort of loans which is most fixed i. e. mortgage loans, is so prominent. But this caused no troubles up to now, not even in the critical year of 1873. Of the mortgage loans of our savings-banks at the end of 1894 206⁵⁴ million florins belonged to cash loans, 38⁵⁴ to mortgages. For these as a matter of course the above complain cannot take place, but lately an interesting attempt was made to transform cash-loans into mortgage-loans. A central institute has arisen which has the object of acquiring the mortgage-loans of the provincial money institutes and of issuing united mortgages on this basis.

Some of our greatest savings-banks are taken up with the so-called communal obligations business and about a tenth of their total assets is placed in this way. In the security case there were scarcely more than 10 per cent. in 1894, while in 1880 they absorbed over 20 per cent.

Our associations give their loans chiefly on obligations against bail. In these obligations in 1894 37.77 per cent. of the assets was placed, while the bill of exchange business followed next with 31.52. Mortgage business made almost 17 per cent., a branch which of late years has received great impetus.

The founding of money institutes is regarded at the present day as one of the most profitable kinds of money investment. The profits of our banks were in 1894 13 per cent, of our savings-banks 24.3 of the paid up share capital. This last figure in comparison with the profits of former years is a modest one. The increase of capital in a great proportion has naturally diminished the percentage of the net profit. These great profits of our savings-banks are evident,

particularly for this reason, that with comparatively small share capital they administer very large outside capital and the difference between the interest which they receive and which they pay secures them great profits. The surprising disproportion has however almost disappeared now, for our savings-banks do not only endeavour by a continual increase of their reserve fund to establish a juster proportion between their own and outside capital but they also increase their share capital continually. The great institutes of the capital give the example and the provincial ones follow. A quarter of a century ago it happened that a provincial institute which had 21.000 florins share capital and the same reserve fund, administered 5½ million florins deposits and paid 500 per cent. dividend.

Such abnormities do not occur any longer. The same savings-bank has at present 240.000 florins of fully paid up share capital, its reserve fund is more than one million; the amount of its deposits keep steadily at 8 million florins and nonetheless it pays its shareholders 25 per cent. dividends. Such great profit however belongs only to the original shareholders; in general the rate of shares vary according to the rate of interest of the country. Shares of money institutes bought at present bear scarcely more than 5 per cent. interest. If we take 5 per cent. as the profit reckoned according to the market value of the shares we can calculate what actual worth the shares of our banks and savings-banks which rest on the basis of limited liability companies represent. In 1894 they paid 15,847.991 florins in dividends. This would represent a capital of 327 million florins of which amount almost half falls to the savings-banks. But the importance of our money institutes does not lie in this but in the great service which by the power of credit they perform in the development of our public economy and in the furthering of a lively pulsation of our economical life.



Insurance.

The institution of insurance in Hungary became known only in the first half of the present century. Before that time merely some primitive local institutions served to restore lost fortune, and even these existed but in a few towns. — The first of such local insurances were made against damages caused by navigation and later against fire, but they never rose to any importance. The historian may find the name and some traces of activity of one or two of such institutions, but they were never of any economical consequence. Only one institution rose high above them, namely the Ship Insurance Society of Komárom, formed in the year 1808 with a capital of 200.000 florins, which made insurances against damages occurring in the Danube navigation which was very difficult and dangerous at that time. The company had agencies in Moson, Baja, Monostorszeg and Török-Becse, which places had a busy traffic of ships. This was a flourishing business seeing that, in 1840, its capital had attained the sum of 390.500 florins and that the company had a rather important reserve-fund.

But the landowners and farmers, that is to say the greatest part of the Hungarian nation, were not acquainted with insurance at the beginning of the century, nor did they in fact feel its necessity. This is explained by the relation between landlord and his bondmen.

Fire, which is most generally felt of all accidents, scarcely caused to the landlord and his bondman any such material prejudice that its recovery should have necessitated the institution of insurance. The seigneurial forest and farm gratuitously supplied wood and other materials for the reconstruction of the house damaged by fire, while the work of reconstruction was done by the bondman himself. This was the natural way of averting the practical consequences of damages on houses caused by fire. As to the agricultural products they were not considered worth nor even possible to be protected neither against fire nor other damages, considering the old extensive system of agriculture. Nor were there such great values accumulated up at one place as there are in our times.

But already in the second quarter of the first half of this century we find in Hungary the precursors of the institution of a systematical insurance against elemental damages and this in a form of foreign and chiefly Austrian import. Particularly our towns may have already availed themselves of the services of the »Oesterreichische wechselseitige Brandschaden Versicherungs-Gesellschaft«, a company formed in Vienna in the year 1825, which established agencies also in the greater towns of Hungary. This institute was followed by the »Erste oesterreichische Versicherungs-Gesellschaft«, founded in Vienna as a limited company and which was represented in Hungary by the wholesale merchant Frederic Liedemann. Later also the »Azienda Assicuratrice« of Triest, founded in the year 1826, extended their business to Hungary where it was represented by the Budapest banker Frederic Kappl, whose name is not unknown even among the prominent members of Hungarian society, seeing that he became father-in-law of Melchior Lónyay.

However Frederic Kappl soon after gave this representation over to the firm Geitner et Tschurl, which showed a great activity in the propagation of insurance business. Also the »Assicurazioni Generali Austro-italiche«, founded in Triest in 1831, had their interests represented in Hungary. The first

representative of this society was the Pest banker C. G. Malvieux, who being very much occupied with his banking affairs, did not do much in the way of assurance. For this reason the Austro-Hungarian company entrusted later the well known and patriotic firm Brothers Kunewalder with their representation. Finally we may mention the »Riunione Adriatica di sicurtà«, founded in Trieste in 1838, which begun their activity in Hungary likewise in the first half of the century.

Thus we see that a fair number of Austrian insurance companies were represented in Hungary in the first half of the century. But as to the insurance business itself, it did not attain a greater and a more general dimension in our country in spite of those representations. Besides the inadequate general situations this was caused by the want of an organised system of agencies extending to every part of the country.

It was only in the fourth decade of this century that the question of insurance was considerably promoted in Hungary.

Here too, as in all other branches of economical life, it was the genial agitation of the »greatest Hungarian« Count Stephen Széchenyi which raised the creative genius in Hungary. Attempts were made to create insurance companies with the purpose of doing business not only in small local districts but throughout the whole country and to gain to the useful idea of insurance especially the preponderant class of agricultural people. As a result of this creative genius, the »Jégverés ellen kölcsönösen biztosító-egylet« (Mutual insurance society against hail), created in Pest in the year 1844, deserves special attention; not that this institution should have had important business results, but because the list of the men standing at the head of it bear witness that already at that time the leading elements of the nation recognised the importance of insurance and took the charge to tie down by means of their names and cooperation to this element of national economy a corresponding part of the

public attention. The president of the »Jégverés ellen kölcsönösen biztosító-egylet« was count Lajos, (Lewis) Batthyány, the subsequent prime minister and national martyr, its vice-president was Edward Zsedényi, while the members of the committee were: Baron Paul Bánffy, Stephen Bezerédi, John Csekonics, Simon Dubraviczky, Andrew Fáy, Count George Károlyi, Lewis Kossuth, Stephen Patay, Count Joseph Szapáry, Count Samuel Teleki, Count Henry Zichy. With the management of the company Bernhard Weisz was entrusted.

That in spite of its above explained importance also this company had not attained to any considerable business-results, is shown by the fact that during the whole time of its existence this company, together with all the other companies doing business in the country — to which also the Milano insurance Company against hail is to be added which was likewise represented in Hungary — did not raise in Hungary altogether more than about 80.000 florins of hail insurance premium in one year. In fact a trifling sum compared to the present time, when the »Első magyar általános biztosító-társaság« (The first Hungarian General Insurance Company) alone has a yearly income of about 1¹/₂ million of florins for insurances against hail, not mentioning the other six companies which in Hungary are likewise doing hail-insurance business on a large scale.

The Mutual fire insurance society of Miskolcz, under the direction of Joseph Kun, a typical Hungarian merchant, which did business chiefly in the provinces along the river Tisza, as well as the »Erdélyi kölcsönös tűzbiztosító-egylet« (The Transylvanian mutual fire-insurance association) of Kolozsvár, under the presidency of Emericus Mikó, are both creations worth mentioning of the Hungarian business genius awakened in the line of insurance.

When later, in 1857, this spirit of enterprise in the insurance line fully showed itself in the creation of the »Első magyar általános biztosító-társaság«, these primitive national institutions were all merged in this new institute, their existing

organisations and business forming a part of the germs which gave birth to the great results of this general Hungarian insurance enterprise.

The war of liberty of 1848/9 and the subsequent sad years checked also the commencing development of insurance business. But as soon as the nation began to revive and expand its vital forces, also the question of insurance was recognised as one fit to give evidence of the nations vitality and creative genius.

Thus, in 1857, the élite of the nation, its leaders at the time, founded the First Hungarian General Insurance Company.

The idea of this foundation was suggested by the writer of these lines as a professional man versed in the insurance business. Joseph Ürményi being informed of this design communicated the idea to the chancellor Count George Apponyi. Count Apponyi was enthused with the idea which soon became an actual plan upon the realisation of which, besides Joseph Ürményi and Count George Apponyi no less personages collaborated than: Francis Deák, Baron Joseph Eötvös, Baron Paul Sennyey, Paul Somsich, Count George Károlyi, Count Emil Dessewffy, Baron Samuel Jósika, Count Antoine Széchen, Ladislaus Szögyényi-Marich, the Counts Francis and Henry Zichy, Ladislas Karátsony, Joseph Havas, Ladislas Nádasz and Andreas Kiss. The capital of the company was fixed at a sum of three million of florins divided into three thousand shares to bearer of 1000 florins each. The originator of the idea, the writer of these lines, was entrusted with the management of the company's business.

But it was very difficult to get a license for a Hungarian institute from the absolute Austrian authorities of that time. The company was therefore obliged to make their proceedings appear in a light as if they were but the continuation of the modest transactions already concessioned of the hail-insurance company that had dissolved into the latter. At length the loyal benevolence of the military Governor of Hungary, the late Archduke Albrecht removed the difficulties raised by

the Vienna Ministry against the transactions of the new Hungarian Company.

In 1857, when the company was formed, only 600.000 florins were paid up of the nominal capital of three millions, while later when the insurance against fire, transport and hail damages was completed with the life-branch, another sum of 300.000 florins was called in. The funds of the Hungarian Company created upon that basis, amounted on the 31st December 1895 already to 36,400.319 florins 29 kr. Up to the same epoch, since the time of its foundation this company paid for elemental damages the sum of 118,610.325 florins 83 kr., while the sum paid for life insurances amounted to 25,669.483 florins 66 kr. The current risks on the 31st December 1895 amounted to 1512.689,128 florins 47 kr. in the fire and transport branch, to 71.825,789 florins 24 kr. in the hail branch and to 106,571.732 florins 50 kr. in the life branch.

These figures are so much the more characteristic for the extraordinary development of insurance business in these last decades, if we take into consideration that besides the »First Hungarian General Insurance Company« some previously established foreign insurance companies and some subsequent national institutions likewise attained great results in Hungary.

It is natural that the great development of the institution of insurance soon showed its reverse inasmuch as, incited by the results obtained on the field of insurance, a far greater number of inland and foreign companies were making attempts at insurance business in Hungary, than were capable of subsisting in the busy competition. Companies were established and failed, not rarely to the great prejudice of the shareholders and clients, but the general development of insurance in Hungary could not be checked by such cases of failure.

Two of the insurance companies established in Hungary after the First Hungarian General Insurance Co. took root and are doing business up to now, viz. The »Foncière pesti

biztosító intézet« (Pest Foncière Insurance Society) and the »Magyar francia biztosító részvénytársaság« (Franco-Hongroise Insurance Co. Ltd.), Last year another limited Company: the »Hazai biztosító társaság« (Home Insurance Co.) was formed and also the »Országos kölcsönös biztosító intézet« founded upon the principle of association. Among the newest insurance institutions of these last years we may yet mention the »Nemzeti munkás- és baleset biztosító részvénytársaság« (National workmen- and accident-insurance Co. Ltd.) cultivating the modern branch of insurance, viz. the indemnification of material prejudices caused by corporal accidents. As a natural consequence of the above described development of insurance also reinsurance was simultaneously cultivated. All of our insurance companies are doing much reinsurance business with foreign and home companies, there are even two national companies: The »Pannonia« and the »Lloyd«, which are exclusively doing reinsurance business.

Even this short sketch of the history of Hungarian insurance could remain incomplete without mentioning that movement which tends to give over to the state some branches of insurance, particularly the insurance of buildings against fire on the ground that an organisation of insurance made upon a commercial and social basis, cannot be satisfactory.

The idea of a facultative surrender to public administration of the insurance, which now-a-day occupies public economists and politicians everywhere in the civilised world, not only was raised in Hungary already in the year 1847, but it was even near by being realized.

On the eve of the abolition of feudalisme in Hungary, Count George Apponyi the chancellor recognised that, after the discontinuation of the relation of reciprocity existing between landlords and bondsmen, it will be necessary to care by way of insurance for the protection against fire of the fortunes invested in buildings.

This care he ranged among the tasks of the State and he gave orders to Count Emil Dessewffy to prepare a bill in this

sense which, after having been accepted by the committee convened in Buda in the month of September 1847 under the presidency of Count Gabriel Keglevich — was laid before Parliament opened in Pozsony on the 7th November 1847. Then came the month of March 1848, which not only cancelled this bill from the order of the day, but the idea of insurance had to be dropped altogether for a long time by every Hungarian statesman. Ten years later we find Count George Apponyi himself working on the establishment of the Hungarian insurance Company, as he did not even think of a system of public administration at a time when the State itself was not Hungarian. However the idea of giving over insurance to public administration did not press forward in such a positive form even after the reassertion of the national character of the State. Nevertheless it will always remain a most interesting and memorable fact of the history of Hungarian insurance that a Hungarian statesman, Count George Apponyi, preceded the whole civilized and economically developed world with the idea, yea with a ready plan of giving over fire insurance to the administration of the State. In France it was only in 1857 when Napoleon III. raised the question of making fire insurance a business of the State, of which his minister of agriculture Léon Cornudet, as well as Courcey and others made propositions in writing. The reason why, in spite of this fact, public administration of fire insurance remained merely a plan also in France may be sought in the circumstance that, during the course of the works of execution the theoretical advantages of the idea proved impracticable in reality. Also those tendencies remained merely abstract ideas and plans which respecting the public administration of some branches of insurance in Germany were, in the seventh and eighth decade of this century, protected by Bismark who fought against and made experiments with social evils.

This is the state of our national insurance in the thousandth year of the existence of the Hungarian State, which may be completed with the following few lines.

Insurance in the hands of commercial enterprise, attained a high degree of development. The extraordinary commercial competitions afford to the public the possibility of a cheap insurance. On the other side weaker or less cautious undertakings may easily be placed in difficult positions. Thus competition, in an indirect way, makes the public feel not only its advantages but also the prejudices attached to it.

Notwithstanding this quick and great expansion of Hungarian insurance business, insurance legislation, insurance policy and insurance laws are yet in an undeveloped even in a primitive state. However, a modern insurance law has lately been proposed, and as soon as the bill will have been passed, we may expect along the whole line a situation worthy of our age and of the development of this branch of commerce.



Hungarian Finance.

Though it would be interesting to deal with the material and formal arrangements of finance administration before 1848 not so much from the point of view of national finance as from that of the history of culture and public economy, yet we think apart from the narrow limits of this work owing to the nature of its subject, that we are well able to renounce such a method of treatment because there is no connection between the finance administration before 1848 and that of to-day. Although the imposition of taxes belonged to the sphere of the legislature and was actually exercised by them, yet we find in our laws scarcely a trace of organised financial arrangements. The separation which was achieved by later political science between the legal privileges of the legislature and that of the sovereign was at that time almost unknown. The state possession of real estate, the profit on salt and on coining, the quit-rents imposed on vassals and often paid in kind represented the entire extent of financial politics. But not only in Hungary was this the case, according to the development of the country it was more or less the case in Europe at large. The budgets of milliards are achievements of recent date.

Like the fiscal right itself the finance administration is rather primitive. The chief task of the court chamber

created by king Ferdinand I., which was the supreme financial authority in the land until 1848, was the administration of the treasury lands and forests then very extensive, and of the mines, and the income from the customs, the land forming a separate customs district of itself. In the administration of the rest of the public income the court chamber combined with the state council which stood at the head of the political administration. The management of the so-called war tax was the separate duty of the war administration. In individual cases, gradually in most of them, the court chamber was subordinated to the Vienna government, which in certain issues was the immediate and final official authority.

These few words sufficiently show that finance administration before 1848 was quite different from the financial system which rests on the principle of universal liability to taxation, and therefore can be left out of consideration without any prejudice to thoroughness of treatment in the criticism of the development and present condition of the latter.

The laws of 1848 created responsible parliamentary government and the principle of universal liability to taxation to obviate those circumstances which hindered the practical carrying out of reforms; while they did away with vassalage and made the indemnification of the landlords a public national question. The practical carrying out of all these principles would have naturally required that the finance administration should be organised on a corresponding basis. But the regime of the first responsible Hungarian ministry lasted only a short time and its activity during this short time was diverted by political events from the province of peaceful tranquil creations. It was reserved for the absolutist regime which followed the short constitutional era to create the first finance organisation in the land which reckoned with the formal demands of modern political economy and tried to realise the principle of the universal liability to taxation.

The system of modern finance administration and the origin of most of our arrangements connected with public imposts

leads back to that epoch. The complete abolition of feudal tenure which had hindered the introduction of direct taxes and many indirect duties agreeably to the demands of modern times, the compensation for landlords' rights — these were the achievements of that time which offered a basis for future creations and at the same time made it possible that after the re-establishment of the constitution the finance administration especially could carry on its functions without any great disturbance. This has sufficed for the legitimisation of existing circumstances so that the legislature and the government could apply their creative powers in the first years of the constitutional era to other pressing and quite neglected tasks.

Since 1867 the form of parliamentary government has come forward in its full power into the province of conducting and administering the finances.

The establishment of public expenses and income, the assessment of taxes, the determination of the application of public money, finally the necessary official control of the finances — these belong to the duties of the legislature. With regard to the exercise of these duties of the legislature, there are certain limitations of an enduring nature, partly conditioned by the political relations of the country, partly by needs of practical life.

Act. 12 of 1867 which settles the relation to Austria, indicates the joint army and foreign affairs and further the business relating to the finances of both these departments as the joint matter proceeding from the Pragmatic Sanction. For the treatment of joint business, the legislatures of both states of the monarchy delegate two committees »Delegations« to discuss the joint budget, settle the joint expenses and to verify the final accounts of the court of Accounts jointly appointed for the control of administration. The resolutions of the committees require the sanction of the king. These resolutions are concerned only with the settling of the expenses. With regard to the defraying of that portion of the expenses which fall to each of the two states respectively, both legislatures vote the credit in the budget of

the year. How much of the joint expenses, (or rather of the part which is not defrayed by the incomes of the joint ministries and by the customs duties which are applied to defraying the joint expenses), must be defrayed by one and how much by the other state: this forms according to the decision of Act. 12 of 1867 from time to time the subject of special arrangements for the preparation of which the legislatures of both states send deputations of their own members of equal numbers. These deputations treat with one another to secure unanimity. If their discussions lead to a result and the legislatures approve of this result in virtue of the report made to them by both deputations, then this is incorporated in a law and this law determines the quota of contribution for the particular time. If the deputations do not come to any agreement, then both legislatures treat the matter directly; and if this expedient too leads to no result, the king decides.

The quota of contribution to the joint expenses was in 1868 for ten years from the lands of the Hungarian Crown settled at 30 per cent, from Austria at 70 per cent. Since the military frontier was first brought into civil administration after this settlement, the public income of this portion of the land was now devoted to civil purposes, so that the forementioned proportion was changed in so far that from the yearly determined sum of the joint expenses two per cent. at first were debited to Hungary, and the remaining expenses according to the quota 30:70 were distributed between both the states of the monarchy. The consequence of this arrangement was that the part of the united joint expenses not covered by the incomes of the joint ministries and of the customs income devoted to defraying the joint expenses, saddles Hungary with 31·4 per cent, and Austria with 68·6 per cent. This method of defraying the joint expenses and this quota of the impost is valid at present and until the end of 1897.

A further fixed point in the finances of Hungary was created in 1867 in consequence of that disposition of the legislature according to which Hungary in virtue of Act. 15

of 1867 and led by certain regards of equity endorsed the obligation to give a yearly contribution to the Austrian state debt which descended from absolutist times.

The exercise of the duties of the legislative with reference to state finances receives another modification in consequence of several arrangements of the customs treaty concluded with Austria.

Act. 12 of 1867 for opportunist reasons and on the presumption of a mutual understanding between both states, intended certain affairs to be regulated on an equal base of principle. After the agreement had been come to, both states in 1868 concluded a 10 years' customs and commerce treaty. In 1878 a new treaty was concluded which was renewed in 1887 with certain modification, is in force until the end of 1897 and if before the end of 1896 no notice is given on either side it remains in force for another 10 years.

In virtue of the customs and commerce treaty both states of the monarchy form one customs district; consequently the trade between both states cannot be hampered with customs duties. The settlement and system of management collection of the duties, are the same in both states. Both states have the right to control one another with regard to the conduct of customs business.

The international commercial treaties concluded by the monarchy are binding equally for both states. These treaties can however be retracted at the wish of either state of the monarchy.

A further important regulation of the customs and commercial treaty so far as public finances are concerned consists in this that the salt and tobacco monopolies and those indirect taxes which exert an immediate influence on the production e. g. the spirit, beer, sugar and mineral oil taxes, during the existence of the treaty in both states must be administered according to the same laws and administrative regulations and that these can only be changed by a mutual understanding.

Finally the customs treaty contains a regulation which

secures jointness of the coinage and standard system during its existence, and at the same time expresses the mutual obligation of both states according to which they must try and restore payments in specie. This arrangement in consequence of the standard laws of 1892 became purposeless. When namely both states of the monarchy decided in 1892 to go over to a gold standard they came to an agreement with regard to the currency and the standard, which had the main object of working towards the abolition of the compulsory acceptance of paper money, prevailing in the monarchy. Thus this whole group of subjects was taken out of the set of questions belonging to the customs treaty and was made a subject of special detailed arrangement. We shall return to this arrangement later.

When the treaty of Berlin in 1878 entrusted the monarchy with the occupation and administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina these two provinces were incorporated in the joint customs district after complete occupation. The principal conditions occasioned by the joint nature of the customs district mentioned above extend themselves to both occupied provinces.

While speaking of the duties of the legislature we will spend a few words on the relations of Croatia-Slavonia to Hungary Proper from a financial point of view.

In connection with the Compromise which was brought about between the two states of the monarchy in 1867, the relation to the Borderlands after the successful restoration of the constitution had to be regulated with regard to the new state of things.

Apart from the political conditions of the regulation which find a thorough appreciation in another section of this work, we will here in the interest of completeness only mention so much that finance legislation and finance administration are identical in all the lands of the Hungarian Crown and are exercised respectively by the legislature of those lands and by the finance minister. The judicial power in finance matters

is in the highest instance exercised by the Hungarian finance administration court for the whole extent of the lands of the Hungarian Crown.

With regard to taxation the relation between Hungary Proper and Croatia-Slavonia is so regulated that Croatia-Slavonia has to contribute a certain percentage to the joint expenses of both states of the monarchy, which percentage is settled for the same interval for which the quota of contribution to the joint expenses is settled between both states of the monarchy and is settled in relation to their capability for taxation. This quota is settled for Hungary proper at 92'064.805 per cent, for Croatia Slavonia at 7'935.195 per cent, with validity to the end of 1897. As a matter of fact this quota for sharing the joint expenses has never come into application since 1868; for if Croatia-Slavonia would wish to apply its public income for the joint expenses it would not defray the costs of its internal administration. For this reason it is always made a condition in the financial agreement between Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia that only a certain part of the public income, at present 56 per cent, be applied to joint expenses, while the rest, now 44 per cent, serves to cover the demands of internal administration. Finally in the fore mentioned agreement it is arranged what is the public income of Croatia-Slavonia which is not divisible; further in what way Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia may discount the public income which they have to share.

The prerogatives of the legislature over the state finances are especially expressed in the establishment of the state budget, that is, in the income and expenses, and in that authorization given to the government to defray the expenses and to procure the income by the distribution and collection of public imposts. Our budget extends to the whole system of national expenses and receipts, with the above mentioned limitation in respect of joint expenses, and every year must be prepared anew and submitted to Parliament. In the first year of the constitutional era in 1867, the cabinet ruled

without a budget in virtue of powers conferred on them by the legislature. For 1868 a budget had been prepared, but since it was based on the system of net budget it became obstructions to the exercise of the right of budget. On this account the system was allowed to fall into abeyance, and the gross system was adopted which is carried through with more and more strictness and vigour, and remains in force until the present. Its outward arrangements according to which the expenses are divided into ordinary, transitory and investment expenses, the income into ordinary and extraordinary were adopted in 1877. The subsequent changes are of a subordinate nature. The administration can apply budget credits only for those ends for which they were voted. Transfers are only permissible when the legislature has expressly permitted them.

Finally the prerogatives of the legislature show themselves in the constitutional control of the finance administration on the following points: whether the receipts are actually realised, whether they are applied to defraying those expenses which are laid down in the budget, whether the income has not been applied for such expenses as were never contemplated or whether the government has not overstepped the limit of the expenses settled by the legislature. The legislature exercises the control by the account office, which is based in its organisation on the principles of independence and responsibility, and by the discussion of the total public accounts which are prepared by the Account office; and on this basis by the consent or refusal of parliamentary approval to the government. The public Account office which is intended generally to control the public income and expenditure, the administration of public property, of state debts and state accounts was established in 1870, and received its final organisation in 1880. These two arrangements which deal with the public Account office are the only ones which are concerned with the budget right.

Act. 18, of 1870 respecting the establishment of this office,

had in view that a special law should be prepared on the system of the whole system of accounts of the State and the regulation of the control of the state debt. But this matter has not yet passed the stage of preliminaries. Our final account is adapted to the state budget and is based on the so-called assignation system. The actual manipulation of the cash offices and the amount of assets are also taken into evidence. When individual cases occurred which required a regulation both houses of Parliament passed resolutions which the administration regards as binding orders. The most important of these resolutions is that which came to pass in 1889 after long preliminary consultation. The abuse of credit and expenses not provided for by the budget having increased surprisingly under certain governments; in the interest of the reality of the budget and of the earnestness of the right of control, these resolutions contained severe dispositions part of which secure the rapid intervention of the legislature when needful if abuses of credit or unsettled expenses occur, while another part of them makes more effective the control right of the public Account office and the controlling influence of the finance minister on the administration of the rest of the departments.

The organisation of the present finance administration can be referred back to the finance administration of the absolutist regime. We have already mentioned that in the first years of the restoration of the constitution scarcely any change took place in respect to organisation; the powers and duties of the former finance administration of the land remained on the whole untouched, only their number was gradually increased. That the administration of the real property of the state was separated from actual finance administration and has been handed over to special boards of control of public property cannot be regarded as an organic innovation. The first great innovation appears towards 1875. In connection with the efforts made by finance legislation in view of increasing state income and along with the changes carried through in the

department of political administration, also finance administration received then a thorough transformation. The overburdening of the tax offices on one side which had till now to control the division of duties the importance of the duties which increased with the development of political life on the other hand which demanded an appropriate arrangement of this matter led to this result, that in 1875 the fixing of the duties was taken away from the tax officials and handed over to officials specially appointed for that purpose and subordinated to the finance ministry. Yet still more important in influencing the definitive organisation of the finance administration in the counties was that change which in 1876 was effected in finance administration by the reforms carried out in municipal administration. In that year administrative committees were created among the municipalities which had the task of securing harmony between the national and the autonomous administration and were furnished with the right of immediate disposition, with a disciplinary power and the power to act as a court of appeal. In this way an official authority was created to restore the connection between the finance administration, formerly exclusively national, and the general administration. This connection affects only one though a very important part of administration, viz., the management of direct taxes and the manipulation of the public taxes in general. These functions were eliminated from the business of the finance directions by tax officials, and a new office, that of the tax inspectors, was called into being to manage them in the capital and nearly all the counties. The chief of these new officials, the tax inspector, became a member of the administration committee, while this committee became an organ for the control of the tax inspector, and in certain cases, his instance of appeal. In connection with this institution and with the important material changes relating to the direct taxes which the legislature had introduced in 1875, also the universal system of the administration of public taxes received a radical change. Two most important divisions of this change we will

mention here: one is the far reaching realisation of the principle of self-taxation by the organisation of tax assessment and appeal commissions which far surpasses the previous sporadic provisions in the taxation of moveable capital, the other is the more strict regulation of the levying and collecting of public duties, which is equally in the interest of the tax-payer and of the treasury.

An important turning point in the history of development of modern finance administration is the law passed in 1881 on the manipulation of the duties which are immediately payable. In this law we meet for the first time the resolution for the establishment of a finance administration court. Up till then the points at issue between the tax-payers and the Treasury were decided in the last instance by the highest administrative functionary, the finance ministry. Although in the dispositions of the highest finance administration court there prevailed a liberal legal conviction, these dispositions in virtue of the constitutional position of the court and in virtue of the nature of the matter were not free from the suspicion that they rested on the interests of the government, the so-called fiscal interests which sometimes differed from the spirit of the actual laws.

Since the 1st of January 1894 this court, the object of which is to put an end to the numerous differences which arise from the fore-mentioned condition of things and at the same time to apply justly and free from the suspicion of interested motives the laws which secure the interests of the tax-payer and of the treasury, is in full working order. In one word it is a court which is provided with all the attributes that can be obtainable in modern constitutions. The duties of this court relate principally to the consideration of the proper assessment of direct taxes and of the stamp and register duties. It decides in the last instance to the exclusion of any further appeal. Its judgments have to be carried through unconditionally. Since its establishment the personnel of this court have had to be continually increased. By its functions,

and especially by its decisions and judicial resolutions it is creating a finance law of a continually wider range, which on the one hand moulds and improves finance administration to greater identity, and on the other side furnishes a valuable material which will be of use for the reform of finance legislature.

The last moment in the development of modern finance administration was reached in 1889 by the enactment of the legislature by which on the one hand in the interest of the intensive activity of finance administration, on the other hand in the interest of a nearer combination of the already existing connection of finance administration with the general administration it united the duties performed up till then by the inspectors and by the finance directions and handed over the united mass of business in the province of the municipalities to a finance board who were to be newly organised. When possible such a finance board is established in every county. Its duties extend with the exception of customs business to the administration of all the direct and indirect taxes which come in its official province. This finance board thus stands in the same connection with the political administration in which the tax inspector stood up till then. The law of 1889 drew this connection still closer, so that on one hand it conceded the right of control to the county prefect over to the finance committee, on the other side it made a more effective guarantee than before in the direction that the official authorities of political administration should support the official authorities of finance administration in their efforts directed to the securing of the public revenues. Then the officials for fixing the rate of dues were abolished and their duties were given over to the tax offices again as before 1875, yet with the change that they could only immediately dispose with respect to simple elementary matters, while in more complicated questions which required judicial investigation they have previously to consult an official of the finance management deputed for this purpose. An exception to these arrangements

is in the case of the capital where the old condition of things, a special finance management for indirect taxes, a special tax inspector for direct taxes, and a special central office for the assessment of taxes and dues are permitted, with reference to the peculiar relations of the capital and the great number of objects liable to taxation.

The present organisation of finance administration in its strictest sense consists accordingly as follows:

On the lowest step are tax offices which manage the duties of receipt and payment and the assessment of the dues: over these are the finance managers whose decisions in respect of direct taxes and the management of public dues, especially assessment, levying and collection, can be appealed from to the administration committee of the municipalities, always with the exception of the capital. The highest administrative functionary is the finance minister naturally. For the taxation of personal property there are commissions for assessing taxes summoned from the tax-payers under the legally arranged influence of the finance administration, whose decisions can be appealed from to the commissions of appeal formed in the municipalities. The decisions of the administrative committees which they can come to in the second instance on the resolutions of the finance management, according to the nature of the subject can be appealed from either to the finance minister or to the finance administrative court. The decisions of the appeal commissions and the decisions of the finance management which these can come to on the assessment of dues exacted by the tax officials can be appealed from in the last instance to the finance administration courts, about whose powers we have already spoken.

In order to complete our account we must further mention that the conduct of the business of tobacco manufacture and production is consigned to the tobacco central direction which is subordinate to the finance minister and has been established in Budapest since 1881. The officials organised under the title of captains of the mines who dis-

charge the administrative duties of mining, the mine directors who administer the treasury mines, the mint, the lottery management who preside over the offices of lotteries, the management who are entrusted with a permanent legal representation of the state for treasury business and reside in Budapest, the chief customs director who is over the custom-house officers, the salt officers who are concerned with the wholesale business of salt which forms a monopoly, the officials who are appointed to administer the ironworks which are worked by the state treasury, the inspectors whose duty it is to revise the list of lands, the officials who are entrusted with the trigonometrical measurement of the land and the maps of the same, an estate management which is entrusted with the administration of the state domains which are not yet sold or not yet committed to the administration of another ministerial department, the state printing-office which is concerned with the production of state documents and state papers, finally the central state cash office which acts as the central office of the state cash offices and at the same time as the paying-office of the state debt: all these are subordinated to the finance minister. In addition to these, there are the book-keeping and accounts departments which are entrusted with the control of income and expenditure, with the collection of data and other helps to administration. We cannot give a detailed description of the business and duties of these offices and officials not only on account of want of space but also because we consider that the development and present condition of Hungarian public finance is sufficiently explained by describing those functionaries and principles the knowledge of which is necessary in order to criticise finance administration from the point of view of finance politics.

Public expenses and receipts. — The joint history and the common ethnographical traits on the one hand, the community of economic interests and the interests of power which arise from both these circumstances on the other side, are the factors which exercise a decided influence on the

formation of modern European states. This formation of the states and that development of state life which has a continuous increase of state duties as a consequence leads to a great tension of economical faculties, and further to the fact that the position of culture, the position of property and power in the nations and the different formations of these relations are fully expressed in state finances.

The formation of states under the equal influence of the ideas and interests mentioned was completed in the second half of the present century. Italy gained its unity and from the dismembered small states arose a new great power. The second French empire sank into ruins and from its overthrow the united German empire arose. In the east of Europe there arose new states at first on ethnographical bases which claimed attention later in virtue of their economical and military power.

This condition found Hungary awaking to new life in 1867 and with it Austria, these two states which guarantee one another in virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction and to which the compromise of 1867, according to the intention of its makers, gives the vocation of taking the place of a Great Power agreeably to the greatness of its territory and its people and to bring to realisation its historical mission and its economical interests. The condition of foreign affairs lays great demands on the monarchy and naturally also on our land. The economical weight of these demands is increased on this account that Austria, which is more developed financially, has to suffer the results of the experiments made by an absolutist regime in home and foreign politics.

However it is not only these demands with which we have to reckon; also in domestic politics great questions await solution. We have fallen behind in our public arrangements. Our political economy which only slowly liberates itself from natural economy has fallen behind not in its resources but in a rational use of the same. Besides the province becomes ever wider and wider to which the activity of the state is driven by public opinion slowly awaking from its lethargy.

In the development of the wants and the expenses of the state which has again attained its independence is mirrored truly the effect of that condition mentioned before into which the change of 1867 has brought the land.

The total state expenses which made 147·4 million florins in 1867, ended in 1894 with 487·3 million florins and show during the interval taken as a basis for comparison an almost continual increase with the exception of one or two years.

If among the variations mentioned in the total sum of the expenses we examine the nature of the individual kinds of expenses, we can follow step by step the demands which have been made by the general political condition of Europe, the liberation from a condition of inferiority, the creation of principles, finally the potentiality of economic and political advance and the continual development of the principles laid down.

With regard to the first group i.e. the formation of the public expenses proceeding from the international position, we must remember that under the effect of this position both states of the monarchy shortly after 1867 were compelled to adopt compulsory military service. What effects this has on the state finances in connection with the raising of the peace-footing of the army can be easily computed. We live in a time of wonderful advances in technical science, we see perfected inventions rapidly following one another by which either a total or a partial change of military equipment is rendered necessary. The system of fire-arms has been four times changed, that of artillery twice. Works of fortification on our frontiers and coasts, the development of our fleet and its maintenance at the level of the day, require many millions. In the fundamental organisation even which has divided the army into the army, the militia, and the marine, organic changes have taken place connected with considerable costs; for instance when the institution of the levy in mass was introduced. The operation of all these circumstances on the expenses of the army the militia and the marine we can easily follow.

Certain years in which large equipment or radical organisations have been carried out show a noticeable increase of expenses. And if it is then the case that the army goes into action, then it is obvious that the expenses will rise exceedingly out of all proportion. When the treaty of Berlin commissioned the monarchy to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina, that part of the military expenses which fell on Hungary from the sum not covered by the joint customs income rose at once from 38·9 million florins to 70 million. The case was similar in 1881 when however the expenses did not rise so high. In 1894 the expenses for the militia (the Honvéd) and that for the army and the marine falling on Hungary amounted to 46·8 million florins. The ordinary expenses were on an average 30 million florins. Of the character of the expenses for the army and the marine from year to year we gain a true picture only when we consider the character of the income from the customs which are devoted first and foremost to defraying these joint charges. Since we have adopted the protection system and since the tariff on certain articles has been increased our income from customs has advanced. While in the beginning of the eighties, 30 million florins were received under this head, in the nineties this income had amounted to 50 million florins. Therefore if in our budget the need for joint expenses in which army and marine take the lion's share show no increase in ordinary periods, yet the needs of the steadily increasing army advance, except in individual years.

The energetic development of political life is explained by the character of those demands which the expenses for administration, education and law lay on state finances. The cost of home administration amounted in 1869 to 10 million florins yearly. In this sum the judicial expenses of the counties and free towns are included. When in 1872 the condition of justice underwent a change and the former connection between political administration and the law courts finally ceased this demand fell to 8 million florins. Since 1880 we notice a

continuous increase also in this respect. At present the total expenses of home administration amount to 15 million florins. In home administration there have not been any changes of importance to influence finances in a great measure. When in 1893 the salaries of public officials, under-officials and servants were regulated, the relations of municipal officials were regulated on a similar base. A radical change and also doubtless an increase of expenses will be the consequence of practically carrying out the centralising of the administration which in principle was incorporated in the law of 1892.

A more important increase is shown in the expenses of finance administration which is a natural consequence of the increase of public sources of income and of the energetic utilisation of the same. Naturally the regulation of the salaries in 1893 before mentioned has contributed to this increase.

The expenses of justice since 1872 when our courts received that organisation which in their main features has since remained untouched have increased from 10·2 million florins to 17 million. The increase must be attributed to increase of judges, organic changes and the general regulation of the salaries. There can be no standstill here as the reform partly concluded, partly in process of our legal operations, the arrangement of civil process and of procedure in criminal cases will make increased demands in this department also.

If considering the sums spent for purposes of education which until 1880 did not amount to more than 5 million florins a year and at present make more than 12, we form a judgment on the activity which Hungary has developed in the course of the last 25 years in the department of culture — and during these years there was often cause for uneasiness in the economic life of the state — we find that these sums and the results achieved by them, if everything could not be realised which public opinion loudly called for, give us the consoling reflection that the finances of the state proportioned to our resources, indeed sometimes beyond them, are applied to the service of intellectual culture.

However the question how much Hungary spends yearly on government, administration, army, and education, and how these expenses develop is as a matter of course connected with the development of public life and the increase of the demands to be fulfilled by the state. Characteristic in this relation is the difference existing between our expenses and those of other European states, namely that the relative increase of expenses is greater with us because the establishment of the state on a modern basis proceeds with us in relatively shorter time than elsewhere. This difference is best explained by the fact that the number of the civil state officials, apart from the railway officials, has risen since the restoration of the constitution from 10,000 to 34,000. A peculiar character is lent to our relations from the fact that in our budget we meet with great business charges which the state has to defray as the proprietor of numerous lines of extensive business (mines, forests, railways, manufactories, posts, telegraph, telephones) and monopolies. Further that among the state expenses considerable investments are forthcoming in a great part defrayed by the current income, and that a considerable part of these expenses (at present 32 per cent.) is applied to the liquidation of the Public Debts (the debts incurred by the nationalisation of the railways being here included) which debts are derived from economic creations, from the redemption of the railways, as well as from the fact that the income could not keep pace for a long time with the rapid increase of the exigencies of the state. In the history of modern political economy there is no public activity such as we find in Hungary, inasmuch as it strives to promote the furthering of neglected economic relations and consists either of immediate economic creations or of such indirect expenses and dispositions which bear the character of economic investments or have arisen in consequence of such investments.

It is not the task of this chapter to relate in detail what the state has done in the department of regulating the water supply, road- and railway-making: how it has worked and

still does work in the interest of the preservation of the Tisza valley from inundation, the regulation of the upper and middle Danube, the Rába and its tributaries, the Temes and the Béga, what sums it has spent and how much it spends in the form of guarantees or redemption of taxes. Useless is it to detail the investments forthcoming in the budget and not defrayed by extraordinary operations; among which we meet also the current investments in Hungarian railways which naturally increase with the increase of the railway system and in 1894 amounted to 36 million florins. In estimating the present finances of the state and especially in considering the picture of national credit the railways are the subject which merits a special and detailed treatment in consequence of its immediate effect on the finances of the state.

The development of our railway system can be divided into clearly marked periods. The first is that of the construction of the principal system on the basis of government guarantee, the second is that of the redemption of the most important lines already built.

About 1869 among the most important railways the Baziás-Vienna line of the Austro-Hungarian state railway, the south railway, the Budapest-Losoncz line and a part of the Kassa-Oderberg were already made. The Transylvanian line was projected. Before the constitutional period the creation of the railway system developed slowly, not only because the scanty population and the want of great towns enlisted private capital in the making of such lines as offered the prospect of better profit, but also because the political position and the misfortunes of Austria in the west and in the Italian provinces inclined the absolutist government to hasten the construction of the west and south lines.

After the restoration of the constitution the government and the public emulously strove to achieve the completion of the railway system. This effort was fostered by the general economic condition. The land had some good harvests, the general political outlook was peaceful, the production of capital

in the western states was continuous and took unusual dimensions, gold was abundantly to hand and cheap in the international market, and the spirit of enterprise was very active.

In 1868—69 the legislature made concessions to no less than 5 main railways and one cross railway, and gave the guarantees for interests on the same. These were the Alföld-Fiume railway, the north-east Hungarian railway, the east railway, the west railway, the first Hungarian-Galician railway and the Arad-Temesvár railway. The state itself completed the railway system which was already in its possession with the Hatvan-Miskolcz, Miskolcz-Putnok, Salgó-Tarján-I. osonc-Besztercebánya, Pest-Hatvan-Salgó-Tarján, Zákány-Zágráb and Karlócza-Fiume railways, and took over a considerable part of the shares of the Tisza railway. The state took over moreover the obligation of subsidising the Gömör industrial railway. The guarantee of interest secured for the main lines was after extended to the branch lines. These were the Nyiregyháza-Ungvár, Bánréve-Nádasd, Báttaszék-Dombovár, St.-Péter-Fiume, the north-west railway, the Eperjes-Tarnow railway. The sums paid under the title of interest guaranteed, which in 1870 made only 3·7 million florins increased after the completion of the lines mentioned to 16 million florins in 1874.

The financial troubles which arose from the interests guaranteed on the one hand and from the making of the state lines which had come into being by means of loans on the other hand, and finally the great crisis of 1873 brought the reaction after the advance. The making of the state railways remained some time dormant, apart from the Predeal and Orsova-Verciorova junction which had to be made in virtue of an understanding made with Roumania. Private undertakings limited themselves to the making of smaller lines requiring no great investment of capital.

In the meantime a change took place in the ideas which governed the politics of traffic which were influenced both by the sorry financial support of the railways that were made under interest guarantees and also by the financial disadvan-

tages which had arisen from the system generally. The system of state railways found more and more favour. Beginning with the Tisza railway all the railways enjoying interest guarantees with the exception of the Kassa-Oderberg line were put under government. Meantime in order to complete the state railway system thus extended on the ground of the interests of traffic the Budapest-Zimony railway was made at the public expense and on strategical grounds, two new junctions were made on the north-east frontier of the monarchy. Finally the state took over the Hungarian lines of the Austro-Hungarian state railway company and made a compact with Roumania so as to secure two further junctions on the east frontier. A large organisation developed from this. Along with the main lines of traffic the system of the local lines was also gradually made, and the government promoted in a great measure the accomplishment of them partly by immediate pecuniary support, partly by undertaking to work them on favourable conditions for the local lines, partly on both accounts.

This is the story of the development of the present state railway system in its main outline and of the railways generally, and this development has led to the result that among the expenses of the government those for railway business and for railway investment amounted to nearly a hundred million florins in 1894; on the other hand this development had a great share in the fact that the sum applied to the public debt at present under the title of state expenses, reaches the considerable quota of more than 30 per cent, that is nearly 140 million florins. While we shall show that the rôle of state railways is one of the most important active factors of state economy in the conditioning of state income, we shall speak of the details of the origin and increase of the national debt in the part of this work devoted to national credit.

* * *

Passing over to the character of the income of Hungary

in its present condition we will speak of the development of our more important public dues briefly and the present condition of our taxation, no less than of that rôle which is played by the state railway system in restoring the proper balance of finances.

The present system of our public taxes rests a great deal on those arrangements which were made by the absolutist regime in Hungary. We have mentioned in another place that the legislation of 1848 expressed the principle of the universal liability to taxation which was unknown to us before and at the same time secured the abolition of the rights of the landlords, which prevented the practical carrying out of this principle and its redemption by means of the state. The redemption of burdens on the land and the practical carrying out of the universal liability to taxation was first carried through by the absolutist regime established after the short constitutional epoch of 1848, when this brought into Hungary the system of taxation which was in operation in Austria, carried to completion in a great measure the system necessary to indemnify the landlord rights and in order to defray the expenses which had increased for the state treasury, introduced a tax for the abolition of the land-tax, under the form of a supplement to the direct taxes. The original plan was to administer the sums required for the discharging of lands and the receipts from the just-said supplementary tax in a manner in which public funds were managed. Later these supplements had only nominally the nature of a public income destined for a special purpose and practically they had completely the nature of a public tax.

The system of *direct taxes* thus introduced into Hungary, which after the restoration of the constitution in 1868 was legalised by the legislature, rested essentially on the principle of the taxation of income, and according to the object of the tax fell into 4 division, land, house, personal and income, tax. Apart from smaller changes these four kinds of taxes remained in force until 1874. But when at that time the

continually increasing deficiency in finance began to take a serious character and earnest sparingness and the greatest possible increase of the state income became indispensable in conjunction with other arrangements serving to consolidate the financial position, a radical change in the system of direct taxes came about, which on the one hand aimed at an advance in the state income, on the other hand at a reform in the system of direct taxes which corresponded to the condition of financial science. Our present direct taxes with the exception of some later and unimportant changes are the work of the legislation of 1875.

To limit ourselves to the main point of view and the principal arrangements, our system of direct taxes is as follows.

Until the end of 1883 the land lists which are derived from 1850 formed the basis of the imposition of the *land tax*.

The law of 1868 modified this provisional system particularly by the abolition of the right of appeal on the part of the tax-payer and the functionaries of the treasury, by which means it secured the immutability of the net profit of the land revenue which served as the basis for the imposition of the taxes. Yet the legislature was anxious to secure the stability also of the often changing rate of tax by fixing the rate at 29·76 per cent. for Hungary and 22 per cent. for Transylvania, in such a way that 9 per cent. of the fore-mentioned percentage was to be paid under the title of Supplement for the Land Discharge.

With respect to the fact that the elements which served as the basis of the cadastral net income fixed by the provisory government from the land tax, such as the economic system, wages, the means of traffic which influenced the valuation of products of the land, underwent considerable changes, the regulation of the land-tax was unavoidably to be carried out on a corresponding basis.

By means of Act. 7 of 1875 the legislature has sufficiently met this demand. This law making allowance for the defi-

encies in the registers made by the provisory government and the great changes that had taken place in the cultivation of the soil, which could scarcely form a satisfactory basis for the assessment of the land-tax any longer, ordered on this account first and foremost a complete correction of the land register in both directions, so that from 1876 until the application of the new register this corrected cadastral composition should form the basis of taxation.

The law cited does away with the communal cadastral system, according to which a surprising disproportion was apparent in the cadastral net receipts of certain countries and adopts the system of districts-cadaster. After a preceding study of the factors which acted on the productivity of landed property, 8 quality classes at the utmost were laid down for each kind of cultivation and for each district, and consequently for each sphere of classification formed by means of the grouping of the parishes which are found within the districts under homogeneous economical relations. The tariff of the net income of each quality class was fixed by the Circle and District commissions formed of landed proprietors and the functionaries of the assessment; in the last instance of the general land-tax commission.

The commissions mentioned have maintained in relation to the assurance of the proportionality of the stated net income a specially important rôle, for the Circle land-tax commission determine a proper proportion within the estimate circle, while the District Land Tax commission within the cadaster district which embraces 4—5 counties pays attention to the establishment of that proportion, while the general land-tax commission in virtue of their incorporation in which all districts of the land are represented and in virtue of the experiences they have acquired by means of the travelling commissioners which they send from their members, secured an equal and just proportioning in the individual parts of the country with respect to the cadastral net income which formed the basis for the assessment of land-tax.

In reckoning the net income of the landed properties, the following factors came into consideration i. e. the result of the harvest, the price of the products, and the cost of farming.

The average year's income was reckoned on the basis of the experiences of the last years (on plough land the last 10 years, in vineyards the last 15.) the price of products — except wood — was stated on the average of the middle prices of the period 1867—1872, after deducting 20 per cent; that of wood on the average of the middle prices of the period 1855—1874, without any deduction; finally the average value of the materials and the average daily wages were fixed on the basis of the middle rates of the period 1867—1872.

For each individual quality class, whose net income tariffs were fixed on the above scale, in the parish as well as the district, model fields were fixed, and the individual portions were classified according to their relation to the model fields and in proportion to their method of working and the quality of the soil.

The original law of 1875, and the Act. 42, of 1881 which modifies it provided that those parts which could only be made productive or to yield an income by expensive drainage operations might enjoy immunity from taxation provisionally, on the understanding that these extraordinary expenses of farming should be taken into account in the valuation of the net cadastral income. But since the calculation of these extraordinary expenses of farming are not possible to be made correctly in the case of the allotments of land which are in the corporations of the drainage companies, without great technical taxation difficulties, the law ordained that a sum which corresponds to the sum of 8 per cent. of the invested capital of the drainage companies and the yearly rates of maintenance, under the title of extraordinary costs which are not deducted in the net income of the land, should be restored to the company with whom it is connected. Recently Act. 29. of 1889 taking account of the change of the rate of interest and without touching

the re-payments of taxation already existent, has reckoned for the future in laying down the tax restorations only 5 per cent. of the funded capital, and at the same time decided that the re-payments of the tax should not exceed more than 80 per cent. of the taxes which had to be actually exacted.

In this way the individual water and drainage companies enjoy the benefit of the restoration of the taxes, which corresponds to a net cadastral income of about 6,500.000 florins.

We must specially remark that arrangement of Act. 7 of 1875 which assures the stability of the net cadastral income fixed after hearing individual appeals with the exception of such cases, which from an object of the control of rent-tax, until a new land-tax assessment is carried through for the total extent of the land.

Of the cases in which the net cadastral income can receive a change we will here only speak of those which are of a greater importance in practice: thus a new valuation of the land must be prepared in which the land allotments must be classified correspondingly to their actual condition and in relation to the model fields and with the observation of the established tariffs of the net income, if in the boundaries of the community a new measurement of property or a new survey of the land has taken place.

With regard to further details as to the control of the changemens occurring in the basis of the land-tax, Act. 22. of 1885 contains arrangements.

This law appoints, for taking evidence of the changes and for the control of the survey of such changes, state functionaries, and it assigns the duties connected with the new cadastral works to be made after the detail-surveys to the surveying Cadaster-Inspectors, those connected with the regulation of Transylvanian property to the Kolozsvár Cadaster-Directorate and the other acts connected with control of land-tax to the Commissaries and Inspectors of the Land-tax.

The land-tax is a contingent tax. Act. 40 of 1881, has

established the land-tax for the whole of Hungary at 29 Million florins and the supplement of the land redemption not including Croatia-Slavonia at 11 mill. florins. Even before the land-tax was imposed on the basis of the new classification, Act. 46 of 1885 lowered the contingent land-tax of 29 mill. by 3 mill. establishing the contingent land-tax at 26 mill. florins and at the same time empowering the finance minister to impose the land-tax beginning with 1881 in a percentage corresponding to the contingent sum.

On this basis the land-tax is fixed at 17.1 per cent. and the land redemption supplement, with regard to the requirements of Croatia-Slavonia, at 8.4, i. e. at 25.5 per cent-of the net revenue.

To the same head as the land-tax belongs also the land cadastral survey. Of the 5640 square geographical miles which constitute Hungary 4117 square miles i. e. 73 per cent. of the total were surveyed between 1856 and 1894.

If we consider the financial results of the land-tax we find that in consequence of the carrying out of the new land-tax regulations there has been a certain reduction of the tax. While the land-tax before the application of the contingent which now is valid, brought in 38—39 million florins yearly, since 1885 there is an average amount of 35 mill. florins. The supplement included the land-redemption in this sum.

The second of the taxes laid on real estate, *the house duty*, is that direct form of taxation which has undergone the fewest changes since its introduction: In virtue of the tax law of 1868 which is still valid in its main points, the net estimate value of houses form the object of the house-tax since 1868.

With regard to the taxation of the value the house-tax falls into the house-rent-tax and the house-class-tax. To the first belong :

(a) rented buildings everywhere. (2) not rented houses and parts of houses in all those towns and parishes where the

number of actually rented lodgings amounts to at least half of the total number of the lodgings, i. e. where the general house-rent-tax is applied.

The basis of the house-rent-tax is formed by: the gross rent income, or in respect to the places which are liable to the general house-rent-tax the rentable value established by means of comparison of the parts not let, after deduction of the amortisation and cost of maintaining the buildings. This settlement of the gross income from the rent was completed in virtue of Act. 46 of 1883 so that the gross income of houses is formed by all the expenses paid under the title of rent, drainage, water supply, scavengering, lighting &c., further the costs paid by the tenant and to be reckoned in the rent for repairs and alterations.

The deduction permissible under the title of house maintenance and amortisation charges, was in virtue of the regulations of the law of 1883 fixed in Budapest instead of 15 per cent. at 20 per cent. of the gross rental, in the places liable to general house-rent duty at 25 per cent. without distinction, and in the places not liable to this duty, at 30 per cent.

The rate of the house-rent-tax was fixed in 1868 in Budapest at 24 per cent, in the other places liable to general house-rent-tax at 20 per cent, and elsewhere at 16 per cent, and this figure was reduced by Act. 46 of 1883 to 22 per cent. for Budapest.

The subjects of the house class tax — in contradistinction to the house rent tax — are the parts of dwellings, taken in the narrowest sense viz. rooms and shops: and instead of fixing the rentable inhabited value an increasing ratio of tax is applied according to the proportion of the number of the parts of the dwelling.

In 1868 there was one single scale of taxes, while the taxes now are applied according to three scales, which are fixed partly according to the character of the place, partly on the ground whether a third of the rooms are let or not.

The house-tax was until 1883 yearly assessed. Since the passing of Act. 44 of 1883 the assessment for the period of three years came. The house-rent-tax however is fixed on the basis of the yearly rental of the preceding year which simplifies the management, yet can scarcely be reconciled with the principles of correct taxation.

Buildings which serve public purposes are always tax-free. Provisional freedom from taxation is secured by the tax law, in order to further the introduction of new objects of taxes, and also by individual tax laws, in order to further buildings for municipal purposes or public objects.

The total yield of the house-tax, was more than 11 millions florins of late years.

These taxes shew a rising tendency, from which we may surmise an improvement in the municipalities.

The present laws which deal with the taxation of personal earnings and the yield of personal property have been in force since 1875. The radical principle of these laws can in a great part be referred to the principles of the personal property and income-tax derived from the absolutist regime.

The income-tax which has been maintained in virtue of Act. 24 of 1868, which had really the character of a poll-tax has divided the income which forms the object of taxation according to its amount and source into three classes:

(a) In the first class the smallest incomes on which no other taxes are paid.

(b) In the second class the permanent salaries and the gains resulting from trades.

(c) In the third, the individual activities which are concerned with the yield of the ground, houses, and capital, on a scale which corresponds to the sum of the direct taxes of the precedent year.

The income tax-payers who are liable to the second class of this tax are liable to this too. In order to avoid a double taxation it was however laid down that the former tax must be reckoned as the same time as the latter.

In the technical execution of this principle however numberless complications ensued, so that this 2nd Class of the personal property-tax was abolished by Act. 8 of 1873, while the 3rd Class was converted into a 4 per cent. supplementary tax on individuals liable to the tax on land, houses, capital and rent or employed in manufactories, shops, mines, industries, and liberal arts paying more than 40 florins in taxes.

The income-tax sanctioned by Act. 26 of 1868 was only nominally such, because, it was removed from all standard of subjective taxation, since it did not extend to the total income of the taxed subject, but in three independent classes, according to the objects of taxation, touched that individual income which was outside the land and house tax, and did not spring from these sources. These classes were as follows :

1. Manufactories, commerce, industries, and the so-called liberal arts, further the royal income, mines, rents, and in general profitable businesses, without regard to the fact whether the object of taxation was a physical person or merely a legal one.

2. A special tax on fixed incomes.

3. On the interest of capital rent and deposits in banks.

An existence-minimum existed only in the 3rd class and was 315 florins.

In the 1st and 3rd class a 10 per cent. tax ratio was in operation, with the exception of some mining business at 7 per cent.

In the second class the permanent emoluments, except the indemnities of rent, which were tax-free, were subjected to a progressive tax beginning at 1 per cent.

The basis of taxation in the 1st class was calculated on the average net income of the last 3 years, for mines, and in the 2nd and 3rd class on the income of the preceding year which the tax-payers were bound to avow.

The assessment was managed by the tax assessment commissions formed from the tax-payers, against whose decision people could appeal to the reclamation commissions which

decided finally. A further appeal to the finance minister was only allowed, if it was doubtful whether the income was liable to taxation, or to which class it belonged.

On the basis of these antecedents the modifications of 1875, still valid, were carried through, partly in the interest of an exact, separate settlement of the different objects of taxes, partly of an increase of capability of taxation then much needed through the financial condition of the times.

The taxes of undertakings and companies liable to public account which once belonged to the income-tax of class I, have received a special regulation. From the same class the tax of mining companies was excluded and regulated by a special law.

With regard to the object of taxation of the above undertakings and companies the ground principle is valid that companies must be taxed according to the profits of their undertakings, and at the same time according to the dividends payable to the individual shareholders or members, on basis of the balance sheet &c, according to the average of 3 years. On this reason the individual inland shareholders are not to be taxed separately under this title. This tax rate remained 10 per cent.

In settling the income liable to taxation the law reckons up what can be deducted under the title of expenses of working. The so-called self-help societies enjoy under certain conditions the favour that the interests paid to their members are free from tax up to 6 per cent.

The law on the taxation of mining companies makes no distinction in the respect, whether the mine is the property of a company liable to public account or not.

A modification occurred in this class of tax, namely that the 7 per cent. ratio formerly applied to the mines, was only left for coal mines, while others were submitted to a 5 per cent. tax, except for the by-pits, which as independent undertakings pay 10 per cent. tax. The tax basis is formed from the yield reckoned on the three years' average, and the law

fixes in detail, what should be deducted from the total under the title of expenses of working.

The 3rd Class was changed into a special capital interest and rent tax by Act. 22 of 1875, which did not extend only to the former basis of taxation but as general tax to all the income not submitted mediately or immediately to the other sorts of taxation. This tax touches not only the yield of interest and rent in the kingdom, but also the revenues coming from land and house property in foreign parts, or the income of shares in foreign companies, if the tax has not been previously paid on this income to a foreign state, which observes with Hungary the principle of reciprocity.

On savings deposits-institutions of credit had to pay according to Act. 25 of 1875, instead of deposit tax a stamp duty of 3 per cent. for the interest paid to the depositors or added to the capital. Act. 7 of 1883 changed this method again, and returned to the 10 per cent. taxation of deposits.

The basis of taxation of the Capital interest and rent tax is formed by the total interest and rent received on the year preceding the tax year. The rate is fixed at 10 per cent. To certain liferents a more moderate ratio is applied i. e. 5 per cent.

The tax and the income tax left untouched by the new laws mentioned above were comprised in Act. 29 of 1875 under the title of »Profit« tax. This law recognises 4 classes of profit tax. To the first belong the so. called small profits, — to the second those tax-payers who pay tax on land, houses and capital interest. The 3rd and 4 th. Class embraces those parts of the income-tax which are not touched by the afore-said special laws.

Contrary to the earlier personal property-tax the 1st class tax laid down by Act. 29 of 1875, underwent only the change that, in order to do away with the poll-tax character, the taxation were amended corresponding to the relations of gains and with respect to the character of the place: further that from the point of view of the proper assessment of the

profit, small trades were separated from the income-tax and were submitted to a taxation by tariff in the 1st class of the profit tax.

The property tax then left unchanged of the 2nd. class received its present shape in the same year owing to Act. 47 of 1875. This act. created a new kind of tax, the tax the general supplement tax based upon the principal taxes. That two supplement taxes should not exist simultaneously there was a reversion to the original standpoint, and individual activity in regard to the utilisation of the land, houses, or capital, according to the total state taxes assessed in the respective dwelling places as bases of taxation, was again submitted to the profit-tax in the rate of 2—4 fls.

Freedom from taxation — besides for soldiers and civilians of similar occupation — remained in force for those incapable of occupation. In 1883 also day-labourers were exempted from taxes.

The object and basis of the profit-tax of the 3rd. Class (together with the 10 per cent. tax ratio) remained as they were before especially the profit of letting, from trade and commercial pursuits, and from the liberal arts.

Only the deficiencies of the tax minimums imposed with the object of the correct settlement of the income liable to taxation were amended to a certain extent, and in their importance so modified that in future they should serve not as taxes but as a basis of taxes.

The profit-tax of the 4th Class as a salary-tax remained quite identical with the former income tax of the 2nd Class.

In assessment the principle of taxing according to amounts is still in force.

The general income-tax supplement, which formed a novelty quite independent of the antecedents of our tax legislation before 1875, is received as a supplement to our direct taxes as just specified. It has no importance in principle for essentially it is nothing else than an augmentation of the ratio of the fundamental taxes notwithstanding the circum-

stance that 10 per cent. of the year by interests of the mortgage debts i. e. the rent-tax paid by the owner of the capital may be deducted by the debtor on the settlement of his general income-tax supplement.

Among the incomes of the state budget, there are computed among direct taxes; the railway and steamboat transport-tax (with a yield of 84 mill. fls. in 1894), the arms and hunting-tax, the lottery-tax, and the military-tax paid by individuals freed from military service, which has a special legal object. A detailed explanation of these taxes we consider unnecessary, for they are of secondary importance in a financial point of view.

With regard to the financial result of direct taxation, the amount of 1894 has totalled 107 mill. florins against the total of 1868, 58 mill. florins. To judge the financial results of the reforms of 1875 it is sufficient to point to the fact, that, while the total amount of the direct taxes in 1874 was 68 mill. fls., this result rose in 1876 to 81 mill. florins and in 1877 to 87 mill. fls. The considerable increase since then is only to be regarded in part as a consequence of a few superficial charges which the legislature have applied to some tendencies of our tax laws in 1883. But in a great degree this increase is founded in the better execution of the administration and in the increasing of the objects of taxation connected with the undeniable advance of our economical prosperity. The profit-tax shows a proportionately great increase which from 1880—90 paid on an average 18 mill. fls. and in 1894 had passed the total of 22 mill. florins. With the general increase of direct taxes the general income-tax supplement keeps pace, which has the character of an additional tax, and which since its introduction in 1875 has increased from 5·7 mill. florins to 17 mill. florins in 1894.

Our legislation on direct taxes corresponds in many of its arrangements neither to the present development of financial life nor to the present condition of political economy and financial science. It would exceed the limits of this essay

if we recounted all the relations in which our present system of direct taxes needs reform. Suffice it to remark that those ideas which are struggling for realisation in the legislatures of other states of Europe have found a fruitful soil with us. The finance administration itself in a memorial handed to public discussion in 1893 has demonstrated this failing, and we will out of the numerous proposals of reform only mention one here, which intends to leave out of the question the present taxation of personal profit, in so far as it is possible without endangering present financial results and creating a radical alteration of the present system — and instead of that to tax the total individual income of the subject. According to these proposals general income tax and with it the tax-free minimum and the principle of progression would be incorporated in our taxation code.

The most important group of receipts in Hungary are indirect taxes. The financial results of the state sources of income show in their historical development the same tendency with us as in the rest of Europe. While the direct taxes, with few exceptions, are every-where only taxes on income, and the taxation of the individual revenue — although it is aimed at in all civilised states by the financial legislation — is only realised gradually and at the price of great political conflicts, this development of the tax on articles of consumption, which consists in the more intensive utilisation of them, if the increase of the rates is not a sudden one, can be introduced without great trouble and an imperilling of economic life. This intensive employment is to be referred to three factors: to the natural increase of consumption owing to the increase of population and the general bien-être: the continuous improvement of the administration, which hinders as far as possible any fraud on the treasury through smuggling and other acts of trespass: finally, those arrangements of the legislature by means of which it perfects the system of taxes by means of advancing technical and financial science, and increases the rate of the taxation of articles. Under our special

circumstances a fourth factor is added to these three, which has likewise great influence on the financial results of indirect taxation. This is the regulation of the relation between the states of Austria and Hungary which form an identical sphere of consumption, and especially in relation to the computation of the discount of the taxes between both states. How much of the increase of the tax income falls to the individual factors, is difficult to indicate, because the time of our observations is relatively a short one and affords no sufficient view. Of all our taxes on provisions we can only conclude from the income on meat tax — and only from this in relation to the effect of the 2 first of the fore-mentioned factors — as a consequence of the increase of population, and their bien-être, for the rates of the meat tax have undergone no change since 1868. In 1868 the income for the meat tax was 1·8 mill., in 1894 3·7 mill. florins.

Thus the centre of gravity of the tax incomes in modern state-finance is successively transferred from the direct taxes to those connected with consumption. In Western Europe the indirect taxes amount to 60—70 per cent, in England 80 per cent. of the total tax income. In Hungary the direct taxes at the beginning of the period chosen for a basis of comparison, in 1868 amounted to 55 per cent, and the indirect to 45 (including monopolies) of the tax income. In 1894 41 per cent. fell to the direct taxes, and 59 to the indirect, of the total tax income.

The taxation of articles of consumption becomes a monopoly in respect to salt and tobacco. The sale and retail of Brandy, Wine and Beer was a state monopoly from 1889, since the trade must be granted against the payment of definite dues and under certain conditions with a licence of the finance officials. Lotteries also are monopolies in form. The arranging of lotteries is dependent on the licence of the finance officials, which licence is given under certain conditions and generally by the payment of a certain duty and profit tax (10 per cent. of the amount in the lottery or on the value

of the prizes). A form of using this monopoly is the so-called small lottery, a remnant of old days, which does not adapt itself to the system of modern statesmanship, and the abolition of which, and also the substitution of this source of income which brings a gross profit of 3.4 millions and a net profit of 1.5 mill. can only be done by successively introducing other corresponding incomes.

The oldest of taxes on articles of consumption which is collected like a monopoly is the Salt tax, which dates from the time of the Arpáds. Salt production and the sale of salt wholesale by independent state magazines and commission stores forms an exclusive right of the treasury. This source of income is connected with the very productive salt mines of the treasury. Until 1876 the price of salt varied wholesale per Vienna quintal according to distance from the place of production from 5 to 7 fls. 32 kr. From 1876 the legislature fixed the price per 100 kilogrammes for rock salt at the place of production at 9 fls. and for bay salt at 9.50 fls., to which must be added two variable factors, i. e. the cost of production and the freight.

In individual parts of the land reduced prices are still paid for salt; moreover, the finance minister is entitled to sell salt for industrial purposes at exceedingly moderate prices and under a certain control. In addition the treasury manages salt export by agents; yet this branch of business, although it is doubtless capable of development and Hungarian salt is of the best quality for purity and colour, has not been able to take any great dimensions yet. The year's result of the sale of salt may be put only to about 1.8 million meter-cwts. The gross income of the monopoly amounted in 1894 to 15.6 millions, the net to 13.5 mill. florins. During the constitutional epoch this trade evinced a slow but steady increase: the differences between the results of individual years are unimportant. Among all states monopolies financial and politico-economical the most important is the tobacco duty, which relates to tobacco production, the fabrication and sale of tobacco

and articles of tobacco, and which expresses itself also in this, that foreign tobacco and tobacco articles are not only liable to duty, but also their import is connected with a licence given in return for the payment of a tax.

The economical importance of the tobacco duty consists on the one hand in this, that for the treasury — naturally only with special licence and by continual control — tobacco is produced in large districts; on the other hand in this, that tobacco production forms a large and ever increasing industrial business. In 1894 the district covered by tobacco was 64.465 cadastral yokes, of which 35.655 were for the Hungarian, and 28.810 for the Austrian excise. The district has decreased since 1888, when 87.396 cadastral yokes were covered, from year to year, which is especially to be ascribed to the fact that the Austrian excise, partly because it had great store from early years, partly because of late a successful production of tobacco was begun in individual provinces of Austria, require a smaller territory of production, while the Hungarian excise is likewise well stocked and also amply supplies its demands from the present districts.

In 1894 3.4 million meter-cwts. of tobacco were grown, for which 6,154,000 florins were paid to the producers in redemption money. In order to show the importance of the tobacco manufacture as an industrial pursuit, we think we ought to state the following facts. In 1894, 18 tobacco manufactories were at work, and in these 132 officials 186 under-officials and servants and 16.000 workmen were employed. There were produced in that year 16.4 mill. kilogrammes of smoking tobacco, 491.4 million cigars, 689.4 million cigarettes. With the increase of the consumption the manufacture increases. This increase shows itself not only in the increase of the products of the manufactories, but also in the establishment of new factories made by degrees according the economic needs of individual districts.

The income from the tobacco duty shows a steady increase during the constitutional epoch. Till 1888 this increase showed

no great dimensions. In individual years — at any rate only thrice — there was even a retrogression perceptible in comparison with preceding years. After stricter legal measures had been introduced to stop and prevent smuggling, and the price of tobacco and manufactured tobacco had been slightly increased, the net income from the tobacco duty showed a remarkably greater increase, than the relative increase of earlier years. Thus in 1889 the net income was 24·6 million florins against 22·6 million florins of the preceding year. In 1890 this net income rose to 28 million florins, in 1894 to 28·3, with 53·2 million florins gross income. If we consider that in 1894 nearly 13 mill. florins were paid for home and foreign raw material (eastern and transmarine raw tobacco leaves, foreign manufactured and half manufactured tobacco) for the purposes of our manufactories, and if we consider the other great costs of establishment, which burden the manufacture of tobacco, the difference between gross and net income will have been amply explained.

The system at present valid, of the taxes on *articles of consumption* in the narrower sense, has become naturalised, like the other forms of universal taxation, in the absolutist regime. After the restoration of the constitution, legalisation of the effective state of things was all that was wanted, there being a ready basis of development. Although the system of taxation of articles of consumption ought to be as clear as possible according to the present condition of financial science, this consideration is rendered somewhat difficult for us by the imperfection of the tax system in its historical development.

We have already mentioned that during the term of the Customs and Trade league the taxes on articles of consumption which taxes are of great influence over the industrial production, were to be treated according to equal legal and administrative principles. With regard to the taxes which do not stand in such connection with the production, this equality is not necessary. Proceeding from this difference it seems

most convenient to group the existing taxes in two chief divisions: viz, the taxes on articles of consumption closely connected with the production, and taxes on articles of consumption connected with traffic, although this division is neither theoretically nor practically perfect.

According to the present state of our legislation on taxes on articles of consumption there are equal legal arrangements for the taxes connected with production e. g. for the spirits, sugar, beer, and mineral oil in both states of the monarchy, while the meat tax, the sugar consumption tax, the wine, brandy and beer beverage taxes form the taxes on articles of consumption connected with traffic. In order to finish with the latter, which are less important financially, we will make the following remarks on their historical development. The wine and meat tax we took upon us at the beginning of the constitutional era as a legacy of the absolutist regime. The meat tax has retained its original form till the present day, the wine tax has undergone but small changes. The other taxes of the same order were created partly under pressure of the unfavourable financial condition, as the sugar and beer consumption tax in 1881, partly were in organic connection with some another legislative arrangement. Just as the landlord right was a hindrance to the introduction of the direct taxes and the redemption of these rights was necessary by the agency of the nation, in order that this hindrance might be set aside; so there was also a hindrance to the complete utilisation of the taxes on articles of consumption, a hindrance which as it were was a last remnant of feudalism. It was the so-called royal right, which consisted in this, that the retail sale of spirituous liquors was a right of the landlords.

After long preliminary discussions the legislature decided in 1888 that the state should redeem this privilege. The basis of the indemnity was formed by the average of the income for a definite number of years, and it was made a condition that this revenue should have been actually taxed in one of the years admitted as a basis of calculation.

The compensation was — apart from payments in cash for the settlement — in the form of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. obligations to be paid up within 70 years. The total issue for the redemption was 229,200.000 florins. To cover the demand of the interest and amortisation of this state indemnity, and for the purpose of working the rights thus redeemed by the state, the sale of liquors was made a monopoly, of which we have given an account above under Monopolies. Apart from the legislative enactments since made, we will here limit ourselves to the illustration of the present condition by remarking that the brandy tax was imposed in consequence of the law of 1888, and the wine and beer consumption tax was changed into a wine and beer tax.

The meat tax and wine tax are paid on the ground of tariffs. A special tariff exists for Budapest and for Pozsony, which two towns are surrounded with lines of excise of consumption, and there is a special tariff for the country towns and parishes which according to their population are divided into three classes.

The sugar consumption tax is 6 florins the 100 kilogrammes, the beer tax 5 florins per hectolitre. The brandy tax has four grades according to the condition and quality of the alcohol from 4 fls. 50 to 15 fls. per hectolitre.

In order to collect these taxes on articles of trade-consumption, a difference is made between closed towns and open places. In the former these taxes are collected at the introduction of the taxable articles into the district of the closed town by the official of the line. In an open district on the contrary every parish forms a special district, and in case the dispositions with regard to the avoidance of double taxation were not exactly kept to, the tax on one and the same article is so often to be collected as often as the thing is brought from one place of collection to another. In the meat tax moreover the difference between the closed town and the open places consists in this, that while in the former the living animal is to be

taxed on its entry, in the latter it is only liable to duty if slaughtered, and in so far as the case is one of professional slaughtering. With the exception of the closed district of Budapest the treasury administration of the traffic consumption taxes is only an occasional one. The treasury abandons the right of collecting the tax in return for the payment of a bounty or a rent to parishes or to private persons, or imposes the amounts to be collected for these taxes upon the parish which is held to pay these amounts to the exchequer.

The actual proceeds of these taxes was in 1894 35.4 million florins. But in this we must not overlook the demand of 10 million florins which the state has to pay for 70 years for redemption of royalty dues.

Concerning the second group of consumption taxes, those intimately connected with industrial production and therefore exceedingly important in an industrial point of view i. e. beer, spirit, sugar, and mineral oil taxes, we repeat that during the term of the customs union with Austria in both states of the monarchy as well as in the occupied territory equal legal, theoretical, and administrative measures exist.

The yield of our beer taxes amounted in 1867 to 762.241 florins, in 1894 to 3,185.128 florins. The increase of this income is not exclusively to be attributed to the increase of consumption, but depends as we shall see, on the increase of beer production in Hungary, which otherwise is a matter of congratulation from a politico-economical point of view. The fact that our beer tax, although it is a production tax could preserve its permanence, shows that a production tax can be stable, if it is placed on a proper basis, and that the many changes necessary in the case of our other production taxes, spirits and sugar, were called forth by the falseness of the original basis of taxation. The beer tax, as it was introduced under the absolutist regime and as it exists to-day, is a tax on a manufactured product. It is a tax of 16.7 kr. to be paid on every hectolitre of mash and on each single

degree of the saccharo-metre. On the exported beer there is a restitution of tax, but thus not involve a hidden export-premium, on the contrary before the enactment of Act. 30 of 1894 in case of the export of beers with large contents of sugar the full beer tax was not reimbursed. Despite the want of this otherwise problematical state support the beer industry has not to contend with any crisis. It flourishes in Austria, and a commendable advance is to be mentioned in Hungary. While the spiritus and sugar manufacture which were pushed to an artificial development by the tax laws of its time had to endure many hard days.

Formely both these production taxes — different from the beer tax — were not fixed on the basis of the manufactured article, but on that of the capacity of the utensils employed in their production. On this basis the tax was to be exacted in the form of a bounty or a redemption, yet always in such a manner that it lay in the interests of the manufacturers, by the employment of better utensils, or even by means of a less intensive use of the raw products to produce a larger quantity of manufacture than which they were supposed to be able to produce according to the suppositions which served for a basis of the tax regulations. This means in other words a continual stimulus to the perfecting of the industrial production, the consequences of which can be easily perceived in the rivalry and embittered strife of those who practise this branch of industry, in the continual overproduction, and in the critical state of this industry. If we consider further what a considerable export premium under such circumstances the reimbursements produced, which reached and sometimes even surpassed the totality of the presumed tax rates and what the treasury had to pay under this title, so that e. g. in 1876 the restitution of tax paid by both states of the monarchy on the sugar exported from the common Customs district exceeded with 26.347 florins, the sum it took in that year on the joint sugar taxes, the situation stands before us in all its untenableness. These relations and this unfavourable

position of state finances have caused us after several unsuccessful experiments to set aside the former system with respect to the sugar tax entirely, and partly with respect to the alcohol tax, with the exception of small distilleries of no importance in point of industry, with regard to which the tax, in a fixed sum or in the form of redemption was sustained with corresponding severity, and to pass over to the system of taxation of ready products. In consequence of this modification the sugar tax so technically complicated formerly became much simplified, because it had only to be exacted on the sugar sent from the manufactory and passing into free traffic. The tax on beet- and cane-sugar, without respect to its purity, with the sole exception of the syrup which cannot be used as an article of consumption, is 11 fls. per 100 kilogrammes net, with other kinds of sugar, solid 3 fls., liquid 1 fl. In order to prevent the transport of untaxed sugar the sugar manufactories are under continual supervision.

This radical change in the system of the sugar tax did not only show good results in a financial relation, but also as useful from the special point of view of the industry of Hungary. So long namely as the bounty system endured, and the good quality of the beetroot and its most complete utilisation formed the main aim of the manufacture, Hungary with its less valuable beetroot and its undeveloped industrial relations in the sugar industry, could make no progress, and the demands of Hungary were met chiefly by Austria. With the abolition of the county-system the quality of the beetroot became a matter of subordinate importance, and sugar industry could make splendid progress.

In the manufactures of importance from an industrial point of view, the alcohol tax, as we mentioned before, must be paid on the manufactured article, i. e. when it passes over into free commerce. Since the number of these distilleries is however a very large one and their continual supervision is impossible and even if possible would not be sufficient an account of the nature of the product to secure the interest

of the treasury, the law takes care by means of alcoholometres, by a strict control over the distilleries and by obliging the manufacturers to the duty of giving notice and keeping books with regard to all important incidents which may affect the mass of production, that the treasury may not be curtailed by the secret sale of quantities of untaxed alcohol.

With respect to the prevention of overproduction the alcohol tax has two rates, the lower amounts to 35 kr. the hectolitre-degree, the higher to 45. At the smaller rate alcohol may be produced in Hungary up to the amount of 872, 542 hectolitres, which quantity is divided every three years among the individual distilleries according to the regulations of Act. 25 of 1888. In the distribution of the quantities produceable at the lower rate the farm-distilleries are particularly regarded. This is not the only advantage which the present system offers such distilleries. Such factories receive on every hectolitre of alcohol sent out from their stores a premium which amounts, according to the day's production of alcohol from the distillery, according to the alcohol taxed on the lower grade to 3, 4 & 5 fls. per hectolitre, on the higher to 1, 2 & 3 fls.

If pressed yeast is also produced, a special tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ kr. is to be paid on each litre of alcohol. For industrial purposes, denaturalised spirit can be used tax-free, on which a control duty of $1\frac{1}{2}$ kr. is to be paid per hectolitre.

The law takes care by giving leave to establish free stores, by allowing delay in payment and by granting a discount for cash payments, that the manufacturer who receives money for his goods later on, suffers no harm by advancing the high spirit and sugar tax. Finally the legislature tries by means of affording moderate export premiums to promote the interests also of industry. These premiums amount on spirit to 5 kr. per hectol., on sugar according to the degree of polarisation to 1 fl. 50, 1 fl. 60 & 2 fls. 50 per 100 kilogrammes, nor in both states of the monarchy can more than one mill. florins be paid on the spirit sent out in one tax year, and not more than 5 mill. florins on sugar

We mentioned above what influence the regulation of the discounts between the two states of the common customs district and Bosnia and Herzegovina, exercises on the revenue of this tax.

With reference to the joint customs territory maintained in 1867, the necessity arose of taking care of the administration of the consumption taxes connected with industrial production. With regard to this, 63 of Act. 12. of 1867 has a general disposition. The question was actually solved by the Act. 16. of 1867 which incorporated the customs and trade union, which declares that the taxes demanded during the term of this compact must be administered according to equal laws and administrative measures and that no special taxes can be laid by one state on the articles proceeding from the territory of the other state. Each state shall keep its taxes which it has collected on the articles produced within it without respect to where they are consumed. Therefore the yield of the taxes is dependent on the amount in which the article liable for duty is produced in one or other state and therefore the state of the tax yield was so favourable to Hungary because of late beer production and especially sugar production has made much gratifying advance. The latter especially in consequence of the new law of sugar duty, which taxes the factories no longer on the ground of their capability of productiveness and also facilitates the working up of poor beetroot, so that in Hungary sugar factories could be established even at such places where formerly on account of the small sugar contents of the beets growing in the respective district they could not have been able to stand the competition of Bohemian factories.

The indemnities to be paid under the title of compensations and export premiums, were to be divided between both administrations in that relation in which both states contributed to the joint expenses, which was not to the interest of the Hungarian state, because our finance administration proportionately received less in production taxes compared

to Austria than the amount of our quota. On this account in 1878 on the occasion of renewing of the customs and trade league it was declared that the tax indemnities and export premiums of the states shall be reckoned in proportion to the gross income of the particular kind of tax. Since Bosnia and Herzegovina were included in the common customs district, these conditions are extended also to these lands.

An innovation which may be called a turning point in the history of our taxes connected with industrial production is contained in Act. 15 of 1894 which by means of obligatory transfers offers the possibility that the Hungarian and Austrian State treasury, The Bosnian and Herzegovinian treasury, who all belong to the same customs district, should settle with one another with regard to the amount of spirit taxed in one state and consumed in the other.

If this plan was extended to all the taxes collected in connection with industrial production, it would be possible that the individual states could enjoy the yield of these taxes in relation to the effective consumption of the taxed articles in question. In virtue of Act. 15 of 1894, Austria had to pay to the credit of Hungary in 1894—95 more than 700.000 florins in taxes on spirits.

Since the restoration of the constitution we have in conjunction with Austria introduced only one new tax on consumption, which is connected with industrial production, the mineral oil tax.

This was introduced by Act. 18 of 1882 and partly modified by Act. 25 of 1887. By virtue of these laws a consumption tax is imposed (at the same time with the increase of the duty to be exacted on the import of mineral oil, and further for gas coal and tar) on the mineral oil produced by refiners in Hungary, the thickness of which makes between 880/1000 and 770/1000 the thickness of pure water at 12 degrees Reaumur. This comes to 6.50 fls. per 100 kilogrammes, and is levied in the same way as the sugar tax at present. The tax must not be exacted on an export through

the tax line, but exportation does not allow of either a tax indemnity or an export premium.

This tax which in 1882 was only 359.774 florins produced 5,711.567 florins in 1889, for since 1884 the mineral oil refining in Fiume and Budapest has made great strides.

From the 4 sorts of taxes connected with industrial production, the Hungarian state treasury received in 1894 6.5 million florins, of which 32.1 million florins fall to the spirit tax, 5.4 mill. to the sugar tax, 3.2 mill. to the beer production tax, and 5.7 mill. florins to the Petroleum tax.

In order to offer a point of view for the criticism of the development of all the consumption taxes, we may mention that the income under this title amounted in 1868 to 12.5 mill. florins, and in 1894 after the deduction of the yearly amount necessary for the redemption of the royal-rights to 65.1 million florins.

To the group of state income treated here belong those considerable sources of income which come to the state under the title of *stamp and law dues*, and of *taxes*. Of these incomes the taxes are the oldest, since there was an arrangement familiar for centuries past which involved for individual distinctions the obligation to pay a certain tax for the benefit of the treasury. A systematic tariff existed since the beginning of the century, and was completed since then, and generally modified.

The present system of stamp and law dues was established in its main features by the absolutist regime. On this basis provisional in 1868 and finally legalised in 1875, the present laws repose, according to which law business establishing rights, changing or conveying them, carrying out the conveyance of property in case of death, as well as certain documents pay certain dues. This due is payable either in cash or in stamps, either in a fixed sum, or according to a scale of value, or finally in percentage of value. This construction of the system has the effect of being extended to most of the relations of law and economic life, and on that account

changes with it, decreases or develops. In the nature of this system it also occurs that the management of the stamp and law dues, the proper assessment of the same, and the security of their exaction, require an organised administration, to secure the financial results of this source of income. The shaping of these factors, to which are added certain regulations, increasing the tariffs and rendering them clearer, — show their traces in the income. While in 1868 the total income in tax, stamp and law dues amounted to round 10.5 mill. florins, this income increased in 1894 to 36 mill. florins, which result is connected in general with the more energetic development of the economic and judicial life, and with such legal regulations as in part aimed at the immediate increase of the income, partly at the quicker assessment and punctual payment.

Our account would not be perfect, if we did not spend a few words on the *rôle* which *state business* plays in the shaping of state income.

The increase of the net incomes of the *post and telegraph business* — which income in 1880 scarcely amounted to a million florins, while in 1894, they brought a profit of $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions — is financially not of importance, and these incomes are neither by the legislative nor by the government regarded as an institution of financial value. At the utmost they serve as new data to show the development of business life.

The yield of the extensive *state forests* (in 1894, 2.3 mill. florins) and that of the *mining and foundery industries of the treasury* play likewise no important financial rôle, although their industrial importance is of the highest rank. The *farming property* of the treasury, along with which the breeding business connected with horse-rearing is to be considered, is much the same from a financial point of view. It is otherwise with the system of the *Hungarian railways*. Already in speaking of the state expenses, we mentioned what a great part of the state expenses their working expenses form, and with regard to the burden of interest of the national debt,

how the latter burdens the Hungarian state with no small amount as a result of the redemption of the railways. If in that action the politico-economic objects were the most important, we can recognise it as well as the constructions of railroads as profitable investments of the national capital, if the railways are able to show good financial results. It would be an erroneous supposition to think that the railway business can close with a deficit in a sound state of economical policy.

A sound political economy also implies the soundness of all the branches of economy. If our political economy is sound, our railways too must be profitable. This is particularly the case with us, where state management is so much in the ascendant. At any rate also this has its limits which are drawn by the nature of the institutions. In a state system it is natural that certain lines must be made not for economic but for national i. e. strategic purposes which ultimately are more of a burden than an element of profit. It is also in the character of the state system that the public should lay greater demands on the performances of a public railway than on a private undertaking. It belongs to a very advanced state of political economy, that the public should renounce its claims in reference to the state.

The railways begin to play a rôle in political economy first after 1885, a rôle in the sense that they not only cause expenses but promise incomes. The net surplus of the state railways first in 1885 exceeded the amount of 10 mill. florins. This rôle came first in full force into being in 1891 with the redemption of the Hungarian lines of the Austro-Hungarian state railway company, when the main arteries of traffic were all in the hand of the state. In the year named the net business surplus amounted to 31.7 mill. florins, in 1892 to 32.5 mill. florins, in 1893 to 34.9 mill. florins, in 1894 to 36.7 mill. florins. The redemption and the completion of the state railway system came so to say to a pause through the action mentioned. Not so the condition of the tariff: a

province in which deep-seated reforms were introduced at that time, which implied considerable reductions of the tariff. These brought in the sphere of the passenger and luggage department an increase of the traffic to hitherto unknown dimensions, and resulted in a considerable increase of income for the railways. This increase however was connected with a considerable advance of the expenses of working and maintenance and with great demands for investments. None the less the net working surplus is always very considerable, and the capital invested in the railways pays interest at 4.7 per cent. The utilisation of past experiences in the sphere of the tariff, the gradual abolition of certain deficiencies of the system which was right in its main lines, an economic method of proceeding in investments on the one hand, and the natural increase of the traffic, hand in hand with the development of economical life and that advance of economic culture which will express itself in this, that public opinion will raise no illiberal demands against the state railways: — these are the factors which will have influence on the firm establishment and development of the results arrived at in the province of the railway system. At present and in this place we will only affirm that the state railways have their part in the results achieved in political economy the last few years, in the consolidating of the financial position, and that those many expenses and great burdens which were connected with the redemption, and are so still, have shown themselves actually a profitable investment.

The creations of the state last not for one generation alone, and state needs as a matter of fact cannot always adapt themselves to the sums at their disposal. These two facts produce the result that the state does not only spend the current income for defraying its expenses, but is compelled, sometimes for economic investment or for making new working capital or to attain other state ends to have recourse to foreign capital; and this is how *national debts* arise.

At the time of the political compromise in 1867, the Hungarian

state proceeding on considerations of fairness and not by legal compulsion, undertook to pay yearly a contribution of 30.338,000 florins to the debt of Austria which had arisen from the time of the centralistic management of the finances for the whole monarchy. This obligation, however, whereby Hungary has reserved to itself the right of amortisation, does not bind the country towards the owners of the bonds but merely towards Austria. Likewise Hungary has taken over the guarantee for the joint floating debt consisting of state notes, a transaction of the details of which we will speak later on.

The state debts in the narrowest sense can also in Hungary be referred to the preceding reason. The greatest part of it has the character of investments, in so far as it was employed either for abolishing the obstacles which arose from the landlord rights and prevented the utilisation of public taxability, for example the loans undertaken in consequence of the redemption of the rights of landlords and of the royal dues, or applied directly to public works, or finally arising on this account that the state took on itself the obligations of the redeemed railways. The remaining part of the state debts arose in this way, that the state expenses which were to be met unconditionally could not be defrayed by the ordinary state income.

The oldest Hungarian state debt is the debt contracted for the purpose of the redemption of the rights of landlords, which the absolutist regime which carried through the redemption has issued. This 5 per cent. debt which in 1867 nominally amounted to 293,497.680 florins, was in 1888 converted into a 4 per cent. loan, of which the nominal amount of 199,509.000 florins is to be paid within 70 years.

The first state debt started by the Hungarian finance minister was the loan of 1867, which was issued at a rate of 72½ per cent. for the purpose of making railways and canals to a nominal amount of 85.125,600 florins. The nominal rate of interest was 5 per cent. but in consequence of the

low rate of issue it increased actually to 6·92 per cent. on an average. Applied to similar purposes were the nominal 5 per cent. Gömör mortgages in 1871, of 6,624,300 florins with an issue price of 79⁰/₁₀₀, further the so-called 30 million loan, and in 1872 to defray the deficit which appeared in the State budget a new loan of 54 million florins was issued at 74 per cent. All three loans were converted in 1888. In 1870 the present premium loan of 30 million florins consisting nominally in premium obligations for defraying the costs of the Budapest quays and bridges and of the Danube works connected therewith, was started and for this purpose 24 million florins were employed.

To the same date belongs the loan for the redemption of the tithe paid on wine, amounting to 25·7 million florins and since paid and the loan for redeeming the novale lands amounting to 2,135,000 florins, which latter was comprised in the great conversion of 1892.

While this debt had to a great extent the nature of an investment, the 6 per cent. 153 million silver loan was floated at an issue price of 86 per cent. in 1873—74, principally under the influence of the confusion in finances which arose in the beginning of the seventies.

All these loans bear the mark of the undeveloped credit of the land. The issue price of the loan is a low one, the interest paid on it a high one, each loan offers a special guarantee fund consisting of railways, state property &c. The uncertain relations of standard produce the effect that the paying back of capital and the paying of interest must be secured either in effective gold or in silver which was of equal value at the time with the gold.

It was an important step in advance when despite the unfavourable financial condition of the land and the reserved attitude of the European money market, we achieved the possibility of creating such stocks as had formerly been floated in many of the western states. This took place in 1876 by the issue of the 6 per cent. Hungarian gold rentes,

which was floated firstly to convert the afore-mentioned 153 million loan, and then in the interval up to 1880 to defray the serious state needs, among them the costs of the Bosnian occupation, in a nominal sum of 400 million florins at an average issue of 77 per cent. These stocks however were not long in circulation. The improvement of the European moneymarket after the close of the eastern question, and the better prospect of the state finances after the renewing of the customs and trade treaty in 1878, made it possible that this debt could be converted into a 4 per cent. gold rente, an action which was carried through between 1881 and 1884 and eased the burdens of the budget to more than 2 mill. gold florins. This kind of rentes to which later new issues came on basis of legal empowerment, is still existent. The yearly burden of interest of the debt amounting to 634 mill. florins comes to 25.360,000 florins, in round figures 30 mill. florins.

A further advance in the matter of the state debt belongs to the same time. The deficit in the budget threatens to be chronic. In no small degree this is caused by those burdens in interest and amortisation payments which are connected with the development of the railway system, further by the paying of old debts which cannot be met from the current income, and therefore make the undertaking of new burdens necessary. Despite the earnestness of the situation the finance administration has succeeded in calling into life the 5 per cent. paper rente. which although its nominal rate of interest is higher than that of gold rente, yet offers the advantage that it makes no increase in the burden for the state when gold currency rises. The debt issued up to 1889 and gradually rising to 358.487,000 florins and realised at an average exchange of 86.81 per cent., was taken up in the conversion of 1892, and no longer exists.

The conversion realised by Act. 32 of 1888 forms a turning point in the history of the development of the Hungarian national debt. In order to clear the exchequer of the

high burden of interest no longer corresponding to the ruling rate of interest, as well as from the great amortisation of capital, which latter was chiefly defrayed by new debts, and therefore formed no real payment, the legislature decided to convert the 1867 railway loan, the 30 mill. loan of 1871, the Gömör mortgage loan, the 54 mill. debt of 1872, a long series of railway redemption loans, finally the debt for redeeming the rights of landlords into a loan at a lower rate of interest. Thus old debts making a total of 169,172.550 florins were converted into a loan of 182.000,000 gold florins in $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. debentures, issued at an average issue price of 93.4 per cent. as a railway gold loan to be paid in 75 years. Further, different railway redemption preference shares were converted to a railway-silver-loan of a nominal amount of 119 $\frac{1}{2}$ mill. florins at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest payable within 75 years at an average issue price of 93.3 per cent. Finally land liberation obligations of the nominal amount of 172.575,285 florins were converted into stocks of the same title in an amount of 199.509,000 florins at 4 per cent., payable within 70 years, issued at 86.8 per cent.

The lightening of the state budget achieved by conversion amounted to 3.704,000 florins in gold and 8.120,000 florins in Austrian value, and had as a consequence that since 1889 the issue of rentes required for the amortisation of state debts became unnecessary and otherwise a considerable saving was effected. Both circumstances were of decisive influence on the restoration of the balance in the budget.

While we mention for the sake of completeness that in consequence of the redemption of the royal dues in 1889 229.200,000 florins $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. obligations were issued, payable within 70 years, we must proceed to a short description of the last conversion carried out in 1893.

The continued consolidation of Hungarian state finance and the constant downward tendency of the rates of interest in consequence of the fabulous production of capital imposed the inescapable duty on the Hungarian finance administration

to lighten the charges of the budget as much as possible. To this came the fact that by the standard regulation decreed in 1892, new and considerable state expenses had to be met with for defraying which the budget had to care as far as possible without an extension of the existing frame.

Both these objects being held in view, the legislature decided by Act. 21 of 1892, that they would convert:

(a) the 5 per cent. paper rente of 358,487,000 florins.

(b) different railway redemption preference shares and shares amounting to 125,235,710 florins paying 5 per cent. interest, finally

(c) different 5 per cent. railway gold debentures of the nominal amount of 16,704,000 gold florins for stocks paying a lower interest.

In order to procure the gold demanded for regulating the standard the legislature decided that to meet that demand of gold which exceeds the 45 mill. gold florins already provided by the government with the help of the treasury cash as many 4 per cent. gold rente obligations should be issued of which the yearly interest can be defrayed by the yearly decrease of interest achieved by the conversion.

To decide the way of carrying out this credit operation was left to the discretion of the administration.

Instead of the stocks indicated by a. and b., the crown rente obligations at 4 per cent. were issued of the nominal total of 1,062,000,000 crowns at an average issue price of 91.14 per cent. The gold rente obligations issued in a nominal amount of 42 mill. florins for the purpose of converting the stocks mentioned in c. and for the supply of gold were realised at an average rate of 95.64. Of this for defraying the gold equivalent of the 93.6 mill. florins for which Hungary was responsible from the payment of the state notes, only 24 mill. florins were nominally necessary, while the saving achieved by the conversion would have sufficed to defray another amount of 48 mill. gold florins.

The conversion, achieved with great success, in which

nearly 90 per cent. of the old obligations were spontaneously converted by the possessors of the obligations, had the consequence, in addition to the complete creation of the necessary gold for the regulation of the value and in addition to the saving just mentioned, that the shares of the redeemed railways were exchanged for state obligations, and so the state came into the unconditional possession of the railways; further that the state debt became more unified, and ultimately that the burden of interest of the state (for we have henceforth had merely loans at less than 5 per cent. interest) was reduced correspondingly to the credit and the relations of the country.

The state debt of the lands of the Hungarian crown, actually amounting to 2260 mill. florins forms a great burden undoubtedly. It is to some extent mitigated by the fact that, to judge by the cashing of the coupons, nearly 700 mill. is placed in the country, which sum steadily rises, while 1200 mill. is assigned to Austria and the rest to foreign countries.

We must now mention the *money and standard system*. The Austrian standard fixed in 1857, which was legalised in Hungary by Act. 12 of 1867, was a silver standard, in which a 45th. part of a mint pound (500 grammes) of fine silver made a florin. This standard system has as such only a short time come into use with a metallic base. The monarchy since 1849 with an interruption of only a few months had permitted only a paper money system, since the agreement had been formed with the note bank in 1854, in which the bank took over the liquidation of the state notes issued until that date by the state, exclusively with bank-notes with a compulsory currency. Since 1866 state notes had come into use instead of a part of these bank-notes likewise with compulsory currency. Act. 15 of 1867 declared these state notes of the amount of 312 mill. florins to be a joint floating debt of the monarchy, whereby the notes issued by the Austrian finance minister on the strength of the Austrian salt mines amounting to 100 mill. florins were brought into such

connection with the state notes that, instead of these saline notes whenever they should be withdrawn from circulation state notes could be issued, for which latter the joint responsibility of both states was pledged however with the definite declaration that the saline debt affects Austria alone.

Along with the bank-notes issued on compulsory currency, and the state notes of 1, 5, and 50 fls. issued at intervals within the above named limits formed the principal means of payment of both states, while the silver money, which was valued according to the international value of silver, played a rôle of the second rank. For some time the mints of both states were open to the free coinage of silver, and silver was actually stamped, until in the second half of the seventies the general market price of silver sank so low that the international value of credit money was higher than the worth of silver and consequently it appeared profitable to cause florins to be coined in the mints of both states of the silver bought in the worlds market. In order to prevent the danger of a further and more extensive demonetisation of the money system that might have ensued in consequence of such proceeding both governments stopped free silver coinage in 1879. Since that date silver florins were only coined from the silver procured in native mines and bought up by both the states. This rule had as a consequence that our money system was not affected by the further retrogression of the price of silver which is its basis, but on the contrary permanently surpassed the market value of silver. None the less both states of the monarchy continued to form in respect of their standard a district isolated from the other states of Europe the money of which formed a credit money withdrawn from the immediate influence of the noble metals. Our money suffered in comparison with the gold which had become the international standard, continual and important fluctuations in value.

It is superfluous to discuss the great economic and universal cultural disadvantages of such a money system. A money system which in its relations to foreign standards is

exposed to daily variations, and to such variations which have no limits upwards or downwards, makes a situation in which the equipollency of prices suffers fluctuations daily, and accordingly the conditions of production and consumption alter daily. Every business which was connected with the payment of money from or to foreign parts ran the risk of losses which could be caused by fluctuations in the standard, if such losses could not be prevented by previous covers. Such precautions are however expensive and can only be realised successfully by such wholesale merchants or bankers who are entrusted with all the secrets of arbitration. The external trade is dependent on the risks of standard. If our money is devalued, then this has as a consequence the aggravation of our imports. If it increases, then foreign countries have an easier competition with our producers. This is a case in which the basis of a correct and self-conscious political economy is made weak, when the predominance of mere chance which is not definite and merely precarious is introduced into all branches of national economy, not to speak of those disadvantages which harm the credit of the land with so fluctuating a standard by the fact that foreign capital is absolutely not disposed or only under very expensive conditions to enter such a land.

The legislatures of both states have early recognised the danger lying in the fluctuation of standard. The introduction of a money system which corresponds to the demands of a stationary and international standard, has occupied both states of the monarchy continually. Already the first customs and trade treaty decided that the legislatures might within the shortest time possible make equal proposals for the introduction of a gold standard. At the time of the renewal of the customs and trade treaty the demand for a regular currency system came again to the fore.

The ill-regulated condition of finance in both states of the monarchy prevented us from making any advance to the reform of the standard. Immediately after the restoration of

equilibrium in the budgets the labours in connection with the regulation of the standard took their beginning, which had as a result the standard laws of 1892.

The standard laws of 1892 reckoned with the fact that in the existent international relations of standard we can achieve an international and therefore permanent standard in relation to foreign countries only on the basis of a gold standard. On this account they decided on the introduction of the gold standard.

The unit of the new standard is the *crown*, which is divided into a hundred farthings. Two crowns are equivalent to one florin of Austrian value.

In settling the most important question in the establishment of the new system of standard, how the gold quantity corresponding to the new unit, the crown can be established, so that simultaneously the value of the unit of the standard hitherto prevalent and expressed in gold might be established for the future, the legislature was in the fortunate position that the Austrian standard had no legal relation in value to gold, so that the legislature could allow itself to be led exclusively by views of national economy, and by its valuation at the same time material justice could in a great measure be insured. Proceeding on these principles, in establishing the gold value of the florin the actual worth expressed in the rates of exchange was to be made the basis, and since the average over several years of the course of foreign gold bills of exchange as well as the rates of exchange quoted at the date of the standard laws resulted a relation of the value of the Austrian florin towards foreign gold values according to which a florin equals 0.609756 grammes of refined gold, therefore the quantity corresponding to a crown was set down at 0.304878 grammes.

The coinage system was established as follows:

The following specie are to be coined in gold: 20 and 10 crown pieces, one crown pieces in silver, twenty and ten farthing pieces in nickel, and two and one farthing pieces in bronze.

The silver florin of the Austrian standard was left in circulation as current coin till a further resolution of the legislature. And so this new system became a so-called hobbling standard, while the silver florin remained in circulation as a legal means of payment.

Our relation to Austria with respect to mint and standard is defined by the compact incorporated in Act. 18 of 1892 which provides that equal principles should come into operation in both states which ensure equal circulations to coins coined by both states, and which in carrying out the complete standard reform, which aims at taking up cash payments, regulate the systematic co-operation of both states, and also the distribution of the costs connected with the reform. With regard to these costs the compact orders that 70 per cent. should fall to Austria, 30 per cent. to Hungary. The compact remains in force till the end of 1910.

The main aim of the reform, that is to say, to free us from the compulsory receipt of paper money, and to gain a standard adapted to international valuation, lays the task on both states connected with the carrying through of the reform, to provide for the calling in of state notes which form a joint floating debt of 312 mill. and in this way to prepare for the taking up of cash payments by both the states as well as by the note bank. Having regard to this task, the governments have begun — the Hungarian before the laws of 1892, the Austrian immediately after — to procure the stocks of ready money necessary for calling in the notes. The agreement of the governments of both states incorporated in Act. 24 of 1894, makes a further decisive step, in virtue of which notes of the value of 200 mill. florins of the common floating debt are to be withdrawn from circulation. The money serving to redeem the notes is in the meantime placed in the note bank in virtue of the contract and the calling in follows in return for the bank-notes procured from the bank for the deposited gold, and of silver florins.

In the meanwhile a great part of the small silver money

of the Austrian currency was redeemed, as well as the quarter florin and two florin pieces of Austria. The redemption of the afore mentioned state notes is now nearly ended, and since in the meantime both governments will have provided for the necessary gold for redeeming all the state notes, legal enactments will soon be made in order that the 112 mill. florins forming the floating debt not yet redeemed, should be called in together with those notes connected with the salt mines and the connection between these two forms of notes be abolished. Simultaneously there must be provision that the need of small pieces of money in consequence of the redemption of the state notes should be met, so that the new money currency may fit in with the system of gold standard. Further there must be provision that the general utilisation of the new standard should be obligatory. At present the Austrian standard is the universal one, while that of the crown is only optional. Finally the question of the silver currency is to be regulated. If all this takes place and if the control of the bank of issue is regulated, then we have done everything which will lead to the object of re-establishing cash payments, now suspended for nearly half a century.

With the reaching of this goal, both states of the monarchy will take that place also in this respect which their power and their economical importance, the development of their people point out to them. Our economical productions will win their unchangeable basis and with that one of the most important preliminary conditions of their development.

The effective results of Hungarian finance from 1868—1894 are shown as follows:

Year	Expenses	Income	+ Surplus — Deficit	
			in million florins	
1868	147.5	154.1	+	6.6
1869	162.0	152.0	—	9.5
1870	199.0	171.2	—	28.7
1871	215.1	179.6	—	35.5

Year	Expenses	Income	+ Surplus — Deficit
in million florins			
1872	237.4	186.6	— 50.8
1873 . . .	251.0	181.7	— 60.3
1874	250.1	190.3	— 50.8
1875	233.3	192.3	— 40.5
1876	246.1	214.9	— 31.3
1877	245.1	218.7	— 26.4
1878	280.3	227.1	— 53.2
1879	290.5	252.2	— 38.2
1880	289.3	247.4	— 41.9
1881	329.3	281.1	— 48.1
1882	337.1	290.8	— 46.3
1883	340.4	301.3	— 39.1
1884	343.4	302.4	— 41.0
1885	358.3	318.1	— 40.3
1886	348.3	305.3	— 43.0
1887	368.1	318.7	— 49.4
1888 .. .	362.6	337.9	— 24.1
1889	348.0	344.7	+ 3.3
1890	356.5	385.0	+ 28.5
1891	405.4	433.0	+ 27.6
1892	412.9	428.9	+ 16.0
1893 ¹⁾	494.9	550.1 ²⁾	+ 55.2
1894	487.4	481.3	— 5.3

This shows that the expenses continually increase since 1868 with the exception of some years, till 1894, the total amount was of 270 per cent. Also the receipts increase steadily although since the first year and 22 years after these have not kept pace with the expenses. In 1869 the deficit began which about 1875 takes serious dimensions. The legislature of 1875 which partly aimed at the reform of public dues partly at a more energetic utilisation of the sources of taxation, and also the settlement with Austria of the year

¹⁾ 74½ million florins to be deducted for transitory expenses caused by the standard regulation.

²⁾ 77½ million florins to be deducted transitory Income caused by the standard regulation.

1878, which included more favourable conditions for Hungary in relation to export premiums than those of 1867, finally the prospect of getting rid of a most burdensome debt, made us hope to be able to create proper conditions.

In the meantime the Russo-Turkish war of 1877—78 and the Berlin Treaty which aimed at a regulation of the circumstances caused by this war, laid the task on the monarchy of occupying Bosnia and Herzegovina for the preservation of its interests in the East. This occupation and the burden connected with the complications that ensued have crushed the realisation of the hopes just mentioned. The financial administration of the eighties ends with a deficit, although the expenditures in consequence of the very severe observation of the principle of sparingness hardly showed any important changes from 1882 till 1890. Only when in the province of the consumption taxes, we parted with a system not only profitless but also prejudicial to the state, and introduced a system of consumption taxes corresponding to the principal demands of new financial science; when we abolished individual obstructions which stood in the way of the full utilisation of this system; when we lightened our burdens of interest which did no more correspond to the monetary relations of Europe, and on the other hand made it possible by the deliberate arrangement for the paying of debts that a part of the burdens of the modern creations should be met by future generations who will enjoy the fruit of it; when we laid down the principle in relation to state expenses that a certain definite scope should always be placed and only to be transgressed in proportion to the natural development of state income; when we finally began to see also the economical and politico-financial results of the railway system constructed at great cost and at the price of great sacrifice: then only the struggle of nearly a quarter of a century had an end, and the equipoise in the budget was restored, and the finances closed with a considerable surplus, which enabled us to attempt new and greater tasks.

Will this prospect be an abiding one? The prospects are cheering, yet not unconditionally sure.

Cheering, because the economical condition of this land on which our state finances repose, is at the bottom a sound one. Of course we must not forget that the difficult condition of rural economy, perceptible of late years all over Europe, is particularly hard on our economical conditions which still have a predominant agrarian character. On the other hand we must not forget that many means of remedy can still be used for our farmers such as have been used already for a very long time in the more advanced states in the west. We mean social self-help, and rational public institutions, with which in those states men can protect themselves against unfavourable relations and generally the development of economical culture.

It is also a notable fact that that great disproportion begins slowly but surely to disappear in which the production of raw produce exceeded other economic branches with regard to the amount as well as to the value of the products and also to the numerical relations of the producers. Our industrial production increases and industrial enterprises rest, apart from exceptions of secondary importance, on solid foundations. The reserve funds of the great industrial share companies increase continually, the correctness of their methods is universally acknowledged. Also trade steadily increases in energy which is proved by the data of the railway and post traffic. The life of credit is developed. The business of the note bank in Hungary shows a steady development; the savings deposits increase.

Prospects are also encouraging because we have behind us the greatest part of the expensive fundamental organisations of state institutions. The costs of the further development will be covered by the natural development of the incomes.

Yet the future is not promising unconditionally. We will not here mention war nor the ravages with which it can throw to the ground at present the welfare of a whole nation.

We only mention the main condition, with which is connected the maintenance of our present consolidated conditions. The state requirements which have developed by leaps and bounds into gigantic dimensions, and in connection with them the wrestle against deficits has caused that we are obliged to open all our sources of taxes, and use every opportunity to lighten our burdens. The future can really be the development of the existing only, not the creation of new resources. For this reason the main condition on which it depends whether we can maintain the balance in the budget which has been re-established after the stiff battles of a quarter of a century is to extend the present scope of expenses only and in so far as the increasing results of public taxation permit it. If we fulfil this condition we can confidently look to the future. The epoch, which begins with the second thousand years of an existence for Hungary will be no epoch of self-renunciation and resignation, because the basis of the development is present, and because the finances since the balance is restored have come into full strength to the help of political economy, when we laid demands on them for the purpose of attaining one of the highest of financial aims i. e. the re-establishment of the standard. An epoch of political and financial ripeness must break, in which the individual expects the improvement of the conditions of his existence not from the state and at the expense of the community, and in which public opinion on the one hand sets a limit to its claims towards the state, and on the other hand matures the consciousness that the dues paid to the state in virtue of the law and out of a spirit of citizenship are of benefit to the community.



Gift H. C. Adams

THE MILLENNIUM
OF
HUNGARY
AND ITS PEOPLE.

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ISSUED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE ROYAL HUNGARIAN MINISTER OF COMMERCE,
AS PRESIDENT OF THE MILLENNIAL NATIONAL EXHIBITION COMMISSION.

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